00030045

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from

NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach

on 07 January, 2017

A

VIEW

OF THE Literary Society

RISE, PROGRESS,

AND Bombay

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

IN

BENGAL:

INCLUDING A

REPLY to the MISREPRESENTATIONS of Mr. BOLTS, and other WRITERS.

30045

By HARRY VERELST, Esq.

Late GOVERNOR of BENGAL.

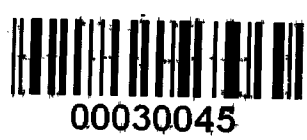
Difficilius est provincias obtinere, quam facere.
Viribus parantur, jure retinentur.

FLORI, Lib. IV. C. 12.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookseller to HIS MAJESTY, in the Strand; BROTHERTON and SEWELL, in Cornhill; G. ROBINSON, in Pater-noster Row, and T. EVANS, in King-street, Covent-garden.

MDCCLXXII.


00030045

GLOSSARY.

A.

ABDALLA Shah, king of the Durannies.—*Abdálla*, in Arabic, ſignifies the ſlave of God, from *Abd*, a ſlave, and *Alla*, the name or attribute of God; and *Shah* implies king.

Afgháns are thoſe tribes of Mahommedans who inhabit the northern parts of India, called ſometimes Pattâns, and eſteemed the beſt ſoldiers in the country.

Anna, the ſixteenth part of a rupee.

Aſſámmies, dependents, or any perſons on whom a claim is made.

Attock, the name of a river that ſeparates the province of Lahôre from Peiſhor, the ſtream of which is moſtly ſo very rapid, that there is but one place where an army can conveniently paſs it.

Auméen, a Supra-viſor, or officer employed by the government to examine and regulate the ſtate of the revenues of any diſtrict.

Aumíl, *Aumíldar*, } An officer of the revenues, inferior to both an Auméen, and Zemêendar.

Aurúngs, places where goods are manufactured for ſale.

B.

Banyán, a Gentoo ſervant, employed in the management of commercial affairs.

Barjáut, an oppreſſive cuſtom of forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price.

Bátta, exchange, alſo diet money, allowed to the troops in the field.

Bazár, or market, where all articles of life and luxury are daily ſold.

Bégum, a princeſs, a title given to every lady of rank.

Bégah, a meaſure of land;—ſee note at the bottom of page 221 of the Appendix, for a particular explanation of this meaſurement.

Béetle-leaf, the name of an aromatic leaf, growing like a vine, which the natives of India of all ranks conſtantly chew, with the nut called beetle-nut, and other ingredients, between their meals.

Béetle-nut, the nut of a tall ſlender tree, eat with the beetle-leaf.

Bercundáz, a match-lock man.

Board, in this publication always implies the governor and council at Fort William in Bengal.

Buxy, or rather *Bukſhy*, a pay-maſter.

C.

Callárry, a falt work.
Canongoes, regiſters of the Subah or province appointed by the ſovereign.
Cawn, properly *Khan*, a lord, a title given to every man of rank.
Chókies, watch-houſes; alſo places appointed in different parts of the country for collecting the public cuſtoms and duties upon all branches of foreign and inland trade, paſſing through thoſe diſtricts, not included in duſtuck privileges.
Chokeydár, the officer of a guard.
Chout, a fourth part. Commonly uſed for the tribute of the fourth part of the revenues which the Maharattas have endeavoured to impoſe on the Subah of Bengal.
Choutárry, a Bengal corruption of *Chout*.
Chówdrahs, land-holders, in the next rank to Zemêen-dars.
Chúklah, the juriſdiction of a Fouzdar, who receives the rents from the Zemêen-dars, and accounts for them with the government.
Chunár-gur, a very ſtrong fortreſs belonging to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, in the province of Oud, within about 7 coſs of Benâres.
Chunám, lime.
Comár lands, having no native tenants, are lands cultivated by contract.
Coſs lands, are lands under the immediate ſuperintendence of government, for want of farmers.
Coſs or *Coſe*, a meaſure they commonly compute diſtances by in India, and is about two geometrical miles, or 4000 yards.
Cooley, a day-labourer.
Cowries, ſhells that paſs for money in Bengal, 80 *cowries* are called a *pun*, and from 50 to 60 *puns* are commonly the value of a rupee.
Cuſſore, an allowance upon the exchange of rupees, in contradiſtinction to *Batta*.
Cutchérry, a court of juſtice; alſo the office into which the rents are delivered.
Cutwáll, an inferior officer of the police, whoſe buſineſs is to try and decide petty miſdemeanors.

D.

Dádney, money advanced for goods.
Dándee, a waterman or rower.
Dawks, ſtationed letter-carriers, at ſtages of about 10 miles diſtance, for the conveying of letters expreſs.
Deloll or *Dallál*, a broker.—See *Pykar*.
Dewán,—for a deſcription of both the original and preſent idea of this office, ſee Appendix, pag. 136, paragraphs 13 and 14.
Dewán-conna, the Dewan's court or office.
Dewánny, ſee Appendix, pag. 41.
Deroobúſt Purgúnnahs, whole or entire *purgunnahs*, which depend entirely on a ſingle Zemêen-dar.
Dhee, the ancient limits of any village or pariſh; thus *Dhee Calcutta* means only that part which was originally inhabited.
Doga, or *Darôga*, an overſeer or ſuperintendent.
Dúſter-conna, the office for keeping the government's accounts.—In common uſage, any office or compting-houſe.
Durbár, the court of any great man.

Duſtóre, a cuſtom or fee.

Dúſtuck, a paſſport, or permit; but uſually implies the paſſport given by the governor of Fort William, or the chiefs of the Engliſh factories, for the goods of the company or their ſervants, which exempts them from the payment of duties.—See *Chokies*.

F.

Firmáuh, litterally ſignifies an order, but is uſed for a patent or grant from the emperor;—and, among the Engliſh, always means the charter which the company obtained from the king Furrukhſeer, by which they hold their privileges.

Ferd Huckeekút, a manifeſt or memorial.

Ferd Sawál, a petition.

Fowzdâr, the chief magiſtrate of a large diſtrict, called a Chuklah.—See *Chúklah*.

G.

Gaut, a landing-place where cuſtoms are uſually collected.

Gaut-barry, or *Kat-barra*, a tax levied upon boats at the Gauts, or Chokies.

Ghazi al din Khan, ſignifies the illuſtrious champion of religion.—This great but wicked prince was the vizier who murdered the father of the preſent emperor of Hindooſtan, in 1760.

Ghee, clarified butter.

Golah, a warehouſe, uſually conſtructed with mat or mud walls, and covered with thatch, for keeping grain, ſalt, &c.

Gomâſtah, a black agent or factor.—See *Pykars*.

Gunge, a market principally for grain.

Gúnnies, coarſe canvaſs, for bags, wrappers, &c.

Guzerbáun, an officer who collects the cuſtoms at the ferries.

H.

Haut, a market on ſtated days.

Hazárry, a commander of gun-men, literally a commander of a thouſand.

Higera, or *Hijra*, the flight of Mahommed from Mecca to Medina, from which the Mahommedan æra commences, happened on the 16th July, A. D. 622.

Hircárra, a ſpy.

Hindoſtán, India is known in the Eaſt by the name of *Hindoo-ſtan*, which ſignifies the country of the *Hindoos* or ſwarthy people; *Hindoo* being ſwarthy or black, and *Stan* a country. The capital whereof is Dehly, which, ſince Shah Jehan removed the ſeat of empire thither from Agra, in the year 1647, is uſually known in the Eaſt by the name of Shah Jehan-abad, or Shah Jehan's habitation; as Agra is often called Akbar-abad, or Shah Akbar's habitation; and is about 44 meaſured Coſs from Dehly.

Huſh-ul-hookum, a patent or order, under the ſeal of the Vizier, with theſe initial words ſignifying "according to the command."

Huck A'wazeerut, the fees of the Vizier.

Huſtabóods, rent-rolls, of either a grand diviſion or leſſer diſtricts of land.

Hyderabád, the capital of Nizam Ally, Soubah of the Deccan; it was formerly called Bhagnagur, and is about 371 miles diſtant from Dehly. There is a caſtle

in

in this province called *Golconda*, by which name the whole province is uſually known in Europe. *Hyder-abad* ſignifies the habitation or reſidence of *Hyder*, the Arabic appellative for a *lion*, a title often given to men of rank in the Eaſt.

I.

Iſlám, which literally ſignifies ſafety, uſually means the true faith, according to Mahommedans.

Jaghéer, an aſſignment of any part of the revenues of the ſtate for military ſervice.

Júngles, or rather *Junguls*, thickets of wood, high graſs, or reeds.

Júmma, valuation.

Júmma-bundy, a rent-roll.

Jemmâut-dar, or *Jámadar*, a military commander; alſo the head or ſuperintendent of the peons in the Sewâury, or train of any great man.

K.

Kátbárra, ſee *Gaut-barry*.

Kazzee, or *Kâzy*, the chief magiſtrate appointed to adminiſter juſtice in all cauſes to the Mahommedans, according to their written law; he being generally a perſon of the greateſt repute and learning, a copy of any writing atteſted by him is authentic.

Kélla, a fort, or citadel.

Kelladár, the governor of a fort.

Kerria, a pariſh or village.

Khálſa Sheréefa, whatever accounts belong immediately to the emperor are called *Khalſa*; the word *Shereefa* added to it, implies noble or magnificent.

Kíſſmutt, a diviſion;—*Kérria Kíſſmut*, part of a pariſh, being ſuch a proportion as is included in the Sunnud.

Kiſt, the amount of a ſtated payment.

Kiſtbundee, an agreement for the ſtated payments of a ſum of money, to be diſcharged at different times.

Krore, a hundred lacks, or ten millions.

L.

Lack of Rupees, or one hundred thouſand: a rupee is a ſilver coin, ſtruck in the Moghul mints, with an inſcription of his name and titles, the year of his reign, and the place it was coined at. There are various ſpecies of rupees annually coined in India, differing a little in both weight and quality. The beſt are the Siccas of the current year, worth about 2*s*. 6*d*. ſterling. See *Sún*.

M.

Mahál, any land, or a public fund, yielding a revenue to the government.

Mahál Serái, the women's apartments.

Mahómmed, which ſignifies *praiſed*, is prefixed (or underſtood to be ſo) to almoſt ever Muſſulman's name. It is a Tetragrammaton, or word of four letters; namely, *Mím, Hha, Mím, Dal*, which, with the *Teſhdid* over the latter *Mím* to ſhew it muſt be doubled, properly make five characters.

Malguzárry, the land-revenue.

Maha Raja, ſignifies *the great prince*; *Maha* being *great* or *mighty* in the Sanſcrreet or Bramin's language, and *Rajah, prince*.

Manjee, the helmſman of a boat.
Manghan, or Mângon, a tax or impoſition levied by the officers of the Chokeys and Gauts, as a perquiſite for themſelves and Zemêendars.
Maund, a variable weight. In Bengal from 72 to 80 lb.
Mohûr, a ſeal; alſo a gold rupee of variable value, worth from 12 to 16 ſilver rupees.
Mohôoree, any writer, or under clerk, among the natives in Bengal.
Molûnghee, a worker of ſalt.
Moûza, a pariſh or village; but properly ſignifies a *place*.
Mûkkaudum, a ſuperiour officer of the revenues in a village, the ſame as *Chowdry*.
Mûnſhy, a ſecretary for the Perſian language.
Mánſub, a dignity, or title.
Mutchûlcah, a written obligation.
Mûſnud, an elevated place of diſtinction in the Durbar, covered with a cloth, or carpet, for the prince to ſit on; alſo a throne.
Muttaſêddee, a general name for all officers employed in taking the accounts of the government, or of any perſon of conſequence.

N.

Nabôb, (properly *Navâb*, being the plural of *Naib*) a title given to every perſon of noble rank. By pre-eminence it is generally uſed to ſignify the *Nazîm*.
Naib, a deputy.
Nunçâr, or rather *Nançâr*, an allowance in an aſſignment upon the revenues, or the lands themſelves, given as charity for the relief of the poor.
Nazîm, the firſt officer of a province, in whoſe hands the executive power is lodged; by way of diſtinction he is ſtyled the Subah-dar, or Nabôb.
Naic, a ſubaltern officer of the Sepoys, of the rank of a corporal.
Neabut, a deputyſhip.
Nûzzer, a preſent to a ſuperior.
Nûzzer-ânna, a ſum paid to the government, as an acknowledgment for a grant of lands, or any public office.
Nizamût, the office, or poſt of a Nazîm.

O.

Omrah, plural of the Arabic *Amèer*, which ſignifies *prince*, is a title given to all the nobility of the firſt rank in the Mogul empire.

P.

Peon, a footman, or attendant, armed with ſword and target.
Purgûnnah, or *Pergána*, the largeſt diviſion of land in a Zemêen-darry.
Perwânnah, a grant, or letter under a great ſeal, from any man of power to a dependent.
Pêſhcuſh, a tribute paid to the crown, as an acknowledgment for any tenure.
Podâr, a money-changer, or teller, under a Shroff.
Pulwâr, a light boat uſed for diſpatches.
Pyke, a watchman employed as a guard at night.
Hôonah, the time for adjuſting the eſtimate of the revenues to be collected the enſuing year.—See Appendix, page 136, paragraph 14.

Pottahs,

Pôttahs, leaſes containing the quantity of land poſſeſſed by each farmer, and the amount of rent with which it is charged.

Pykârs, (*Dellôls*, and *Gomâſtahs*) are a chain of agents through whoſe hands the articles of merchandize paſs from the loom of the manufacturer, or the ſtore-houſe of the cultivator, to the public merchant, or exporter.

Panjâb, or *Panjáab*, the ancient name of the province of Lahôre; it ſignifies the five waters or rivers, ſo many running through that province, and falling into the river Scind, known in Europe by the name of Indus.

R.

Râjah, a title given to every Gentoo of rank,—in the Indian language ſignifying prince:—originally it was appropriated only to the principal Zemêen-dars.

Rânnee, princeſs.

Rawâna, a paſſport or certificate from the collector of the cuſtoms.

Roy-rôyan, the principal officer under the Dewân, who has the immediate charge of the crown lands.

Riſſâla, an independent corps of horſe.

Riſſáldar, the commander of ſuch a corps.

Rupee, a ſilver coin worth about 2*s*. 6*d*.—See *Lack of Rupees*. See alſo *Sun*.

Ryot, or *Reiat*, a tenant or farmer.

Reſident at the Durbar; for a deſcription of the nature and duties of this office, ſee Appendix, page 137, paragraphs 15 and 16.

Ryôtty lands, or lands farmed out, tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the ſpot.

S.

Seer, the fortieth part of a Maund.

Sepôy, a ſoldier.—This word is generally uſed for the Indian infantry, *diſciplined after* the European manner.

Serâi, a baiting place for travellers.

Sewâury, the train of attendants who accompany any principal perſon on the road.

Sezawâul, the ſame as Tahſildar.—An officer employed at a monthly ſalary to collect the revenues.

Shah, king, or emperor.

Shah Aalum, or *Allum*, (the title of the preſent emperor of Hindoſtan,) ſignifies king of the world.

Shah zada, the king's ſon, or more properly *royally born*; becauſe it is a title equally applied to both the ſons and daughters of kings.

Sheréef, noble, magnificent.

Shroff, properly *Seráf*, a banker, or money-changer.

Sicca, any new coin; it means *ſtampt* or *ſealed*; but is particularly uſed for the ſtandard ſilver rupee of the Bengal mints.

Sicdâr, the collector of the rents of a village.

Sircâr, the ſtate or government.—In common uſage in Bengal, the under Banyans of European gentlemen are called *Sircârs*.

Sirdâr, or *Surdâr*, a chief, leader, or commander.

Subáh, a province; improperly uſed for the *Subahdar*; and is the ſame as *Subahſhip*, *Subahdárry*, or *Nizamut*.

Subahdár, the governor of a province, or literally a holder of a *Súbah*; he is alſo called *Nabôb*, or *Nazîm*.—Alſo the black commander of a company of Sepoys.

Subahdarry,

Subahdárry, or *Subahſhip*, the office of a *Subahdar*.
Sun, the year: thus Siccas of the 1ſt, 2d, or 3d *Sun*, are the ſtandard ſilver rupees of the 1ſt, 2d, or 3d year of a prince's reign; which is marked on the coin. See *Lack of Rupees*.
Súnnud, a grant.
Sunót, properly *Sunwaút*, rupees of old dates, on which a diſcount is allowed.

T.

Talóok, a ſmall Zemêen-darry.
Talóok-dár, the Zemêen-dar of a ſmall diſtrict.
Tahſíldar, or *Sezawaúl*, an officer employed for a monthly ſalary to collect the revenues.
Tankſáll, a mint.
Tánna, a ſmall fort.
Tanna-dar, a commander of a ſmall fort.
Teep, a note of hand.
Telínga, a Sepoy; ſo called from a country of that name, from whence the firſt Sepoys were probably enliſted.
Toffaúl, a collection of Callârrys, or ſalt pans.
Tomtom, a name vulgarly given to the Indian drums uſed in proclamations, and rejoycings.
Tunccáw, an aſſignment.

U.

Ultumgáu, properly *Altum-ghau*, an allowance paid from the revenues to religious, or learned men.

V.

Vakeel, an attorney, or agent.
Vizarút, the poſt, or office of Vizier.

W.

Wadadár, an officer of the collections.

Y.

Yeſſawául, a ſtate meſſenger.

Z.

Zemêen, land.
Zemêen-dár, literally a land-holder, accountable to government for the revenue.
Zemêen-dárry, the office of a Zemêen-dar, or the lands held by him.
Zenána, belonging to women, the woman's apartment, the Seraglio.

The compiler of this Gloſſary has not heſitated to avail himſelf of the gloſſaries of Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Bolts, and other writers on India affairs; as they have been found, in general, ſufficiently explanatory of the articles in queſtion.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Containing a Refutation of ſuch Parts of "Conſiderations on India Affairs," as are not referred to any general Diviſion of this Work, — Page 1

CHAP. I.

A general View of the Affairs of Bengal from the Capture of Calcutta, in 1757, to the Grant of the Dewanny to the Engliſh Company in 1765, — — — — 43

CHAP. II.

Diſorders in the Collection of the Revenues of Bengal before they belonged to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and the Cauſes which impeded a Reformation, — — — — 64

CHAP. III.

The Money and Coinage of Bengal, — 84

CHAP. IV.

The Society eſtabliſhed in the year 1765, for conducting the Trade in Salt, Beetle-nut, and Tobacco, — — — — 105

CHAP. V.

The impoſſibility of introducing Engliſh Laws into Bengal, with ſome Obſervations on the Nature of thoſe Regulations which the Manners and Habits of the Natives may admit, — — — 130

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDIX.

No. I. to XXII. inclusive. Page

Comprehending a complete detail of the Select Committee's correspondence with the Court of Directors, during Lord Clive's and Mr. Verelst's governments in Bengal; except a Letter dated September 13th, 1768, omitted from the want of a correct copy, — — — 1—97

No. XXIII. to XXVIII. inclusive.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. Verelst to the Court of Directors, during his government in Bengal, relative to the commercial and political interests of the country, — — — — — 98—125

No. XXIX. to XXXIV. inclusive.

Extracts of Letters from the Court of Directors to the Council and Select Committee, &c. at Fort William in Bengal;—from June 1764, to May 1766;—on relative subjects, — — — 127—135

No. XXXVII. to LX. inclusive.

Copies of Treaties and Grants from the Country Powers to the East India Company, respecting their Presidency at Fort William in Bengal, from the Year 1756 to 1766, — — — 140—174

No. 61. to 62. inclusive.

Petitions to the Mayor's Court of Calcutta, respecting the Suit of Coja Parseek Arratoon—Armenian, against Tom Lewis, and others, 174—175

No. 63.

Petition of the Native Inhabitants of Calcutta, to the Governor and Council of Fort William, not to be tried by English Laws, dated March 1765, — — — — — — 177

No. 64. to 93. inclusive.

Extracts of public and private Letters, Consultations, Select Committee Proceedings, &c. respecting Gomastahs or Agents, — 179—191

No. 94. to 130. inclusive.

Extracts of public and private Letters, Consultations, Select Committee Proceedings, &c. respecting Mr. Bolts, — — 191—212

No. 131. to 134. inclusive.

Copies and Extracts of Letters, Select Committee Proceedings, &c. respecting the Revenues of Bengal, — — — 212—224

No. 135. to 141. inclusive.

Copies and Extracts of Letters, Consultations, &c. respecting the Gold Coinages, established in Bengal in 1766 and 1769, — — 239—245

No. 142. to 145. inclusive.

Extracts of Letters, Consultations, &c. respecting the Society for carrying on the Salt, &c. trade, — — — 248—251

INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING

A REFUTATION of ſuch Parts of "Conſiderations on INDIA Affairs" as are not referred to any general Diviſion of this Work.

THE power and dominion acquired within a few years by the *Engliſh* Eaſt India company, the great importance of their poſſeſſions to the wealth and proſperity of Great Britain, the immenſe revenue derived to the ſtate from their commerce, have at length awakened the public attention. An univerſal deſire ſeems now to prevail of obtaining information upon this important ſubject. The materials of knowledge, however, are ſcarce. Few publications appear which are not dictated by private paſſion, or intereſted views. An envy moreover, attending the large fortunes acquired by ſome individuals, has given an eaſy credit to the moſt extravagant aſſertions of malice, or diſappointed ambition. To remove in ſome degree an impreſſion ſo injurious to individuals, ſo ruinous to the public intereſt, is the object of the following ſheets; and without pretending to greater virtue than other writers, I ſhall add, that neither the time nor occaſion will admit a wilful miſrepreſentation, which muſt ſoon be expoſed to detection.

The confuſion in which "Conſiderations on India Affairs," publiſhed by Mr. Bolts, are ſtudiouſly involved, affords abundant opportunities to pervert the truth; and is in itſelf therefore but an indifferent argument in favour of the author's candor. At the ſame time this laboured diſorder effectually precludes me, who wiſh to inform, from following that writer through all his undigeſted maſs of multifarious and libellous miſrepreſentation. Should I content myſelf with giving order and arrangement to the little work, which is now ſubmitted to the public eye, an intelligent reader would find therein a ſufficient refutation of what Mr. Bolts has thought fit to advance. The hiſtorical deduction, for inſtance, in the firſt chapter, muſt demoliſh his repreſentation of political tranſactions, by proving thoſe acts of the ſelect committee to have flowed from a ſenſe of duty, and knowledge of the public intereſt, which that gentleman has attributed to malignant paſſions, or to yet meaner motives.

The ſame obſervation will apply to every part of his book; and even the laſt chapter of the preſent work, which has no appearance of being a direct anſwer, may yet ſerve to prove, that many favourite poſitions, drawn from the laws and manners of Great Britain, are mere words, when applied to a very different ſituation of things in Bengal. But as many readers will not give themſelves the trouble to conſider the ſubject in this view, it will be neceſſary, before I enter upon the execution of my own plan, to examine that chaos of invective, which is ſo written by Mr. Bolts as to admit little order in the comment.

To miſrepreſent the plaineſt ſubjects is no very difficult taſk. "It is a "falſe way of reaſoning againſt religion," ſays the preſident Monteſquieu, "to collect a long detail of all the evils it has produced." Hiſtory will, undoubtedly, acquaint us with innumerable miſchiefs, which ſeem to have flowed from this ſource. Yet religion, or a knowledge of thoſe relations, which the Creator has eſtabliſhed, is the ſource of all moral obligation; and the fear of his diſpleaſure, the beſt ſanction of thoſe laws, which the finger of the Deity has thus preſcribed to man. In ridicule

dicule of ſuch attempts, an eſſay was compoſed ſome few years ſince by a very ingenious writer, who produced a long catalogue of miſchiefs ariſing from civil eſtabliſhments; and affected, with great gravity, to evince, that the abolition of all government would be productive of private happineſs. He ſo far ſucceeded, that a learned biſhop employed much time in refuting this formidable antagoniſt, without once recollecting, that the experience of mankind had already decided the queſtion, by eſtabliſhing *ſome government* in every corner of the earth. To come nearer home, the wits of this iſland have found ſo large a field for the exerciſe of their talents in the practice of Weſtminſter Hall, that there are not wanting perſons, who think juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered with us, as it is in Turkey, forgetting that a government *by law* has alone raiſed Great Britain to preeminence among the kingdoms of Europe, and made her proſperity the admiration and envy of ſurrounding nations. If ſubjects the moſt intereſting to mankind, on which they have added experience to theory, are nevertheleſs ſo open to miſrepreſentation, what muſt be the condition in this reſpect of a naſcent, unſettled ſtate, where all dominion, after the confuſion of ſucceſſive revolutions, is transferred to a few ſtrangers, and where the conquerors, living under their own laws of freedom amidſt a nation of ſlaves, exhibit a ſituation without parallel in hiſtory?

It muſt be evident that ſo great a change would extort many acts from the governor and council in Bengal, which were not ſtrictly within the intention of the legiſlature, when powers were granted to the company with a view to occaſions, very different from thoſe which have ſince ariſen. Thus, to counteract the eſtabliſhment of an Oſtend company, the three nations * poſſeſſed of the Eaſt India commerce forbad their reſpective ſubjects to engage in a foreign ſervice. The excluſive trade of our company had before been ſecured by penalties to be recovered in England; but upon this occaſion the legiſlature authorized the company to † ſeize any Britiſh ſubject who ſhall *ſail, go, or repair* to

* Great Britain, France, and Holland.

† 5 Geo. I. ch. 21.

the Eaſt Indies contrary to law. Within four years, two more * acts paſſed, by which, among other proviſions, it is enacted, that all ſuch perſons who go to the Eaſt Indies, ſhall be deemed traders, and, conſequently ſubject to the ſeveral penalties inflicted upon perſons under that deſcription. The company are moreover authorized to ſeize, and bring to England, all unlicenſed perſons who ſhall *go to or be found in* India. Theſe proviſions, derived plainly from a commercial jealouſy, the company have ſince made the means of impoſing ſuch conditions upon the free merchant and others in Bengal, as were found from experience to be neceſſary for the ſafety of the country, and protection of its inhabitants.

When, for inſtance, the power of the Engliſh nation gave effect to uſurpations of the private trader, who decided his own claims, oppreſſing the natives, and threatening the officers of government, if they preſumed to interfere, ſucceſſive governors of different parties agreed in the neceſſity of confining the free merchant to the company's † preſidency. This regulation, which all approved, and which reiterated orders of the directors confirmed, was made a condition of reſidence under the company's protection.

Thus alſo, when frequent complaints were made by Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, of numberleſs oppreſſions committed by Engliſh agents, who, contrary to treaty ‡, traded in his dominions, the governor and council iſſued *general* prohibitions; yet Mr. Bolts repreſents all theſe regulations, founded on the moſt evident neceſſity, as *expedients* to oppreſs *particular* individuals; and aſſuming afterwards his own aſſertion as

* 7 Geo. I. ch. 21. 9 Geo. I. ch. 26.

Theſe laws were temporary, and have been prolonged from time to time. It is remarkable that all offences againſt theſe are excepted out of the general pardon ſo late as 20 Geo. II.

† Company's ſervants were, of courſe, confined to their ſeveral ſtations.

‡ When peace was concluded, it was intended to have Engliſh factories in the dominions of Oude, but Sujah al Dowlah repreſented, that a private trade in his dominions muſt neceſſarily be productive of diſputes with the Engliſh, and would probably end in his deſtruction, as it had before ruined Meer Coſſim. A clauſe, ſtipulating a free commerce *for the company* was inſerted in the treaty, but Sujah al Dowlah was given to underſtand, that this right ſhould not be exerciſed without poſitive orders from England; and that *no* Engliſh *private traders* ſhould, on any account, be permitted in his dominions.

a truth,

a truth, he makes this curious reflection *, " It is true, that ſuch reſtric-
" tions have never been laid but upon particular perſons whom the com-
" pany deſigned to oppreſs and cruſh. But how miſerable and deſpicable
" muſt that ſtate of the government of the company's affairs be, wherein
" the general ſyſtem of juſtice is ſtopped or perverted for the ſake of op-
" preſſing an individual." Without denying the inference, it is impoſſible to admit the fact. " *It is true*," that one trader, and only one, who had committed many enormities, for which the ſevereſt puniſhment was juſtly due; who had been reprimanded by the directors; whoſe conduct had been equally obnoxious to ſucceſſive unconnected governors; who had threatened the officers of the country government for attempting to diſcharge their duty; who had traded contrary to public treaties in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah; who by repeated promiſes to withdraw this trade, had obtained letters from the governor to the ſubah of Oude, requeſting that every aſſiſtance might be given in collecting his effects; who, diſregarding his own voluntary repeated promiſes, had perſevered in this commerce, and by his intrigues endangered the peace of India: *It is true*, that ſuch a man, after a delay of nearly two years, was ſeized, and ſent to Europe. But it will not neceſſarily follow from the admiſſion of ſuch a fact, that " the general ſyſtem of juſtice is ſtopped or perverted for the ſake of oppreſſing an individual." *It is true*, likewiſe, that ſeveral officers who had endeavoured to diſband the whole army in Bengal, by a general combination to reſign their commiſſions in one day, were deemed dangerous in India; and refuſing voluntarily to depart, were therefore ſent by force to Europe. Mr. Bolts labours through more than twenty pages to prove this power of ſeizing perſons illegal. But even the doubts, which have always attended the exerciſe of this power, prove it not to have been the wanton inſtrument of oppreſſion. The very few inſtances to be found regard ſuch † perſons as could not interfere with any private intereſts of the governor and council; and it is utterly incredible, that theſe gentlemen would riſque their own fortunes by an act which muſt come before an Engliſh jury, unleſs the duty of their ſtations exacted ſuch conduct at their hands. Then indeed they might juſtly expect protection from the purſe of the company.

* Conſiderations, p. 73. † Moſtly military men.

Could

Could we even believe theſe gentlemen to have been actuated by improper motives towards men, of whom they ſeldom have any perſonal knowledge, what can we ſay of the directors? Yet Mr. Bolts informs us, in a note at the bottom of page 147, that the "directors in their general "letters ſince 1764 have been uſed very injudiciouſly to authorize their "governor and council at Bengal, at their own diſcretion, to with-"draw their protection from, or ſeize and ſend to Europe any perſon or "perſons, who might be guilty of the ſmalleſt contravention of their "orders."

The reader ſhould be informed, that the year 1764 is the period when it was firſt known in England, that the violence of private traders had overturned the country government, and involved us in a war with Meer Coſſim; that the conſequent orders of the directors, neceſſary to the peace of the country and ſafety of the natives, had been repeatedly contemned; and that all now confeſs the juſtice and propriety of the reſtraints then impoſed, although men from intereſted motives were at that time tempted to diſobey.

It was foreſeen by Mr. Bolts, that ſuch reaſoning would not be *concluſive*, unleſs interſperſed with flaming paragraphs, *round aſſertions*, and ſome few facts, which, to a careleſs eye, or mind unacquainted with the ſubject, may wear the face of proofs. He concludes, therefore, his chapter on "*Tranſportation*," in this manner*. "It is principally owing to "this exorbitant power, the exerciſe of which has been greatly encouraged "by the directors in their letters to Bengal, that we muſt attribute the "immenſe fortunes which have been of late ſo rapidly *ſqueezed from the* "*natives* in thoſe parts, and which will continue to bring thoſe provinces "nearer and nearer to deſtruction, if effectual meaſures be not ſpeedily "taken to prevent *ſuch violences*, to enable the *injured* more eaſily to ob-"tain relief, and to inflict exemplary puniſhment on *ſuch oppreſſors*. If "this be not ſpeedily done, neither the company, nor the nation, can

* Conſiderations, p. 147.

"have

to India: A plea which the Court of Exchequer in England treated with the contempt it deſerved. In Bengal Mr. Bolts makes his black ſervant ſign the new covenants with his name, hoping thereby to evade the obligation. This being diſcovered, he applies with abject meanneſs to the ſub-ſecretary, Mr. Baber, clandeſtinely to deliver the covenants ſo executed, out of the public office, for the expreſs purpoſe, as he then declared, of re-executing the ſame *. The reaſon given by Mr. Bolts for his firſt default, is curious. It ſeems he had taken an oath not to ſign covenants. Being detected, he was nevertheleſs eager to violate this ſacred, though voluntary, obligation. Yet he now attempts to juſtify his conduct, becauſe a lawyer has lately corrected his former error, by informing him, that his ſignature, being made with his conſent, muſt be conſidered as his own act.

In the ſame ſpirit is conceived the account given of the Armenian merchants. He repreſents the general orders to have been particularly directed againſt certain individuals, "greatly interfering with the private "views of the governor and ſome of the council †:" yet Mr. Bolts knew theſe to have been only a repetition of the like orders, ineffectually iſſued, in conſequence of reiterated commands from home ‡; and that the governor, in fact, was neither directly nor indirectly engaged in trade, from which he was reſtrained by a ſolemn oath, and by a bond with a large penalty §. The author of Conſiderations affirms, that all Armenians were prohibited from trading or tranſporting merchandize out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. He well knew that experience of the turbulent, intriguing ſpirit of theſe people ‖ during Meer Coſſim's government of Bengal, and the frequent complaints of Sujah al Dowlah,

* Mr. Baber's affidavit, Appendix, p. 209. No. 126. Vide alſo No. 152.

† Conſiderations, p. 106.

‡ Vide Appendix from p. 179. If the dates of the ſeveral orders of the directors and of the reſolutions of the council and committees thereupon be attended to, it will appear that the ſentiments of all parties both at home and abroad have been the ſame upon this ſubject.

§ The purchaſe of diamonds for the remittance of the governor's private fortune to Europe, and for that purpoſe only, is excepted in the oath. This however has no relation to the trade mentioned by Mr. Bolts.

‖ The Armenians reſemble Europeans in activity and vigour both of mind and body, for this reaſon, they were employed in the moſt important offices, civil and military, by Meer Coſſim. For the ſame reaſons they were the propereſt inſtruments for our traders.

had proved them ſo capable of embroiling us with the neighbouring powers, by uſurping the name of Engliſh agents, and abuſing the influence thereby obtained, that it became neceſſary to confine the commerce out of the provinces, to ſuch as, diſclaiming the Engliſh protection, were contented to be wholly ſubject to the laws of that country wherein they reſided. The conduct of ſome Armenians would have juſtified a general prohibition; but the truth is, that thoſe who would traffick upon theſe terms, were never interrupted. The reader who will recollect the numerous evils produced by the private trade of the company's ſervants, and abuſe of the Engliſh power during Meer Coſſim's adminiſtration, will not be ſurpriſed to find Sujah al Dowlah expreſſing the moſt extreme ſolicitude, that the like practices might never prevail in his dominions. At the ſame time, he was cautious of iſſuing any orders, which might create the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of a diſagreement between him and us; nor would he take any meaſure which might poſſibly offend the Engliſh gentlemen, but in conjunction with our government *. He was extremely deſirous that whatever was done reſpecting Engliſh agents, ſhould be wholly the act of the governor and council; but when theſe gentlemen, apprehenſive of ill conſequences to themſelves, where they had no legal authority, declined a direct interpoſition, he yet inſiſted that our people ſhould be the immediate *inſtruments in an act which otherwiſe might wear an hoſtile appearance.* Accordingly, theſe Armenian gomaſtahs were ſeized by our ſepoys under the direction of Sujah al Dowlah's officers.

Soon after the recovery of Calcutta, the ſubſequent defeat of Serajah al Dowlah, and the eſtabliſhment of Meer Jaffier, the power of the Engliſh traders in Bengal was ſeverely felt by the natives, and greatly contributed to the diſtreſſes of Meer Jaffier's government, which, in the year 1760, afforded a pretence for a new revolution in favour of Meer Coſſim. This evil continued rapidly to increaſe, and in the year 1762, Mr. Haſtings, in a letter to the governor, exhibits a truly deplorable picture of the country. "I beg leave to lay before you a grievance, which calls loudly "for redreſs. I mean the oppreſſions committed under the ſanction of "the Engliſh name, and through want of ſpirit in the nabob's ſubjects

* Appendix, p. 186. No. 82.

to

" to oppoſe them. This evil, I am well aſſured, is not confined to our " dependents alone, but is practiſed all over the country by people aſ- " ſuming the habits of our ſepoys, and calling themſelves our gomaſtahs. " As, on ſuch occaſions, the great power of the Engliſh intimidates the " people from reſiſtance, ſo, on the other hand, the indolence of the " Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining acceſs to thoſe who might do " them juſtice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppreſſions, and " encourages their continuance, to the great, though unmerited, ſcandal " of our government.

" I have been ſurpriſed to meet with ſeveral Engliſh flags, flying in " places which I have paſſed, and on the river I do not believe that I " paſſed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been aſſumed " (for I could only truſt to the information of my eyes, without ſtopping " to aſk queſtions) I am ſure their frequency can bode no good to the " nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or honour of our nation, but " evidently tends to leſſen each of them.

" A party of ſepoys who were on the march before us, afforded ſuf- " ficient proofs of the rapacious and inſolent ſpirit of thoſe people, when " left to their own diſcretion. Many complaints againſt them were made " me on the road, and moſt of the petty towns and ſerais were deſerted at " our approach, and the ſhops ſhut up, from apprehenſions of the ſame " treatment from us."

The ſubahdar Meer Coſſim, about the ſame time, complains that the Engliſh agents plundered his people, injured and diſgraced his ſervants, and expoſed his government to contempt. They had eſtabliſhed numerous factories, and ſetting up the Engliſh colours, oppreſſed the ryots, or huſbandmen, the merchants, and people of the country. " Every Bengal gomaſtah makes " a diſturbance at every factory, and thinks himſelf not inferior to the " company. In every purgunnah, every village, and every factory, they " buy and ſell ſalt, beetle-nut, ghee, rice, ſtraw, bamboos, fiſh, gunnils, " ginger, ſugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things more than I " can write, and which I think it needleſs to mention. They forcibly " take away the goods and commodities of the ryots, merchants, &c.

" for

" for a fourth part of their value, and, by ways of violence and op-
" preſſions, they oblige the ryots, &c. to give five rupees for goods
" which are worth but one rupee; and, for the ſake of five rupees, they
" bind and diſgrace an aſſammee, who pays one hundred rupees mal-
" guzarree *, and they allow not any authority to my ſervants; the of-
" ficers of every diſtrict have deſiſted from the exerciſe of their func-
" tions; and every one of theſe gomaſtahs has ſuch power, that he im-
" priſons the collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he
" pleaſes."

Such was the ſtate of the country, which proved the immediate cauſe of our war with Meer Coſſim; immediate, for as there could be no choice, but of abſolute dominion, or intire ſubjection, he had certainly reſolved, from his firſt acceſſion, to reſiſt the power of the Engliſh, and, in leſs than three years, had well nigh obtained that independence, to which all the meaſures of his government were evidently directed.

Mr. Bolts arrived in India in the year 1760, and we ſoon find him a principal figure amidſt the groupe of traders. The extent to which this gentleman engaged, and the moderation with which he conducted himſelf, will be beſt known from his fortune of ninety thouſand pounds, gained within ſix years, together with the extreme eagerneſs with which he endeavoured, upon all occaſions, to degrade the authority of the government, and prevent any effectual protection being given to the natives †.

Among the private perſons who uſurped the office of their ſuperiors, Mr. Bolts was very early diſtinguiſhed, who wrote in his own name to the fouzdar of Purnea ‡, threatening the nabob's officers with the effect of the Engliſh power. Mr. Vanſittart § obſerves, " of courſe every merchant " will take the ſame authority;" and very juſtly adds, " that this intire

* The rents, or land-tax.

† Appendix, p. 203. No. 114, and p. 208. No. 124, &c. &c.

‡ In the year 1762. See Mr. Vanſittart's Narrative, Vol. II. p. 209. Appendix, p. 191. N. 94.

§ See Mr. Vanſittart's Minute, in his Narrative, p. 250. Vol. II.

" level-

" levelling and equality will not be for the good of the company's af-
" fairs *."

To level all diſtinctions, to intimidate the governor and council, and, by clamour, to confine them within the ſtrict letter of laws, calculated for a very different ſtate of ſociety, has ever been the conſtant object of thoſe, who, from motives of private intereſt, wiſhed to abuſe that influence which the name of Engliſhman was alone ſufficient to confer.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Bolts was reprimanded by order of the court of directors in the general letter to Bengal, received in July 1764 †; yet, in the year 1765, we find him exerciſing ‡ ſummary juriſdiction in his own cauſe, and confining a merchant for three days, whom, at length he was compelled to releaſe. He was ſoon after this, ſuſpended from his appointment at Benâres, but the trade of a country, yet unexhauſted, was too lucrative to be eaſily relinquiſhed.

The November following, Mr. Bolts reſigned his ſtation in the ſervice, and was about this time elected an alderman and judge of the mayor's court in Calcutta. Here therefore commences his furious zeal for reformation, and, in the beginning of the next year, he was actively engaged in the complaint againſt Nobekiſſen, which ended with little honour to the authors. The public concerns of Mr. Bolts never intruded upon his private cares, and infinite arts were tried to prevent a diſmiſſion of his agents from the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah. The great diſtance from Calcutta gave to falſehood the weight of truth. Various rumours were therefore propagated, which Mr. Bolts endeavoured § to ſupport by his correſpondence. At one time, Mr. Bolts was returning to Benâres with the moſt extenſive powers. At another time, theſe people were

* Mr. Bolts tells us (Conſiderations p. 82.) that " the governor, by the eſtabliſhed rule of " the company's ſervice, is the perſon to whom all correſpondence, by letter or otherwiſe, with " the country powers is committed, and the only perſon in the ſervice to whom ſuch correſpon- " dence of any ſort is allowed." One of the many reaſons for Mr. Bolts being ſent to England, though very low in the ſervice, was his arrogating to himſelf this *eſtabliſhed authority of a governor*.

† See the extract of this letter, Appendix, p. 192. No. 95.

‡ This appears from his own letters entered in the conſultations of the council in February, 1766.

§ Appendix, p. 204. No. 115.

taken

taken into Mr. Rumbold's ſervice, and a letter was on the road from the council, that none ſhould be licenſed as Engliſh agents but themſelves. While ſuch arts were employed to influence the mind of the nabob of Oude, the war upon the Coaſt had drained the treaſury of Bengal, and the moſt alarming accounts were induſtriouſly ſpread of the inſtability of the company's affairs. Allured by the tempting occaſion, Sujah al Dowlah began to liſten to the voice of ambition. Coja * Raffael, for the ſake of intelligence, was taken into his ſervice, through the influence of Meer Muſhallah (formerly phyſician to Meer Coſſim, and, at this time, retained by the nabob of Oude) who likewiſe correſponded with our patriot at Calcutta †. When the ſtorm blew off, the dread of our power revived. Sujah al Dowlah, again regarding the Engliſh agents as a ſource of contention, applied to our commanding officer at Allah-abad, for their removal; and both parties, being now equally ſincere, it was ſoon effected ‡.

That Mr. Bolts was a party to theſe practices cannot be doubted, when the reader is informed of a confidential letter written by that gentleman to Monſieur Gentil, a Frenchman, high in Sujah al Dowlah's confidence, in which, he ſays, "I have written a letter to the nabob, to whom I beg "you will give my humble reſpects. There is arrived an Engliſh Europe "ſhip, and another French one. The affairs of our company are in "great agitation before the king and parliament of England; and accord-"ing to the letters I have received, there is a great probability that my "partner Mr. Johnſtone will come out governor on the part of the king ||."

Such was the conduct of Mr. Bolts and his agents, which produced at length the removal of the latter from the territories of Oude; and after, every other expedient had been tried to reclaim a man, who appeared determined to ſacrifice all public duties to his own intereſted purſuits, and who had actually preſented to the grand jury an information againſt the

* Mr. Bolts' agent, now in England.
† Appendix, p. 189. No. 88. p. 203. No. 113. and p. 204. No. 115.
‡ Appendix, p. 189. No. 82.
|| Appendix, p. 203. No. 114.

governor, council, and commander in chief, for endeavouring to reſtrain his pernicious practices, Mr. Bolts himſelf was ſent to England. Inſtead of puniſhing Coja Gregory and Johannes Padre Rafael as they deſerved, ſuch was the idle lenity of our government, that they immediately received their liberty, and every aſſiſtance was offered to collect their effects, an aſſiſtance probably unneceſſary, as they choſe to depart for Europe.

That the meaſures of our government were ſufficiently vigorous and deciſive upon this, as upon other occaſions, it might be difficult to prove; but, when Mr. Bolts had been indulged with near two years, after his reſignation of the ſervice, to collect his effects; when the public authority had been employed, and letters written by the governor to Bulwant Sing, and the nabob of Oude, requeſting their aſſiſtance for the ſettlement * of his affairs; it was ſurely no very ruinous oppreſſion to ſend away that gentleman by force, whom the moſt ſolemn promiſes, repeatedly given, could not engage voluntarily to depart for Europe. The governor and council were indeed criminal. It was criminal, for a moment to ſuffer the reſidence of a man, who, independent of other demerits, had correſponded with every rival, and every enemy of the company; who had engaged with Mr. Vernet, the Dutch governor, to monopolize the cloth-trade of Dacca †; who had ſcandalouſly evaded the execution of covenants, which, as a ſervant of the company, he was bound to ſubſcribe ‡; who had attempted one, and actually ſucceeded in ſeducing another, inferior ſervant, to betray his truſt, in delivering papers out of the office; who had, from his firſt arrival in India, carried on a trade deſtructive to the peace of the country; who, in ſupport of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob ‖, and had iſſued his proclamation in the ſtile of a ſovereign §; whoſe agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, and by falſe intelligence received from their maſter, had endangered the peace of India ¶. To ſuffer ſuch a man in Bengal, was ſurely

* See extracts of the preſident's letter, Appendix, p. 195. No. 103, 104.
† Appendix, p. 196. No. 108.
‡ Appendix, p. 209. No. 125, 126.
‖ Appendix, p. 101. No. 94.
§ Appendix, p. 208. No. 124.
¶ Appendix, p. 7, 186. No. 82, 88, 93, 113, 115.

criminal. But if ſuits are now commenced in our courts of law, if petitions are preſented to the houſe of commons, and unwarrantable prejudices are induſtriouſly fomented, what might we expect, had ample juſtice been done to the company and to the nation?

Enough has been ſaid to ſhew that the evils complained of in Bengal, have ariſen rather from the inability of the governor and council to reſtrain the daring and pernicious projects of private intereſt in others, than from a rapacious ſpirit in themſelves. Had the higher ſervants of the company, as the author of Conſiderations would wiſh us to believe, been alone the oppreſſors of Bengal, the evil could not have extended far. But when the rapacity of all who aſſume the Engliſh name, is let looſe upon a harmleſs and inoffenſive race of men; when every attempt of the governor and council to reſtrain theſe lawleſs traders, is repreſented as a violation of property, and infringement of thoſe laws by which only Europeans can be governed; and when this ſpirit, ſupported by intereſted men, proceeds ſo far, that the governor, council, and commander in chief, are preſented to the grand jury as conſpirators againſt the life and fortune of an individual; we muſt not be ſurprized if gentlemen relax ſomewhat in the exerciſe of new, unknown, and queſtionable powers, however neceſſary to the welfare or ſafety of the province.

CHAP. I.

A general View of the Affairs of BENGAL from the Capture of CALCUTTA, in 1757, to the Grant of the Dewanny to the INDIA COMPANY, in 1765.

WHEN a portrait is preſented to our view, thoſe acquainted with the original readily pronounce upon the degree of ſimilitude in the copy. They eaſily perceive the whole to be unlike, and can even diſcover where the ſmaller traits of truth, in particular parts, are made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of falſhood; yet would it be difficult to make a by-ſtander comprehend the manner in which each feature was perverted. I have nevertheleſs endeavoured to prove, in the introductory diſcourſe prefixed, that the picture which Mr. Bolts has exhibited of Bengal manners bears no reſemblance to the real ſtate of affairs, or to the conduct of thoſe concerned. After all, perhaps, the beſt means of detecting miſrepreſentation, is to contraſt it with a faithful likeneſs. To delineate juſtly the ſubject, ſhall therefore be my next attempt.

The reader muſt not, however, expect a laborious detail. It is more conſiſtent with the deſign of this work, to give a general map of the country, leaving to others the taſk of tracing the more minute diviſions. To afford a compendious view of the Britiſh affairs in Bengal, the firſt chapter will contain a ſhort hiſtorical deduction; becauſe in this flux of events, the reader will diſcover thoſe ſituations to which the conduct of men muſt refer, and by which alone their merits can juſtly be tried.

The neceſſity of an excluſive company, the expediency of uniting the commerce, the political power, and the revenues in the ſame hands, are ſo evident from conſidering the diſtance of the countries, the genius of

the inhabitants, and the nature of the trade, and are ſo fully evinced by the experience of other European nations, that he who wants conviction upon theſe firſt principles, may relinquiſh all farther enquiry. To ſuch men this work cannot be addreſſed. Yet even theſe may be informed, that the exchequer receives annually four fifths of the profits gained by the company; the proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock one fifth; while the property of the latter has been employed in ſuſtaining the power of Great Britain, and wreſting all dominion from her enemies in Aſia: that if the company has occaſionally obtained the protection due to every ſubject from the ſtate, it has likewiſe given an aſſiſtance which no other ſubjects could afford, has laviſhed its own wealth, and riſked its own ſecurity in * national conteſts, in which the company's intereſts were by no means involved.

The ambition of the French firſt drew the Engliſh into the field. The ſtruggles maintained for many years upon the coaſt of Coromandel, prepared a force, in the conduct of which colonel Clive had been eminently diſtinguiſhed †. Upon the capture of Calcutta, in the year 1757, he was, without regard to his rank, unanimouſly choſen for the command of that expedition, which, to reſtore the company's affairs in Bengal, was immediately undertaken. The tranſactions of this period have been already related by ‡ others. Let it ſuffice here to obſerve, that Calcutta was retaken, and Serajah al Dowlah concluded a peace with the Engliſh, which, through the timid irreſolution of the Nabob, and the ability of our commanders, Admiral Watſon and colonel Clive, was happily improved to the deſtruction of the French ſettlement at Chandernagore. Certain intelligence was afterwards received of Serajah al Dowlah's deſign to extirpate the Engliſh, whenever our forces ſhould return to the Coaſt §. Hoſtilities therefore

* The war which enſued when the proffered neutrality upon the coaſt of Coromandel was rejected, the expedition to Manilla, &c.

† See Mr. Orme's Hiſtory. Before this period colonel Clive had received many honourable teſtimonies of his eminent ſervices, particularly in 1754, the directors voted that a ſword ſet with diamonds of the value of five hundred pounds ſhould be preſented to him.

‡ Mr. Scraſton's Reflections on the Government of India, &c.

§ See Introduction, p. 16, 17.

again

again commenced. The nature of the government, the character of the prince, and the univerſal diſtruſt which from theſe cauſes prevailed, afforded abundant occaſions of intrigue; and enabled Mr. Watts and colonel Clive, to whom the whole conduct of this buſineſs was committed, to cheriſh a diſaffection, which prevented any effectual meaſures for defence on the part of the Nabob. Our army advanced within thirty miles of the capital, unaſſured of aſſiſtance, but a want of confidence in the enemy's camp, with the advantageous ſituation of the Engliſh, afforded an eaſy victory to a handful of troops; and Meer Jaffier, in purſuance of a previous treaty, was immediately proclaimed Subahdar of Bengal *.

Thus a train of events led us into a delicate ſituation, replete with the ſeeds of jealouſy. Meer Jaffier, educated in the habits of a Mooriſh court, diſtruſted a moderation to which he had never been accuſtomed, and which, probably, was little conſonant to the dictates of his own mind. Various ſchemes of independence were occaſionally adopted, all of very difficult execution. To balance European powers againſt each other was a dangerous expedient; yet, by inviting the Dutch, he ſeems at one period to have embraced it. In the mean time the Engliſh, contented with their preſent advantages, interfered not in the affairs of government; but the difficulties in which the nabob was involved, ſoon obliged him to call for their aſſiſtance.

Every thing in theſe countries depends on perſonal character. Before this is fully eſtabliſhed, rebellions are frequent, in which the death of the rebel can prove only a leſſon of caution to ſucceeding governors, who regard him as the victim of an unfortunate ambition, rather than the proper object of puniſhment. Upon theſe occaſions negociations commonly enſued, but the Koran was pledged in vain. Colonel Clive therefore, at the deſire of the nabob, guaranteed his engagements with ſeveral powerful ſubjects. A ſtrict obſervance of treaties amidſt all the ſeductions which both parties could employ, eſtabliſhed our credit in the country; and

* Appendix, p. 143. No. 39.

taught

taught men to regard the Engliſh faith as the beſt ſecurity of their lives, their honours, and their fortunes. Subſequent events, in which Meer Jaffier was ſnatched, by the aſſiſtance of colonel Clive, from the verge of deſtruction, fully ſecured his confidence; and, ſenſible of our attachment, he diſmiſſed part of that unwieldy * army, whoſe mutinies were formidable to the prince, while they performed little ſervice in the field. When the Dutch arrived, the nabob refuſed them permiſſion to land. Perſiſting in their enterpriſe, they were afterwards defeated by our troops, aſſiſted by ſome Indian cavalry.

In this ſituation of affairs colonel Clive returned to Europe, Mr. Holwell ſucceeded him in the government, and very early complains of a want of confidence, which his own intrigues † had occaſioned, propoſing a revolution as the beſt means to obtain a perfect reliance upon Engliſh faith. Mr. Vanſittart adopted the views of his predeceſſor, and Meer Jaffier was depoſed within a twelvemonth after colonel Clive left the country. The diſputes on this ſubject I ſhall forbear to revive.

By this revolution ‡ the company obtained an acceſſion of revenue. The number of their troops gradually increaſed. The influence of individuals grew with the national power, producing numberleſs *diſorders* throughout the provinces. A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the proſecution of which infinite oppreſſions were committed. Engliſh agents or Gomaſtahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and puniſhing the na-

* Amounting to eighty thouſand men.

† A packet from this gentleman to the Shaw Zadah, who was then in arms againſt Meer Jaffier, was intercepted by the latter, after Mr. Holwell had entertained the project of a revolution. If we may judge of this from a former letter, in which the Shaw Zadah offered a "carte "blanche if we would withdraw our aſſiſtance from this *doer of evil*," the ſupport of Meer Jaffier's government was not the ſubject of this correſpondence. Vide Mr. Holwell's letter to colonel Caillaud, dated April 7th, 1760. That Mr. Holwell entertained the project of a revolution from his firſt acceſſion to the government, has been evinced by Mr. Scrafton in his "Obſerva-"tions on Mr. Vanſittart's Narrative." The proofs adduced by Mr. Strafton are *extracts* from the correſpondence of Mr. Holwell, as publiſhed by himſelf in his "Addreſs to the Proprietors "of India Stock," publiſhed for Becket. The letter here mentioned is contained in page 28, 29. of Mr. Holwell's Addreſs, which was printed in 1764.

‡ A. D. 1760.

bob's

bob's officers, whenever they preſumed to interfere. This was the immediate cauſe of the enſuing war with Meer Coſſim, but the real ſource of this conteſt for power remains yet to be explained. It was impoſſible that Meer Coſſim ſhould reſt the foundation of his government upon our ſupport. Self-defence taught him to look for independence, and he ſought it in the blood of all who had enjoyed the Engliſh protection. Ramnarain, the Naib of Patna, was among the number of thoſe for whoſe ſafety our faith had been pledged, whoſe deſtruction was therefore reſolved on. After bribes had been tried in vain, with the gentlemen who commanded at Patna, after every art of intrigue had been employed during ſeveral months to no purpoſe, the miſrepreſentations of the nabob, ſupported by the influence of Mr. Vanſittart, at length prevailed in council, and the Engliſh ſupport was withdrawn from this unfortunate man. Meer Coſſim's views now became evident; for Ramnarain, having loſt our protection, was ſoon after put to death. From that hour, no perſon of rank would venture to correſpond with the Engliſh, and we no longer had a friend in the country. Meer Coſſim withdrew to Mongheer, where, by diſciplining his troops, he prepared for a ſtruggle, which he moſt certainly meditated from his firſt acceſſion; while in his correſpondence with the governor, he conſtantly uſed the language of a man whoſe exiſtence depended on the breath of the Engliſh.

On the other hand, a majority of the council viewed with jealous eyes every act of government. They conſidered all reſiſtance to the privilege they claimed, as a ſettled determination to ſubvert the power of the company; and paſſion thus uniting with intereſt, they urged a meaſure of national policy with the little peeviſh petulance of a perſonal quarrel *. In truth it very early became ſuch. Meer Coſſim, in the orders iſſued to his officers, diſtinguiſhed between the trade of his friends and of thoſe who oppoſed him, treating individuals with indecent reproach. Whilſt the leading members of the council, regarding him as a public enemy, had reſolved to annihi-

* The minutes of ſome gentlemen in council, immediately preceding the rupture with Meer Coſſim, abundantly juſtify this obſervation. Mr. Verelſt himſelf, in the years 1762 and 1763, being abſent from Calcutta, can ſpeak only from public papers.

late

late his power. With ſuch diſpoſitions on both ſides war was inevitable, but the moderation of Mr. Amyatt and ſome few others for a time ſuſpended its commencement.

This gentleman, who amidſt the violence of party rage was univerſally beloved, offered himſelf as a deputy on the part of the Engliſh, to negotiate what he thought a peace. Reſpected for his integrity by Meer Coſſim, whoſe elevation he diſapproved, and whoſe independence he oppoſed, it was hoped that his character might give weight to the embaſſy, and convince the Nabob of our ſincere inclination to ſettle amicably the ſubjects in diſpute. Meer Coſſim, able, vigilant, and enterpriſing in the cabinet, was a coward by nature. While the deputies were with him at Mongheer, he might probably fluctuate in his councils, and heſitate to draw the ſword *. But the ſituation to which he had deliberately advanced, rendered a retreat at this time impoſſible. During the courſe of nearly two years, he had induſtriouſly involved every officer of his government in conteſts with the Engliſh, and laboured to make his own quarrel the common cauſe of his ſubjects. Such was the effects of this policy in inflaming the minds of the natives, that to the laſt hour of the war, not a man of any conſequence deſerted his ſtandard.

Had the army marched three months ſooner, Meer Coſſim muſt have implicitly ſubmitted; but an unfortunate delay, when negotiation could no longer be of uſe, occaſioned the loſs of Patna, together with one third of our troops †. The Nabob about this period put the two Seets to death for their ſuppoſed attachment to the Engliſh; and ſuch was his implacable fury, that an hundred and fifty Engliſh priſoners were inhumanly butchered by his expreſs command ‡. After a more vigorous reſiſtance, than

* See various letters of the deputies in Mr. Vanſittart's Narrative, among other papers, from p. 214 to 325. Vol. III.

† Three hundred Europeans and five hundred Sepoys.

‡ Two brothers, rich bankers; at the ſame time he deſtroyed every conſiderable man who had the ſlighteſt communication with the Engliſh.

we

we had ever before experienced, he was at length completely defeated, and Meer Jaffier again poſſeſſed the ſubahdarry of the three provinces.

Meer Jaffier, however, did not obtain that plenitude of power which his predeceſſor enjoyed. Limited by treaty in the number of his troops, he was not permitted to remove his court without adviſing the council; and they at *firſt* intended to make him a mere pageant in captivity, by ſtipulating the conſtant attendance of a body guard from the * Engliſh army. Ample proviſion was made upon this occaſion for the intereſt of private traders, and Meer Coſſim's edict, aboliſhing all impoſts upon commerce, was reſcinded, that our gentlemen might remain the only merchants in Bengal. Theſe eſſential points being thus atchieved, the much talked of regulations to repreſs the violence of Engliſh agents were *in terms declared the ſubject of future deliberation* †.

If the country government had been oppreſſed before, it was now annihilated. Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in July, 1763. In January, 1764, Mr. Gray, reſident at Maulda, wrote to the preſident, "ſince my arrival "here, I have had an opportunity of ſeeing the villainous practices uſed "by the Calcutta gomaſtahs in carrying on their buſineſs. The go- "vernment have certainly too much reaſon to complain of their want of "influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a ſet of raſcals, "who in Calcutta walk in rags, but when they are ſent out on gomaſtah- "ſhips, lord it over the country, impriſoning the ryots and merchants, "and writing and talking in the moſt inſolent domineering manner to the "fouzdars and officers." Nor was the miſchief confined to a particular ſpot; for Mr. Senior, chief at Coſſimbazar, wrote the March following to the governor, "It would amaze you, the number of complaints that "daily come before me of the extravagancies committed by our agents "and gomaſtahs, all over the country." Such were the effects of this trade. Yet the article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, which eſtabliſhed

* This article was in the treaty firſt preſented to Meer Jaffier, but changed at his deſire to a ſtipulation that the Engliſh troops ſhould attend him when wanted. Appendix 159. No. 48. Art. 5. and the treaty concluded, p. 160. No. 49. Art. 7.

† See Appendix, p. 160. No. 49.

the exemption from duties, although condemned by the directors, was afterwards tranſcribed into the treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah, in February 1765†.

When Meer Jaffier was dying, he declared his ſon, Nudjum al Dowlah, his ſucceſſor; but ſuch a declaration could have little effect, until an acknowledgment of him as Subahdar was procured from the Engliſh. No ſooner was the death of the father known in Calcutta, than the acceſſion of the ſon became a ſubject of treaty. The uneaſineſs expreſſed by the former determined the council to remove all poſſibility of future contention. To effectuate this purpoſe, after confirming all former treaties, Nudjum al Dowlah by the fourth article is diſarmed, ſtipulating that he will rely upon the company's forces, and maintain no troops but ſuch as "are immediately "neceſſary for the dignity of his perſon and government, and the buſineſs "of his collections through the provinces." Even theſe troops were not continued under the direction of the Nabob, who, by the ſecond article, "agrees to have a perſon fixed with him, by the advice of the governor and "council, in the ſtation of Naib Subah, who ſhall have immediately un-"der him the chief management of all affairs." He farther engages that Mahomed Reza Cawn, on whom this truſt was conferred, ſhall not be diſplaced "without the approbation of theſe gentlemen." By the third article, under the terms of paying "a proper regard to repreſenta-"tions, when improper people are intruſted," a general power of appointing or diſplacing all officers at pleaſure is veſted in the governor and council. Having thus provided for the public ſervice, the gentlemen of the deputation were not inattentive to *private* intereſt; about two hundred and thirty thouſand pounds being diſtributed, under the * denomination of preſents from the nabob, Mahomed Reza Cawn the miniſter, and a rich banker, Jugget Seet. Mr. Vereliſt, hearing a report in the country, which led him to ſuſpect that our declaration in favour of the Subahdar was delayed by the negotiation of this laſt mentioned buſineſs, wrote to one of the

† Appendix, p. 164. No. 52. Art. 5.

* Mahomed Reza Cawn affirms that theſe ſums were not voluntarily given. This the Engliſh gentlemen deny. Perhaps the reader, who conſiders the encreaſed power of the Engliſh, may regard this as a verbal diſpute.

deputies,

deputies, disclaiming any share for himself, and representing the disgrace which such transaction must necessarily bring upon all concerned *.

Orders had before arrived for executing the new covenants to prevent a receipt of presents; which orders the servants were bound to observe by their first engagements with the company. Governor Spencer and his council thought these orders "not so † peremptory as to exclude them "from expostulating with the court of directors." This expostulation,

* *Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Middleton, one of the deputies on the accession of Nudjum al Dowlah to the Subahdarry of Bengal, dated Islam-abad, the seventh of March*, 1765.

"Some rumours have spread abroad that a present is intended the council on the new ac- "cession. I hope there is no truth in it. I should be sorry there was a thought, at so criti- "cal a time, of any such thing; for it must entail, on every one concerned, the world's se- "verest censure."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Verelst, in answer to the above, dated Moradbaug, the eighteenth of March, 1765.

"I have been told that the nabob intends a present to all the board, but am not quite cer- "tain of it. If such a thing be offered, I cannot, my friend, see the least impropriety in ac- "cepting of it; custom, and the conduct of one of our worthiest men, justifies it. When "Meer Jaffier was first raised to the subahdarry, the board received a present from him, and "were not censured; and, it is well known, that the old gentleman has since considered "some of his friends *; and, it must be allowed, that the present nabob receives his go- "vernment from our hands, as his father did. If any thing of this kind was to be offered in "consideration of services to be done, or any kind of bargain made before hand, it would be "highly improper to take it, but when it is given for what we think right, I do not, for my "own part, see the least harm in it."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Middleton, in reply, dated Islam-abad, the twenty-eighth of April, 1765.

"The nabob has an undoubted right to reward such persons as he may think have been ser- "viceable to him, without reproach to him or them, provided it is not a contract first made for "such services, and the persons no ways actuated in their proceedings by the expectations of it. "The long delay made of our declaration in the nabob's behalf, and a rumor that a present "was expected to be made to the board, gave, in my opinion, too much reason to the world "to think that it was a preliminary article. If so, I must entirely disapprove it. As a mem- "ber of the board, and, as such, one intended to be considered, I shall only say, I must de- "cline such a consideration; as I am not sensible of any services I have rendered the present "nabob, to merit a pecuniary reward. The old nabob (Meer Jaffier) I know has been some- "times generous to his friends, nor do I think them wrong in accepting his favours; for, as "many examples as I have heard, they were really deserving of them. I might, if I had "chose, been considered in this number; but I had many reasons that made me decline it."

† See a letter from Messrs. Leycester and Gray to the court of directors, dated the twenty-ninth of September, 1765. Authentic papers concerning India affairs, p. 132.

* Alluding to the legacy of five lack of rupees left by Meer Jaffier to lord Clive, which was settled by his lordship as a fund for the support of disabled officers and soldiers in the company's service, and of the widows of officers and soldiers.

however, was totally forgotten, no notice being taken of the covenants, either in the council books or general letter. The execution of them was "deferred * till lord Clive's arrival, to come under conſideration with "the other regulations directed in the letter of the firſt of June, "1764, when they hoped to be *better informed* of the final reſolves of "the directors." Yet theſe gentlemen were abundantly alert in concluding treaties, productive of ſuch fruits; although lord Clive was every day expected, and they were † already informed that he had been choſen by the whole body of proprietors to undertake the charge of their affairs, full powers being given to him jointly with a ſelect committee.

We have continued the relation of political tranſactions with the ſucceſſive Subahdars of Bengal, that the reader may fully comprehend the progreſſive increaſe of the Engliſh power to the final eſtabliſhment of *that government* ‡, which has ſince prevailed under the influence of our governor and council. It will now be neceſſary to look back to the meaſures purſued againſt foreign enemies, as theſe were productive of that ſituation, to which the ſubſequent treaties refer. Major Adams had driven Meer Coſſim out of the provinces, who retired into the neighbouring dominions of Oude, when death deprived the company of this gallant and experienced officer. Upon the alarm of theſe commotions, Sujah al Dowlah, the Subahdar of Oude, advanced with an army to the borders, where he might probably have been contented with partaking the treaſures of Meer Coſſim, had not a mutiny among our troops given birth to new hopes. Elated with the proſpect of an eaſy conqueſt, and impreſſed perhaps with an apprehenſion of ambitious deſigns on our part, he reſolved upon hoſtilities, and took the field. The mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh army

* The ſame letter, p. 133.

† This was by the letter of the firſt of June, 1764, in which the directors expreſsly ſay, that the appointment of a ſelect committee ſhould not prevent the council taking proper meaſures for the general execution of the covenants.

‡ It is very remarkable that this arrangement, which has been called in deriſion the double government, was eſtabliſhed by the very men who have ſince reproached lord Clive and the ſelect committee with this meaſure. In truth it grew out of the ſituation of affairs; but ſome gentlemen ſeem not to have adverted thereto, until they felt it as a reſtraint upon their own purſuits.

rendered

rendered it imprudent at this time to hazard a general action, but Sujah al Dowlah was nevertheleſs repulſed in all his attempts. The troops, by a well timed ſeverity, begun by general Carnac, and happily purſued by his ſucceſſor, being afterwards reduced to obedience, major Hector Munro, in the next campaign, obtained the important victory of Buxar.

This advantage was farther purſued, until the King *, finding the affairs of his allies declining, deſerted their cauſe, and joined the only power capable of ſupporting his pretenſions to the throne of Dehly. A ſcheme was now adopted of obtaining for the company a grant of the zemindarry of Bulwant Sing. The other dominions of Oude were to be conquered for the king, and his poſſeſſion to be ſupported by the Engliſh arms §. A plan more abſurd can ſcarcely be imagined; but the ſubſequent ſurrender of Sujah al Dowlah to general Carnac †, enabled the ſelect committee, on whom the conduct of affairs devolved, to effect a very different arrangement.

The revenues of a country at the diſtance of ſeven hundred ‡ miles from Calcutta, could afford little advantage to a trading company; while ſuch a ſituation withdrew their forces from the protection of that commerce, which could alone render poſſeſſions in India beneficial to Great Britain. Political connections without the provinces miſled the attention of our government from national objects, at the ſame time that it opened a field of private ambition, which might probably have marched an Engliſh army to Dehly. To relinquiſh ſuch proſpects was no ſacrifice of intereſt. Yet the reſtoration of territories to a vanquiſhed enemy removed the apprehenſions entertained of our ambition, and convinced the princes of India that we could have no deſign to enlarge our poſſeſſions beyond the pro-

* So the Mogul has been uſually denominated.

§ Appendix, No. 51. A. B. C.

† Who now a ſecond time commanded the army.

‡ Theſe revenues muſt have been exhauſted by perpetual military operations, in which ſuch a ſituation would have involved the company, or, what is worſe, proved a fund of peculation to corrupt their ſervants. The diſtance would have rendered the military expences enormous, the detection of frauds impoſſible.

vinces

vinces of Bengal. This point being reſolved, the means of accompliſhing ſo deſireable an object, without betraying the honour of the company, employed the attention of the ſelect committee. Their inſtructions * to lord Clive and general Carnac will fully explain their views. Had the territories of Oude not been reſtored to Sujah al Dowlah, his great abilities and high character throughout the empire would have made him, when driven to deſpair, a troubleſome, if not a dangerous, enemy. None other could have maintained the poſſeſſion without our aſſiſtance, much leſs, like him, have formed a ſecure barrier againſt the northern nations. The greater part of his dominions were therefore reſtored; and as our former engagements rendered a deſertion of the King inconſiſtent with the national honour, he was eſtabliſhed in the country of Korah, with part of the province of Illah-abad. The payment of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees annually from Bengal was alſo ſtipulated by treaty. Would the King have been contented to accept a territory nearer to us, this drain of ſpecie might have leſs affected Bengal; but his mind was ſo intent upon an ‡ expedition to Dehly, which the poſſeſſion of Illah-abad ſeemed to favour, that an intimation of other terms was received with diſguſt. Such was the plan adopted by the ſelect committee, in purſuance of which a peace was at length concluded †. The only article of a temporary nature regards fifty lacks of § rupees, to be paid by Sujah al Dowlah, to the company, as an indemnification of the expences incurred by the war.

In Bengal, Nudjum al Dowlah, after paying the ſums ſtipulated by the treaty in February, 1765, nominally poſſeſſed a revenue of two millions. His authority in the country was inſufficient even for the collection of the revenues, without our aſſiſtance. The actual adminiſtration of govern-

* The ſubſtance of theſe inſtructions are given in a letter to the directors, Appendix, p. 6.

‡ After labouring in vain to engage the Engliſh, he has at length undertaken this enterprize with an army of Maharattas.

† In the ſummer of 1765. See Appendix, 176. No. 53. to No. 60.

§ This ſum was greatly inadequate to our expences, but it was impoſſible to require more without diſtreſſing the country.

ment

ment had therefore been given to a miniſter named by the governor and council, and the Nabob became dependent for his daily ſubſiſtence on the bounty of his maſters. In this ſituation he relinquiſhed an unaſcertained demand upon a treaſury under the management of others, for a liquidated ſum, and fifty-three lacks, eighty-ſix thouſand one hundred and thirty-one ‡ Sicca rupees were ſettled, as fully ſufficient for all the purpoſes of perſonal dignity, and the parade of grandeur. This agreement was confirmed by the King, who, ſubject to the ſeveral payments to Nudjum al Dowlah and himſelf, granted the dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company.

If we review the hiſtory of our tranſactions in Bengal, it cannot eſcape the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, that there was but one point, in the progreſſive aggrandizement of the company, at which it was poſſible to have ſtopped, before the force, revenues, and government of the country were united in the hands of the Engliſh. When Calcutta was taken, ſelf-defence involved us in a war with the Subahdar. Our firſt ſucceſſes proving the ſuperiority of European diſcipline, made us the object of his fears; and nothing but an incapacity of effecting his purpoſe could deter any ſucceſſive Subahdar from attempting our deſtruction. This incapacity was happily effected by engagements taken at the deſire of Meer Jaffier, with Ramnarain, the Naib of Patna, and ſome others. Had theſe engagements been religiouſly obſerved, the Engliſh would have ſtood, like the ſeveral nations in Europe, ſecure, not from their own ſtrength alone, but protected by the irreconcileable intereſts of all around them. No ſooner was this ſyſtem overthrown by ſacrificing our allies, and ſurrendering the unreſtrained dominion of the provinces into the hands of Meer Coſſim, than a decided ſuperiority became the only means of ſafety. The conduct of individuals might accelerate or retard, but never could have prevented the enſuing conteſt for power. Impelled by neceſſity, we proceeded to dominion, before the council at Calcutta ſeemed to have underſtood the ſituation to which they had advanced. In what other manner can we account

‡ This we may ſafely aver was a larger ſum than any Subahdar, in the full poſſeſſion of his revenues had ever been able to appropriate for his own expence.

for

for the remiſſneſs of thoſe who, upon the death of Meer Jaffier, neglected to eſtabliſh the foundations of that fabrick which our victories had reared; who gave the revenues of a great country into the hands of a boy, without the means of employing them; the revenues of a country protected by our arms, the government of which, by their own treaty, was transferred to themſelves *. Such a ſituation might gratify individual avarice, but could yield no real benefit to the India company, or to the Britiſh nation.

Lord Clive and the ſelect committee judged it neceſſary to obtain a grant of theſe revenues to the company, and they were accordingly ſurrendered by treaty. "By this acquiſition of the Dewanny," ſay the ſelect committee in their letter to the court of directors, "your poſſeſſions and "influence are rendered permanent and ſecure, ſince no future Nabob "will either have power or riches ſufficient to attempt your overthrow, "by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions muſt hence-"forward be at an end, as there will be no fund for ſecret ſervices, for "donations, or for reſtitutions. The Nabob cannot anſwer the expecta-"tions of the venal and mercenary, nor will the company comply with "demands injurious to themſelves out of their own revenues †."

The impolitic arrangement of affairs was among the leaſt evils of the company's ſituation, antecedent to lord Clive's arrival. The diſſolution of government in Calcutta kept pace with that of the country. A general contempt of ſuperiors, a habit of equality among all orders of men had obliterated every idea of ſubjection. To reclaim men from diſſipation, to revive a general ſpirit of induſtry, to lead the minds of all from gaudy dreams of ſudden-acquired wealth to a patient expectation of growing fortunes, were no leſs difficult in execution than neceſſary to the exiſtence of the company. Large ſums of money, obtained by various means, had enabled many gentlemen to return to Europe. This cauſe, ſuperadded to the maſſacre of Patna, occaſioned a very quick ſucceſſion in the ſervice, which encouraged

* Appendix, No. 52.

† Appendix, p. 8.

a fro-

a froward ſpirit of independency, and produced a total contempt of public orders, whenever obedience was found incompatible with private intereſt. To check ſuch impatient hopes, where youths aſpired to the government of countries at an age ſcarcely adequate to the management of private affairs, four gentlemen being called from Madraſs, were admitted into council. The univerſal diſcontent among the civil ſervants, which had ariſen from the late meaſures, reſtraining the power of individuals, was hereby greatly encreaſed; and united with the mutinous ſpirit of the military officers, broke forth the following year into a flame, which threatened deſtruction to the Engliſh empire in Bengal.

This event, though among the tranſactions of a later period, may not improperly be here explained. The military in Bengal had for ſeveral years enjoyed an indulgence beyond thoſe in the other ſettlements of the company, which firſt aroſe from the bounty of the Subahdar, when they were employed in his ſervice. By the advice of an officer, who had long commanded the company's troops upon the coaſt of Coromandel, with great reputation to himſelf, and honour to the nation, repreſenting this extraordinary allowance as deſtructive of diſcipline, the directors in their public letters had frequently ordered the double batta* to be withdrawn. Such directions in a ſettlement, where all idea of ſubordination was loſt, and where the conduct of the ſuperior ſervants, reſpecting their own intereſts, could ill be reconciled with a rigid exaction of obedience to the company's commands in others, produced little effect. One feeble effort was made, but a remonſtrance from the military induced a ready ſubmiſſion on the part of the governor and council. The ſelect committee very juſtly conceiving, that a regard to private intereſt would not juſtify a diſobedience to the † poſitive injunction of their ſuperiors, reſolved to carry the meaſure into immediate execution. The reduction of batta, if right in itſelf,

* A repetition of this command was among the particular inſtructions to lord Clive in 1764.

† Under the eſtabliſhment of this double batta, a captain's commiſſion produced little ſhort of one thouſand pounds per annum; when reduced, it was worth from ſix hundred and fifty to ſeven hundred pounds, as appeared upon the action of captain Parker againſt lord Clive.

was peculiarly proper at this time, an ample fund being juſt provided by the eſtabliſhment of lord Clive, for the ſupport of invalids, and the widows of officers who died in the ſervice, at the ſame time that the admittance of field-officers to a ſhare in the ſalt ſociety opened a reaſonable proſpect of early fortunes to thoſe whoſe rank intitled them to ſuch an expectation. No ſooner were the orders iſſued for effecting this reduction, than frequent meetings were held among the officers, a regular correſpondence eſtabliſhed between the three brigades, into which the whole army had been divided; and a combination formed to compel a ſubmiſſion to their demands by a general reſignation of all their commiſſions. They bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oath to ſecrecy, engaging under the ſame ſanction to preſerve by force the life of any officer, whom the rigour of a court-martial might condemn to death. Each man entered into a bond to reſign his commiſſion under the penalty of five hundred pounds; and that every inducement to a recantation of theſe engagements might be effectually removed, a ſum, ſaid to be eighteen thouſand pounds, was ſubſcribed for the unfortunates who ſhould not be reſtored, each officer contributing according to his reſpective rank. Deſirous of uniting their cauſe with that of all who oppoſed the preſent government, they correſponded with many on the civil eſtabliſhment in Calcutta, and received large promiſes of ſupport likewiſe from this quarter. Such inviolable ſecrecy did the officers obſerve, that a letter from ſir Robert Fletcher to lord Clive, dated a few days before the reſignation, brought the firſt intelligence of a conſpiracy, which had for its object the diſſolution of our army, and conſequent annihilation of the Engliſh power in Bengal. A diſcovery of this plot on the eve of its execution, affording no time for delay, lord Clive and two other members of the ſelect committee, then at Muxadavad, haſtily aſſembled. Judging it impoſſible to concede the point in diſpute, without ſurrendering the government into the hands of mutineers, they inſtantly determined to perſevere in ſuch vigorous meaſures as the ſituation of affairs demanded.

At Mongheer, where the plan had been formed, the European ſoldiers actually took to their arms; but by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſuperior officers, who, upon the firſt intelligence, haſtened to join the brigade, and by a prudent

prudent diſpoſition of two companies of black troops, whoſe fidelity had been previouſly ſecured, the mutiny was happily ſuppreſſed. By a diſtribution of honorary rewards to the non-commiſſioned officers, by an artful commendation of the black commandants, and a ſmall advance of pay for two months, the troops were brought to a proper ſenſe of their duty; and the confederate officers, who encamped at a little diſtance to await the event, were compelled to depart for Calcutta. The attachment of this brigade being confirmed, and a ſmall ſupply of officers obtained among ſuch as would accept commiſſions, lord Clive, with a few others, haſtened to give their aſſiſtance in the two more diſtant diviſions of the army.

On the part of the mutineers deſpondence and ſubmiſſion now ſucceeded to rage. All were ready to ſolicit what a little time before they had contemptuouſly rejected; and many of the leaſt guilty, after a proper interval, were re-admitted into the company's ſervice. The moſt active ringleaders in ſedition were put under arreſt, in order to take their trials as ſoon as a reſtoration of order and diſcipline would permit the commander in chief to aſſemble a proper number of officers, untainted with the *general guilt.

An erroneous interpretation of the act of parliament for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion in India, ſuggeſted a doubt reſpecting the juriſdiction of a court-martial, which probably preſerved many delinquents from a ſentence of death. The act ſubjects thoſe to martial law, who have *contracted* to ſerve the company, and it was conceived that the bare acceptance of a commiſſion formed no *contract*, but that this could only be done by *an expreſs engagement to ſerve* for a limited time, or *an actual receipt of pay*. Some puniſhments of an ignominious nature were inflicted;

* Mr. Bolts aſſerts that Mr. Parker failed in his action principally, becauſe it did not appear that lord Clive knew of his confinement. The contrary is notoriouſly true, and was fully proved upon the trial by written evidence, and by the teſtimony of lord Clive's ſecretary. But the counſel deſpairing of ſucceſs upon the avowed merits, laboured to affect lord Clive with a wilful unneceſſary delay of the trial, and prolongation of captain Parker's confinement. This delay was explained in the manner above mentioned. If Mr. Bolts will miſrepreſent a trial in England, at which many were preſent, what account may we expect of affairs in a remote country like India?

but the court, diſtruſting their own authority, would not venture to touch the lives of the offending parties. The ſentences paſſed upon individuals were ſeverally confirmed. Yet the governor and council thought it unſafe to permit the reſidence of military men in India, who now became deſperate by the failure of their enterprize. Such therefore as had not been reſtored to the ſervice, were directed to depart for Europe. Had theſe gentlemen been willing to enter into a verbal engagement, no violence would have been uſed; but obſtinately refuſing to comply, a military guard ſurrounded their habitations until they choſe to ſurrender; when they were conducted on board the company's ſhips under ſailing orders for England.

The reader may perhaps think that an evaſive defence was a real aggravation of guilt. Theſe gentlemen however choſe again to agitate the queſtion of juriſdiction; and the ſupport of a party ſpirit gave every advantage to the cauſe, which induſtry, united with eloquence, could afford. Two caſes were ſelected, which from peculiar circumſtances of hardſhips were deemed the moſt proper ſubjects of declamation before a jury. Two actions were commenced againſt lord Clive in the court of king's bench. In both the plaintiffs failed. It was here admitted, that the acceptance of a commiſſion formed an indefinite contract with the company: but the counſel argued that this might be determined at the will of either party, and being determined by the reſignation of the officers, no juriſdiction remained to the court martial. They forgot that even civil relations could not be diſſolved by one party without a reaſonable notice, proportioned to the nature of that ſervice in which he was engaged. That the Britiſh legiſlature had adopted a diſtinction formed by the common ſenſe of mankind, and had drawn yet cloſer the ties of military ſubjection. They overlooked that neceſſity, which induced the free citizen of Greece and

* Theſe are the tranſactions which the narratives, publiſhed in Mr. Bolts his Appendix, repreſent. Theſe narratives, when ſtripped of their declamation and illiberal invective, only prove that ſome of the officers were ſo obſtinate as to live ſeveral days amidſt their own filth rather than ſurrender; that ten of a grand jury, as abſurd as themſelves, were diſpoſed to indict the preſident and council; and that after various expedients had been tried, they were obliged to purſue their voyage to England.

Rome

Rome to forego his independence, and ſubmit his life to the arbitrary will of a man, to whom at home he was equal, whom perhaps he himſelf had commanded in a former campaign. In ſhort, they contended that inferior officers might diſband an army, whenever they individually thought fit to retire.

The very idea of military ſubordination is by a rigid diſcipline to combine the force of numbers, and create an habitual implicit ſubmiſſion of the ſtrength of many to the inſtantaneous direction of one mind. This principle, by which the real ſeverity and apparent cruelty of martial law can alone be juſtified, might perhaps have authoriſed an opinion, that no officer can ever reſign without the expreſs permiſſion of his commander. The four judges of the court of king's bench, unwilling to decide more than the particular cauſe required, eſtabliſhed by their unanimous judgment this poſition: "That a military officer in the ſervice of the Eaſt India com-"pany has not a right to reſign his commiſſion at all times, and under all "circumſtances whatſoever, whenever he pleaſes." The application of this maxim to the particular caſe, proved, that, if it was not lawful to reſign *under all circumſtances*, it could not be permitted under a combination with others to diſtreſs his employers, which Mr. Juſtice Yeates declared to be "highly criminal, and that a legal obligation could not be diſſolved by "an illegal act."

The reader will, in the relation here given, diſcover the riſe, motives, and temper of that party, who, forgetting their former opinion both of men and things, have laboured to miſrepreſent the conduct of thoſe, whoſe greateſt crime appears to have been a continual unremitting oppoſition to the intereſted deſigns of others. "Two paths," ſays lord Clive in his letter to the directors, "were evidently open to me, the one ſmooth and "ſtrewed with abundance of rich advantages, that might eaſily be "picked up, the other untrodden, and every ſtep oppoſed with obſtacles." A paſſive conduct, he ſays, might have been "attended with the uſual "douceur, of ſharing largely with the reſt of the gentlemen in all do-"nations, perquiſites, &c. ariſing from the abſolute government and "diſpoſal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom." He adds,

adds, "the ſettlement in general would thus have been my friends, and "only the natives of the country my enemies." His lordſhip and the ſelect committee choſe the honourable part, to encounter the odium of a whole ſettlement in diſcharge of what they deemed their public duty. And we may ſafely pronounce, that it muſt have been at leaſt their intention, expoſed as their conduct was to the jealous eyes of diſappointed men, to tread warily in the path which they had choſen.

Let us now return to take a view of the meaſures purſued in ſupporting that weight of power and influence, which the company had at length obtained. The reader will recollect, that by the treaty concluded before lord Clive's arrival, the government of the Nabob was completely ſubjected to the Engliſh council at Calcutta. To uphold our authority was become the only means of ſafety. Yet a farther advance to the actual immediate exerciſe of dominion was little leſs impracticable. The number of civil ſervants was ſcarcely adequate to the neceſſary accumulation of the company's buſineſs, much leſs could they have filled the various departments of the ſtate. Unacquainted with the genius or manners of the inhabitants, their laws, or the power of their magiſtrates, the Engliſh were little qualified for the taſk of government. How could we make the ſordid intereſts of the trader conſiſtent with that unbiaſſed integrity, that candid humane exerciſe of power, which muſt reconcile the natives to a new dominion? In whom reſided the authority which could effectually controul them? or give a legal exiſtence to ſo abſurd a ſyſtem? The delegates of a company, poſſeſſing no right of legiſlation, might indeed have overturned the then ſubſiſting government, but never could have ſubſtituted any other in its room. This ſubject will receive a farther diſcuſſion when we proceed to conſider the impoſſibility of introducing *Engliſh laws*, and the nature of thoſe regulations, which parliament *may*, and parliament alone *can* eſtabliſh in Bengal. The ſelect committee found the whole adminiſtration veſted by treaty in one man, removeable indeed upon the repreſentation, or rather command of the council. No perſonal objection could be made to Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by his ability and induſtry well deſerved his ſtation. Yet by an uncontrouled exerciſe of power he became little leſs than a Subahdar: and had fear, jealouſy, or ambition

tempted

tempted him to tranſgreſs the bounds preſcribed, the ſupport, controul, or removal of ſuch a miniſter might have been a conſtant ſource of intrigue, if not of corruption. The ſelect committee therefore aſſociated * Roy Dulub, and Jugget † Seet with Mahomed Reza Cawn. A reſident at the court of the Subahdar was alſo appointed, one of the higher ſervants of the company, whoſe duty conſiſted in ſuperintending the conduct of the miniſters, and reporting their tranſactions to the governor and council.

* This man was one of thoſe, to whom the Engliſh faith had been pledged for the preſervation of his life and honour. During the firſt government of Meer Jaffier, he was in a conſiderable command, but being diſpoſſeſſed by the jealouſy of his maſter, he claimed the Engliſh protection, under which he afterwards reſided at Calcutta. He was the ſingle man connected with the Engliſh, who did not periſh during Meer Coſſim's ſhort government.

† This Jugget Seet was the ſon of one of the Seets, two brothers who were deſtroyed by Coſſim for their ſuppoſed attachment to the Engliſh.

CHAP. II.

Diſorders in the Collection of the Revenues of BENGAL before they belonged to the ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, and the Cauſes which impeded a Reformation.

THE ſubject of revenues in Bengal is from various cauſes involved in a confuſion, which affords little hopes of giving the reader a clear comprehenſive knowledge, or indeed of conveying much real information. Different writers agree in nothing, but unmeaning declamation in praiſe of governments, which they have never known, and general invectives againſt men, with whoſe motives and ſituation they were as little acquainted. It can however with certainty be affirmed, that the diſorder and diſtreſs, under which the country yet labours, have their origin in the frequent revolutions, which followed the diſſolution of the Mogul empire, the chaos in which all rights of magiſtrates and people were conſequently loſt, and in the unnatural preſſure of inſatiable demands from Europe; not in the miſconduct of men entruſted with the company's affairs.

The formal arrangement and apparent order of the Mogul empire, beautiful in its ſimplicity upon paper, is apt to charm the imagination, and miſlead the judgment of men, unaccuſtomed to contemplate their own ſpecies, or to trace the operations of the human mind under ſyſtems more favourable to its growing improvement. Accordingly this golden age has been painted in ſuch glowing colours, as would almoſt tempt one to place the ſuggeſtions of fancy amidſt the materials of hiſtory. The authors however ſometimes forget their high tone of ſpeculation, and condeſcend to relate facts, which refute their own deductions. How happens it, amidſt the exceſſive mildneſs of manners, which under Indian governments

ments * render laws unneceſſary, that the merchant owed his ſafety to a military force? How exact muſt be the adminiſtration of juſtice where treaſon abounds, yet is puniſhed only † in the field? Are men beſt taught to reſpect the rights of a citizen amidſt the ardours of victory? Or do the emotions of reſentment againſt ſucceſsleſs rebellion qualify the prince to puniſh with moderation the demerits of an offending ſubject? In truth the condition of a people under deſpotic power muſt perpetually vary with the virtues or vices, the talents or debility of thoſe, who ſucceſſively wield the ſceptre. If we look for governments which ſubſiſt unaltered by the perſonal character of the prince, ſuch are only to be found, where each individual poſſeſſes an independent ſtation in ſociety, where the contention of different orders has preſcribed the terms of national union, and where vigorous minds, the genuine growth of freedom, uphold the authority of laws. Without ſuch advantages there were yet ſome cauſes derived from the climate and extent of empire, which rendered deſpotiſm more tolerable in India, eſpecially under the Moguls, than it ever before appeared in the hiſtory of mankind. The ſubmiſſive temper of a timid race arreſts the ſword of conqueſt; and the people eſcape a deſolation, which not unuſually follows a more determined reſiſtance. Secure, without ſeverity, in the indolent temper of his ſubjects, the victor fears not a revolt from any national ſpirit, while he views with jealouſy the ambition of his ſervants. Such a ſituation demands the policy deſcribed by Mr. Dow, and renders it unneceſſary for the deſpot to delegate his power entire to the governors of every province.

While the Mogul empire ſubſiſted in its greateſt ſplendor, ſupported by the extraordinary talents of ſucceſſive princes, a diſtribution of authority might in ſome ſort prevent its abuſe: but even here we may diſcover the ſeeds of our preſent diſeaſe.

The lands were the property of the crown, and were annually let to zemindars, who again parcelled them out to inferior dependents. The

* Mr. Holwell's Hiſtorical Events.

† Mr. Dow's Enquiry, p. 58. He is there ſpeaking of the Mogul government.

ryotts, or immediate cultivators, might in ſome degree eſcape oppreſſion, where the demands of government bore a ſmall proportion to the extent of territory, and where each individual in progreſſive order regarded his ſhare of the produce as a kind of proprium. This ſituation of things did not however long continue. The Subahdars, or provincial governors, taking advantage of the indolence or debility of ſucceeding emperors, and uniting every office in their own perſons, were afterwards enabled to compromiſe with the court of Dehly for an annual tribute; which a farther decay of power in their former rulers ſoon permitted them to withhold. In Bengal, during this progreſs to independence, burthens multiplied on the people; and while a mode of taxation, ſo replete with the means of oppreſſion, was preſerved, the receipts of the Subahdar bore a ſmall proportion to the payments of the induſtrious ryott. The violence of Meer Coſſim in accumulating treaſure, and the relaxation of government in the * hands of Meer Jaffier, equally contributed to confound all order, and by removing every idea of right, ſanctified in ſome ſort the depredations of hungry collectors. The feeble reſtraint of fear produced little effect; while the encreaſing neceſſities of a maſter afforded at leaſt a pretence for an uncontrouled exerciſe of power throughout every department in the ſtate. Inferior officers employed in the collections were permitted to eſtabliſh a thouſand modes of taxation. Fines were levied at pleaſure, without regard to juſtice; and while each felt in his turn the iron rod of oppreſſion, he redoubled theſe extortions on all beneath him. The war in which Meer Jaffier was engaged againſt foreign enemies, the ſtruggles of Meer Coſſim, which ended with his deſtruction, and the uſurpations of private traders completed the ſcene of univerſal confuſion.

Such was the condition of Bengal when the politicians, who preceded the ſelect committee, laying proſtrate the government of a rich province, were employed in obtaining new territories at a diſtance of ſeven hundred miles from Calcutta; and with wonderful ſelf-applauſe were preparing the occaſion of an unprofitable march to Dehly. The reader is already in part

* Meer Jaffier, during the reign of Aliverdi Cawn, was much beloved by his maſter as a brave commander; but he wanted induſtry in the adminiſtration of civil government.

acquainted

acquainted with the meaſures purſued by the ſelect committee. We muſt now reſume the ſubject, where they entered on this inextricable labyrinth of confuſion, ariſing from the diſtracted ſtate of the country, without lights or information from others; while their difficulties were augmented by an intereſted oppoſition, and every regulation of the miniſters impeded by a complication of concerns between European gomaſtahs and the zemindars or officers of government *.

Independent of the political conſiderations, which weighed in preſerving the Mooriſh government, the experience of five years afforded little expectation of an improved adminiſtration of revenues under the more immediate inſpection of European gentlemen. Some of the diſtricts ceded by Meer Coſſim had yet derived no benefit from a change of maſters. On the contrary, if credit be due to the repreſentations of thoſe employed by Mr. Vereliſt, when a better ſyſtem was adopted, increaſing miſchiefs had yielded a plentiful harveſt to avaricious men, but had rarely hitherto proved an exerciſe of humanity in theſe new guardians of the people. An apprehenſion of exciting the jealouſy of European nations might be another inducement to avoid as much as poſſible all appearance of dominion. The committee therefore reſolved to appoint a reſident at the Durbar, who, without interfering in the actual adminiſtration himſelf, might yet controul the miniſters. When this gentleman arrived at Muxadavad, he found two of the three miniſters buſied in collections without public authority or account, under pretence of outſtanding ballances due to themſelves. The firſt regulations eſtabliſhed were, that no collections ſhould be permitted but ſuch as were contained in what is called the annual ſtatement; and that all monies received ſhould be lodged in a public treaſury under three locks. Theſe proviſions, however neceſſary, offended Roy Dulub and Juggut Seet, who declared their intention to retire. The latter particularly repreſented the eſtabliſhment of a public treaſury as an affront to his houſe, which had always been entruſted with the receipts and diſburſements of government. Mr. Bolts nevertheleſs affirms him to have been appointed the company's ſhroff †; but for this aſſertion, like the

* The correſpondence abounds with complaints of this nature. Vide in particular the letter of Mahomed Reza Cawn, App. p. 181. No. 74. and alſo No. 79. † Conſiderations, p. 158.

greater part of his book, we are indebted to the invention of the author.

The preſſing neceſſities of the company in Bengal, and the great demands from our other ſettlements, rendered it imprudent to remit any part of the revenues. To increaſe the burthens of the ryott, or cultivator, was at the ſame time impoſſible, without ruin to the country. The only fund of improvement was a diminution of the expence in collecting. For this purpoſe ſupernumerary officers were diſmiſſed. An exact regiſter was taken of thoſe employed in each diſtrict: and by leſſening the profits of intermediate agents the people were in ſome degree relieved from oppreſſion, while the receipts of the treaſury increaſed.

The uncertain impoſts upon commerce had proved a plentiful ſource of abuſe, chokeys, or cuſtom-houſes, becoming daily more numerous in every part of the provinces. Theſe were now reduced to a ſtated number, and proper officers appointed to enforce a regular and equal payment of duties.

The ſituation of the Engliſh reſident at the Durbar, ſurrounded by people whoſe intereſt led them to deceive, was ſuch as in ſuperintending the collection of the revenues required extreme caution. Every interpoſition might produce the moſt important conſequences; and the novelty of the ſcene afforded a large field for error. Much information, however, obtained by tracing many frauds to the ſource, aided by experience acquired in the management of the company's lands, where European gentlemen had the immediate adminiſtration of the revenues, might probably have given a better arrangement in the courſe of a few years: but orders now arrived from England, which precluded a more minute inveſtigation.

It will be impoſſible to do juſtice either to the gentlemen in Bengal, or to the court of directors, without tracing theſe orders to their real ſource, in the tranſactions of the company in England: but not to diſtract the reader's attention with too great a variety of matter, I ſhall firſt explain how the revenues chiefly ariſe, and the meaſures purſued by the ſelect committee.

The

The revenues are chiefly derived from the lands, which are known by various denominations. Thoſe called ryotty are poſſeſſed by tenants reſident on the ſpot, who by their grants ought to be continued as long as they paid their rents. But as larger rents have been frequently exacted, an encreaſe beyond what a tenant can afford, together with other oppreſſive demands from his ſuperior landlord, or the officers of government, not unfrequently compels him to fly from the eſtate, on which perhaps his family have ſubſiſted for many generations.

The comar lands have no reſident tenants, but are cultivated by contract, which there are many perſons in all parts of the country ready to undertake, if the zemindar, who rents the diſtrict, will give proper encouragement. The zemindar uſually advances a ſum of money to the cultivator, who would otherwiſe be unable to improve and till the land. The crops when gathered in are divided according to the terms of the contract between the two; but as the indigent cultivator has probably ſubſiſted by means of an advance made by the zemindar, the latter, after ſettling all accounts, will ſometimes obtain the lion's ſhare.

When the ryott or farmer forſakes his habitation, and encouragement is wanted to cultivate the comar lands, both fall occaſionally under the management of the officers of the government, and are then called coſs lands. Theſe laſt generally decline much in value in the hands of men, whoſe tyranny has driven away the former tenants. By a wretched policy oppreſſion becomes the intereſt of thoſe, who ſhould protect the people; for as it is impoſſible that the higher officers of government can ever know what part is really cultivated, the coſs is a never ceaſing occaſion of fraud in the accounts of inferior collectors.*

The remainder of the lands, excepting ſuch as are held by the immediate officers of government, are divided into talooks, jaghires, and

* Theſe particulars are more largely explained in the inſtructions drawn up by the preſident for the ſupraviſors. Vide App. p. 227.

charitable

charitable or religious donations. The talooks have been in general partial grants to individuals; and many privileges are indulged to the owners, particularly in their taxation. Jaghires * are alſo grants from the prince, of lands during the life of the grantee, ſometimes to his deſcendants. A ſmall tribute is uſually reſerved, the jaghiredars being free from every other impoſition. The two laſt diviſions, namely charitable and religious donations, have been given for various purpoſes by ſucceſſive princes, ſome through zeal, but moſt through vanity, and form no inconſiderable part of many diſtricts. Theſe, by the terms of the grant, are uſually exempt from all burthens.

Other † lands are poſſeſſed by the zemindars or officers, for the immediate ſupport of themſelves and families. This mode of payment affords an ample field for the exerciſe of fraud and oppreſſion. Perpetual encroachments are made, and lands, ſtruck out of the government books as waſte, are very commonly thus appropriated. The poor ryott alſo is here forced to labour for his lordly maſter without reward, while perhaps his own farm at the ſame time remains uncultivated.

In the provinces of Burdwan and Midnapore, of which both the property and juriſdiction were ceded to the company by Meer Coſſim in the year 1760, thoſe evils, which neceſſarily flowed from the bad policy of the Mooriſh government, had in no ſort decreaſed. On the contrary, a plan was adopted in 1762, productive of certain ruin to the province. The lands were let by public auction for the ſhort term of three years. Men without fortune or character became bidders at the ſale; and while ſome of the former farmers, unwilling to relinquiſh their habitations, exceeded perhaps the real value in their offers, thoſe who had nothing to loſe advanced yet farther, wiſhing at all events to obtain an immediate poſſeſſion. Thus numberleſs harpies

* Jaghires are frequently grants of annual ſtipends, iſſuing from the revenues of a particular diſtrict.

† Theſe grants much reſemble the talooks, and are in ſome places claſſed under that denomination.

were

were let looſe to plunder, whom the ſpoil of a miſerable people enabled to complete their firſt year's payment. The renter under ſo precarious a tenure could not venture to encourage inferior farmers by advancing money, which is ſeldom repaid within three years; and without this advance, even the implements of huſbandry were wanting to cultivate the lands. Great part of the renters, incapable of fulfilling their engagements, applied to be diſcharged within the ſecond year, deſirous of abandoning their whole property, if they might be permitted to relinquiſh their unprofitable farms. A nominal increaſe of revenue had by theſe means been obtained; but ſo defective were the actual receipts, that an unprecedented general tax upon the bazee zemeen or charity lands, was now thought neceſſary to complete the payments ſtipulated to the company.

This untoward ſituation induced the ſelect committee in the autumn of 1765, to appoint Mr. Verelſt ſupraviſor of Burdwan. It appeared that on the ſecond ſale for three years, bidders had been found for little more than two fifths of the lands, the moſt beneficial of which were held in different names by the officers of government, and banyans of European gentlemen. The remainder, under the denomination of coſs, fell into the hands of collectors, who oppreſſed the people, bringing what they pleaſed to account. Theſe laſt with a frankneſs inſpired probably by a confidence of not being refuſed, propoſed to lay open all their frauds, and to divide their profits in ſuch proportions as the reſident and his agents ſhould approve. The firſt object was to remove theſe vermin by finding tenants for the deſerted lands; and, although the ſeaſon was far advanced, many ſubſtantial people readily engaged upon an aſſurance of not being diſpoſſeſſed. A moderate rent was paid the firſt year, a larger the ſecond, and on the third the higheſt which had ever before been given; the tenants nevertheleſs conſenting to pay any general tax that might afterwards be laid upon the whole province. The officers of government were compelled to relinquiſh either their office or their farm. The burthens of the province were diminiſhed; and, while each individual reaped the fruits of

of his toil, the lands were highly cultivated and improved. The various regulations eſtabliſhed would afford but an unpleaſant detail *; let it ſuffice therefore to obſerve, that the revenue to the company increaſed, while Burdwan in a few years became the moſt flouriſhing diſtrict of Bengal.

Burdwan province, from the 1ſt of May, 1760, to the end of April, 1770, in account with the Eaſt-India company's treaſury, for nett revenues, paid in, clear of all charges.

May to the end of April.			Cur. Rupees.
1760 - 1761	Caſh received †	- - - -	607,482
1761 - 1762	Ditto - - - - - -		3,841,987
1762 - 1763	Ditto - - - - -		3,949,167
1763 - 1764	Ditto - - - -		3,986,101
1764 - 1765	Ditto - - - -		3,629,789
1765 - 1766	Ditto ‡ - - - -		3,567,854
1766 - 1767	Ditto - - - - -		4,288,171
1767 - 1768	Ditto - - - -		4,149,471
1768 - 1769	Ditto - - - - -		4,158,387
1769 - 1770	Ditto § - - - -		3,948,037

The ſame regulations were eſtabliſhed in the other proprietary lands of the company, with nearly the ſame ſucceſs.

* Vide letter of Mr. Verelſt, App. p. 212. No. 131.

† This year the company obtained poſſeſſion, but only a ſmall part of the revenues was brought into the treaſury, after reducing the rajah.

‡ Mr. Verelſt was appointed to the ſupraviſorſhip of this province in the year 1765, and the effects of his arrangement will be ſeen in the receipts of the ſucceeding years, although part of the lands being let by auction, his regulations could only extend to the remainder. It muſt alſo be remarked, that the duties upon ſalt, made within the province, which in former years made a part of theſe revenues, were, after the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety in the year 1765, paid into the treaſury of Calcutta.

§ This laſt was the year of the general famine.

Midnapore

Midnapore province, from May 1760 to April 1770.

May to the end of April.				Cur. Rupees.
1760	1761	Caſh received		116,925
1761	1762	Ditto		857,983
1762	1763	Ditto		743,330
1763	1764	Ditto		748,777
1764	1765	Ditto		590,932
1765	1766	Ditto		732,055
1766	1767	Ditto *		1,005,882
1767	1768	Ditto		884,390
1768	1769	Ditto		975,051
1769	1770	Ditto		902,149

Calcutta towns, and twenty-four Purgunnahs, from May 1760 to April 1770.

May to the end of April.				Cur. Rupees.
1760	1761	Caſh received		730,591
1761	1762	Ditto		597,355
1762	1763	Ditto		486,352
1763	1764	Ditto		740,473
1764	1765	Ditto		979,349
1765	1766	Ditto		602,459
1766	1767	Ditto		801,571
1767	1768	Ditto †		1,116,395
1768	1769	Ditto		1,030,464
1769	1770	Ditto		1,022,845

* Mr. Verelſt took charge of this province in the year 1766, and the increaſe of revenue may be ſeen in the accounts of the ſucceeding years. It muſt be obſerved, that during the three laſt years, extraordinary expences were incurred to reduce ſome rebellious Zemindars upon the borders of the province. Theſe expences being deducted, make the ſum paid into the company's treaſury leſs than from 1766 to 1767; but the actual receipts never fell ſhort of the increaſed rents eſtabliſhed during the four laſt years.

† The arrangement of Mr. Verelſt was made in the latter end of the year 1766, and the increaſed receipts need no other comment than a reference to preceding years. The apparent variation during former years was owing to the irregular payment of the Jaghire, the revenues themſelves having undergone no great alterations.

Chittagong province, from January 1761 to April 1770.

				Cur. Rupees.
Jan. 1761	to Apr. 1762	Caſh received *	- - -	728,508
May 1762	to Apr. 1763	Ditto -	- -	467,368
1763	— 1764	Ditto -	- -	420,474
1764	— 1765	Ditto -	- -	404,721
1765	— 1766	Ditto -	- -	366,158
1766	— 1767	Ditto -	- -	378,830
1767	— 1768	Ditto -	- -	422,766
1768	— 1769	Ditto -	- -	432,540
1769	— 1770	Ditto -	- -	398,835

When the dewanny was firſt obtained by the company, a want of knowledge, or even the means of immediate information, rendered it impoſſible to correct the many abuſes incident to the eſtabliſhed mode of collecting the revenues. Many cauſes likewiſe concurred to make any direct interpoſition at this time highly impolitic. All power had in effect been tranſferred from the Subahdar of Bengal to the Engliſh Eaſt India company; but the lenient hand of time was neceſſary to ſoften that diſguſt, and quiet that alarm, which foreign nations, as well as the natives, might naturally conceive upon ſo great a change. The ſelect committee conſidered, that ſhould they attempt innovations upon the precarious foundation of opinion, any failure of ſucceſs might diſarrange the affairs of their employers, diſappoint their expectations, and afford a plauſible ground of complaint in England; where men, unacquainted with this very extenſive and complicated ſubject, would judge wholly by the event; and where various plans ſucceſſively adopted by contending parties, might, if the project were too haſtily undertaken, remove all probability of future improvement. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, they very wiſely determined to aſſume the ſlow but certain conviction of experience for their guide, giv-

* This year includes great part of the revenue due in the preceding year. Mr. Verelſt was appointed to the chiefſhip the beginning of 1761, and quitted it in 1765. This province being expoſed to frequent alarms, the revenues muſt fluctuate more than thoſe in ſecure ſituations. But it may deſerve to be remarked that the Subahdars of Bengal ſeldom received more than two hundred thouſand rupees revenue.

ing

ing their firſt attention to thoſe provinces, the revenues of which had been ſubject to the adminiſtration of Europeans from the firſt ceſſion of theſe lands by Meer Coſſim, in 1760. The event correſponded to their views. In the year 1769, the condition of theſe laſt mentioned provinces formed ſo ſtriking a contraſt to the other parts of Bengal, where the oppreſſion of the ancient government was univerſally felt, that foreigners as well as natives began earneſtly to wiſh for a more extenſive reformation. The committee therefore taking advantage of an equivocal permiſſion in a letter from the court of directors, reſolved to undertake this very arduous taſk.

Although the neceſſity was urgent, yet the difficulties were great. In a country ſo ſubject to revolution, infinite varieties prevailed in the government of every ſeparate diſtrict. In ſome hereditary rajahs preſerved the appearance rather of tributary princes, than delegates of power; but the jealouſy of the Subahdars, and an increaſed taxation had left them little more than a nominal authority. In other parts again, a forfeiture, or extinction of theſe families, had eſtabliſhed the more immediate juriſdiction of the Subahdar. Yet here perhaps the zemindars retained their hereditary rights. The greater part of the country laboured under an unbounded deſpotiſm, where the late diſorders had increaſed the evils incident to this ruinous ſtate. Zemindars and collectors combined together to prevent a detection of their frauds, and, ſenſible of their own precarious condition, laboured by every oppreſſion to accumulate that ſpecies of wealth, which, capable of concealment, ſeemed alone to deſerve the name of property; while a long train likewiſe of dependents and intermediate agents fattened on the ſpoils of the induſtrious ryott. The mildneſs of European manners, introduced by our influence at the Durbar, perhaps aggravated the miſchief, by removing in ſome ſort the reſtraint of fear.

To attempt a reformation, and at the ſame time to preſerve the revenues entire, required a minute local inveſtigation. Supraviſors were accordingly appointed to collect the neceſſary information in the ſeveral diviſions of the country. The nature of their office, the object of the undertaking,

and the means of accompliſhing the buſineſs upon which they were ſent, are ſo fully explained in the inſtructions drawn up by the preſident, that a farther diſcuſſion of the ſubject in this place would unneceſſarily fatigue * the reader. It will here be ſufficient to add, that ſhould the meaſure be tolerably executed, the board of revenues, which the directors have ſince eſtabliſhed, will find no materials can be wanting to effect a complete arrangement, and diffuſe that proſperity which at preſent ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes the proprietary lands of the company.

To judge of the conduct of the ſelect committee, and their ſucceſſors, in the management of our revenues and commerce in Bengal, it will be neceſſary to take a view of the ſituation of the directors, which, without any default in them, produced orders the moſt ruinous to the company's affairs.

When advice of the grant of the dewanny firſt arrived in England, a party were in poſſeſſion of the direction, whoſe greateſt error perhaps was an impolitic proſecution of certain gentlemen juſt arrived from India †. Had they abſtained from this act of national juſtice, their power would have enabled them to reſiſt the intereſted madneſs of others; but it was impoſſible at this time to foreſee that the chancellor of the exchequer *ſhould conſpire* with a faction in Leadenhall-ſtreet, to *ſacrifice equally* the intereſt of the company, and that of the ſtate.

The directors, aware of the difficulties to be encountered, endeavoured to increaſe their own authority by removing every ſuſpicion of private intereſt in the opinions which they found it neceſſary to recommend; and very laudably abſtained from all ‡ engagements which might leſſen their influence in the diſcharge of their public duty. Every precaution was vain. The torrent ſoon became irreſiſtible, and men, ignorant of the

* See the Inſtructions in the Appendix, p. 224, et ſeqq.

† For a breach of covenants in the receipt of preſents.

‡ Theſe gentlemen had the firſt intelligence, and by purchaſing ſtock, might eaſily have made immenſe gains. Their ſcrupulous delicacy and ſtrict ſelf-denial appeared afterwards upon an examination at the bar of the houſe of commons.

ſubject,

ſubject, preſumed to act, until dear-bought experience evinced the impoſſibility of ſeparating the intereſt of the ſtock-holder from that of the company.

At this time many needy adventurers hoped a golden harveſt in the ſtock, and paying an immenſe intereſt for money, were diſpoſed to ſacrifice every real advantage as proprietors, to the flattering proſpect of preſent gain. Thoſe ſervants of the company whoſe ſafety depended on the overthrow of the directors, employed their wealth in creating votes; and ſome candidates for the direction, to gratify their own ambition, readily placed themſelves at the head of ſo reſpectable a corps.

The faction thus formed, ſteadily purſued their plan; and having by infinite arts raiſed the public expectations greatly beyond the ſize of the object, they fed the common deſire of gain with promiſes, which ignorance inflamed by paſſion could ſcarcely hope to accompliſh.

A claim to the revenues on the part of the crown produced a negotiation with the miniſter, when a conteſted election for directors approaching, this troubleſome faction endeavoured to enliſt as many as poſſible by flattering the wiſhes of all. They produced a plan of accommodation with government, by which nine hundred thouſand pounds per annum were promiſed to the exchequer, and fourteen per cent. dividend to the proprietors *for fifty years:* but ſo little attention was paid to the means ſuggeſted for carrying this plan into execution, that the revenue was ſeparated from the trade; and ſuch a complication of accounts would have enſued, both at home and abroad, as muſt have cauſed endleſs diſputes between government and the company, equally injurious to the intereſt of both. The directors, on the contrary, endeavoured to unite theſe intereſts, diſcordant only to uninformed minds; and, by making the receipts of the treaſury depend on thoſe of Leadenhall-ſtreet, hoped to remove every ground of future jealouſy. They propoſed to give four hundred thouſand pounds, or twelve and a half per cent. dividend to the proprietors, and apply one half of the remainder to the payment of the company's debts, the other moiety to be received by the exchequer. By ſecuring a dividend to the

proprietors

proprietors in the firſt inſtance, the price of ſtock would become as fixt and permanent, as the nature of a trading company would admit: while by appropriating the ſurplus, all future increaſe of dividend would be a diſtant object, and the reſolutions of the court of proprietors be no longer governed by the views of ſtock-jobbers, or intereſts of the Alley. By participating all advantages with the exchequer a confidence might be eſtabliſhed, and miniſters no longer receive every propoſal of directors with the jealouſy of a rival. A ſudden change of circumſtances required many alterations in revenue laws, many new political arrangements. Theſe would be undertaken without the embarraſſment of diſtruſt, and executed as ſoon as known to be right, without doubting the information received. It is not difficult to prove that had this union been effected, had the neceſſities of the company not been aggravated by the urgent demand of government and proprietors, and had not the trade from this cauſe been managed with a view to a preſent ſupply, an immenſe ſum might already have been gained to the company and the ſtate.

The directors had always been averſe to an increaſe* of dividend, until the debts of the company were reduced within thoſe limits, which the legiſlature had preſcribed, and which their former neceſſities had compelled them to exceed*. They repreſented, that it was indifferent to the proprietor, whether he borrowed to divide, or waited till the money was received in the treaſury. They gave it as their opinion that the payment of theſe extra debts ſhould be the firſt application of the returns from India, as a voluntary continuance in this exceſs might afford ſome pretence to thoſe, who envied their preſent ſituation. Theſe arguments were addreſſed to unwilling ears. A very numerous body of proprietors had little concern beyond the preſent price of ſtock. To ſuch, an immediate dividend became neceſſary: and many others were not diſpleaſed to ſee the nominal value of their property ſo greatly increaſed. By a vote therefore of the general court an addition of four per cent. was made to the annual dividend.

* The company are authoriſed to borrow a certain ſum upon bond, and none in any other manner. It may juſtly be thought that ordinary credit in the courſe of buſineſs is an implied exception. But the company, beſides delaying all payments, had been obliged to borrow eight hundred thouſand pounds more than the ſum allowed, and paid an intereſt for this money.

This

This ſucceſs ſerved only to quicken the appetite of hungry adventurers. Freſh troops pouring in every day, encouraged their aſſociates by a new acceſſion of ſtrength. Heated by oppoſition, with underſtandings perverted by paſſion, they indulged their imaginations in gaudy dreams of wealth, and already began to talk of fifty per cent. dividend being inadequate to our preſent poſſeſſions. Impatient of delay in the negotiation with government, they anticipated the twelve and a half per cent. which the directors had ſtipulated in their propoſal. Some ſervants of the crown, thinking this reſolution too haſty, introduced into the houſe of commons, a bill for reſcinding their vote, and reſtraining the proprietors during one year. To remove ſo ſure an obſtacle to the views of theſe adventurers, no compliance was thought too great, and the whole party immediately tendered their ſervice to the miniſter; an offer which was readily accepted.

Mr. Charles Townſend, who, as chancellor of the exchequer, had the chief conduct of the negotiation on the part of government, was fully ſenſible of the advantages which might reſult to the nation and to the company from the plan propoſed by the directors. Several meetings had been held, in which the whole was explained, and every objection anſwered ſo much to the ſatisfaction of Mr. Townſend, that he repeatedly declared, *this* was the ſingle plan, among the many propoſed, which could render Bengal truly beneficial to Great Britain. The directors were afterwards aſtoniſhed to find a ſudden change of ſentiments; and that nothing could ſatisfy the chancellor of the exchequer but four hundred thouſand pounds to be paid yearly, and a total indemnification of one ſhilling per pound duty on black teas, which amounted nearly to two hundred thouſand pounds more. The directors refuſing to comply with this unreaſonable demand, ſoon learnt, that others were more tractable: and many perſonal arguments were uſed, which might induce them to yield to a neceſſity that could not be reſiſted. The directors nevertheleſs continued firm in their duty.

Before this laſt event the negociation was far advanced, and this ſingle difficulty remained, whether, after the dividend of four hundred thouſand pounds to the proprietors, one half or two thirds of the remainder ſhould

be paid into the exchequer. Mr. Townſend neglected the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances of our directors, met their opponents at the St. Alban's tavern, and bartered the bill depending in parliament for a vote of the proprietors. So eager were this faction in purſuit of their object, that they overlooked the means of obtaining it. After they had carried the miniſter's point by an unconditional vote of a general court, they found themſelves deceived. A heavy burthen was entailed on the company, while at the ſame time the reſtraining bill paſſed the houſe, Mr. Townſend, the chancellor of the exchequer, dividing in the minority.

The directors being informed of the miniſter's alliance, produced an unanimous reſolution of their court, condemning the intended motion as dangerous to the company. Their oppoſition was vain, and the meaſure was carried in the court of proprietors by a ſmall majority.

The precedent being once eſtabliſhed, no miniſter, whatever might be his own ſentiments, could afterwards venture to accept, what might be deemed by country gentlemen in parliament worſe terms. The ſame agreement was therefore extended to ſeven years, after a long and well conteſted oppoſition from the authors of the former plan. Theſe gentlemen, deſerted and betrayed, yet maintained the ſtruggle, unſeduced by flattery, unawed by threats. By ſuch conduct they loſt their own election, as happened once before, in the year 1763, but without the ſame ſucceſs in the public cauſe: for by the firſt ſtruggle they obtained an alteration in the final articles of peace, which excluded the French from any military eſtabliſhment in Bengal, and ſecured our preſent dominions in the Eaſt to the Britiſh nation *.

The firſt attack upon the company in parliament was led by a gentleman, who talked of forfeiture of charter, and right of conqueſt in the crown. In ſhort he ſeemed to think that no conſideration of law, juſtice, or policy, ſhould deter men armed with power from confiſcating ſo rich a prize. Had he ſpoken merely his own ſentiments, theſe would have deſerved little attention. But cloſely connected as this gentleman was with

* The French were by the preliminary articles reſtored to all their conqueſts.

the

the leading perſon in the cabinet, ſuch a language could not fail to occaſion very ſerious alarms. Frivolous diſtinctions were alſo countenanced in parliament to the diſgrace of common ſenſe, while the true ground of argument was almoſt neglected. Few ventured to contend that, independent of that regard which is ever due to the ſacred rules of property, the poſſeſſion of theſe revenues by the crown might endanger our happy form of internal government, but could never produce any real benefit to the Britiſh nation.

Impreſſed with theſe terrors, apprehenſive of complaints from foreign nations to the Britiſh court, which a narrow policy might encourage, every application for powers to govern their ſervants rejected, the directors ſaw no ſafety, but in upholding the Mooriſh government in Bengal; and ſent the moſt poſitive orders to the committee to avoid any exerciſe of dominion. A repetition of theſe commands was the neceſſary conſequence of their increaſing difficulties, while an oppoſing party called for new men and new meaſures, vaunting the moſt magnificent promiſes; and when a fear of not fulfilling the * engagements of the company rendered it impracticable to riſk a dimunition of revenues, which were now become their only remaining fund: for the profits of the China trade had been almoſt annihilated by the ſame haſty vote that gave the four hundred thouſand pounds to government. From this ſituation likewiſe flowed a continual increaſe of the company's inveſtment †, from three hundred and fifty thouſand to eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum, which could not be effected without ſome degree of violence. An annual export of ſpecie from Bengal was likewiſe neceſſary, as from the urgent demand of government and proprietors it became impoſſible to ſupply the China market with ſilver from Europe. Thus in five years next ſucceeding the grant of the Dewany, Bengal was drained in

Supplies of bullion to the other ſettlements - - - - -	1,284,008
Goods, ſtores, bills, &c. to ditto - - - - - -	620,337
And cargoes on our European ſhips - - - - - - -	3,037,266
Total - - - - - - - - - -	4,941,611

* Amounting to a million ſterling per annum.

† This term ſignifies the goods purchaſed for the European markets.

State of Bengal Revenues and Charges, ſhewing the groſs and nett Receipts of the Com-

Revenues.

May April 1765 to 1766.	Groſs Receipts	Charges, collections, ſtipends, and jaghire.	Nett receipts	Total revenues	Total in pounds ſter.
Calcutta and Dhees and twenty-four Purgunnahs	Cur. Rupees 10,61,079	Cur. Rupees 4,58,620	Cur. Rupees 6,02,459		
Burdwan	40,78,306	5,10,452	35,67,854		
Midnapore	7,58,258	26,203	7,32,055		
Chittagong	4,36,235	70,077	3,66,158		
Muxadavad diſtricts	118,96,555	35,59,993	83,36,562	Cur. Rupees	Pounds
Bahar province	18,42,700	5,01,764	13,40,936	149,46,024	1,681,427
1766—1767	200,73,133	51,27,109			
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	11,60,378	3,58,807	8,01,571		
Burdwan	51,01,961	8,13,790	42,88,171		
Midnapore	10,61,149	55,267	10,05,882		
Chittagong	4,83,562	1,04,732	3,78,830		
Muxadavad	181,54,424	79,36,919	102,17,505		
Bahar	78,68,020	19,28,628	59,39,392		
	338,29,494	111,98,143	226,31,351		
Commiſſion paid			1,63,851	224,67,500	2,527,594
1767—1768					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	15,63,953	4,47,558	11,16,395		
Burdwan	50,22,579	8,73,108	41,49,471		
Midnapore	9,50,093	65,703	8,84,390		
Chittagong	5,13,827	91,061	4,22,766		
Muxadavad	183,34,265	86,29,178	97,05,087		
Bahar	56,86,478	7,87,712	48,98,766		
	320,71,195	108,94,320	211,76,875		
Commiſſion paid			2,07,938	209,68,937	2,359,005
1768—1769					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	15,11,649	4,81,185	10,30,464		
Burdwan	51,26,635	9,68,248	41,58,387		
Midnapore	10,32,478	57,427	9,75,051		
Chittagong	5,12,224	79,684	4,32,540		
Muxadavad	191,98,583	90,77,445	101,21,138		
Bahar	62,82,503	7,43,988	55,38,515		
	336,64,072	114,07,977	222,56,095		
Commiſſion paid			9,03,290	213,52,805	2,402,190
1769—1770					
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.	14,91,039	4,68,194	10,22,845		
Burdwan	48,60,144	9,12,107	39,48,037		
Midnapore	9,59,321	57,172	9,02,149		
Chittagong	4,72,518	73,683	3,98,835		
Muxadavad	170,26,778	84,69,179	85,57,599		
Bahar	48,96,666	8,41,169	40,55,497		
	297,06,466	108,21,504	188,84,962		
Commiſſion paid			3,12,803	185,72,159	2,089,368
			Cur. Rupees	983,07,425	11,059,584

Lord Clive's ſecond government commenced in May, 1765. He reſigned to Mr. Vereſt in January

pany's Land Revenues and the Civil and Military Charges, from May 1765, to April 1770.

Charges.

	Civil Charges	Military charges			Buildings and fortifications	Total charges	Total in pounds ster.
		Bengal charges	Expence of the Bengal detachment acting on the Coaft.	Total			
	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Cur. Rupees	Pounds
- - -	20,99,822	64,32,489	- - -	64,32,489	8,68.237	94,00,548	1,057,562
- - -	27,13,767	79,69,259	- - -	79,69,259	10,40,144	117,23,170	1,318,856
- -	24,29,413	74,28,168	10,70,052	84,98,220	19,78,081	129,05,714	1,451,892
	26,29,108	75,23,277	12,28,518	87,51,795	24,07,765	137,88,668	1,551,225
- - -	26,71,986	- - -	- - -	- - -	17,48,229	129,23,502	1,453,894
Eftimated	- - -	75,90,169	9,13,118	85,03,287	- - -		
Cur. Rupees	125,44,096	369,43,362	32,11,688	401,55,050	80,42,456	607,41,602	6,833,429

1767, who continued in that office to the end of the year 1769.

CHAP. III.

The Money and Coinage of BENGAL.

THE too eager deſire of parliament, and the proprietors of India ſtock, to derive immoderate advantage from the acquiſitions of the Company, gave birth to many evils, which a wiſer policy, and more temperate conduct at home, might eaſily have prevented. It has already been remarked, that this cauſe precluded all innovation in the management of the revenues, perpetuating thoſe abuſes which, derived from a remote antiquity, had grown to an enormous ſize under the government of ſucceſſive ſubahdars. Ruinous as theſe were to the induſtry of the natives, the impatient demand upon Bengal, as an inexhauſtible mine of wealth, ſuperadded many other cauſes of decline to thoſe which already oppreſſed the laborious inhabitants. Each year brought orders from Europe to enlarge the company's inveſtment, while complaints were at the ſame time received of the increaſing price of manufactures, which a competition between the French, Dutch, and Engliſh, neceſſarily occaſioned.

It had been the practice of thoſe merchants, with whom the Company's ſervants made their contracts, to advance money to the manufacturer, without which he would frequently be unable to procure the materials of his work. But as this mode of obtaining merchandize muſt ſometimes prove defective, through the accidental inability of private men to furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies to the workman, and many hands muſt conſequently remain unemployed; it was thought expedient by the governor and council, when the above-mentioned orders arrived, to make the like advances to ſuch manufacturers as muſt otherwiſe have lain idle. Contracts thus in part executed on one ſide, afforded a temptation to fraud on the other; and the workman, unleſs ſtrictly watched, often reſold his goods for their full price to a ſtranger.

The

The gomaſtahs, or agents of the company, were neceſſarily therefore entruſted with powers, which they frequently abuſed to their own emolument; and an authority given to enforce a juſt performance of engagements, became, notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance of the higher ſervants, a ſource of new oppreſſion. The influence of theſe agents proved ſo deſtructive of induſtry, that, before any remedial meaſures were deviſed at home, the council determined, at the hazard of not fulfilling the orders of their conſtituents, to reſume the old method of forming the inveſtment, by contracting ſolely with merchants in different parts of the country.

Within the ſpace of four or five years, the exportation of Bengal manufactures, by the ſeveral European companies, had encreaſed to more than 700,000 *l.* per annum, beyond the extent of their former inveſtments *. That by our company alone amounted, in the year 1771, to 768,500 *l.* ſterling, wholly purchaſed with the revenue of the country, and without importing a ſingle ounce of ſilver. Foreign companies likewiſe bought their goods with money received from private individuals, who took bills for the amount upon the reſpective companies in Europe. Thus an influx of bullion, which in former times exceeded a million ſterling annually, was, by the great change in our ſituation, effectually obſtructed; while large ſums were moreover exported from the circulating ſpecie of Bengal. In the five years next ſucceeding the grant of the Dewanny, the ſums exported in ſilver by the Engliſh Company alone amounted to 1,284,008 *l.* ſterling. Indeed, the practice of ſending ſilver from Bengal to China commenced as early as the year 1757, and continued without remiſſion to the year 1770 †. Formerly the commerce of Bengal, with different countries of the Eaſt, had yielded a very conſiderable balance, paid in bullion; but this trade, which was greatly affected by the troubles in Perſia, and in the countries bordering on the Red Sea, was now ruined by the over-grown influence of the European Companies,

* It muſt be remembered, that in the year 1765 the French Company made their firſt inveſtment in Bengal, ſince the reduction of Chandernagore in the year 1757.

† Much the greateſt quantity was ſent, ſubſequent to the grant of the Dewanny in the year 1765.

who

who engroſſed all the manufactures of Bengal. Such was the rigour exerciſed to complete the quantity required by our directors, that the Nabob has found it difficult to procure the neceſſary ſupply for his houſhold, without making application to the Engliſh agents.

From the reduction of Chandernagore in 1757, to the commencement of a gold coinage in 1766, Bengal had loſt, by deficiency in the uſual imports of bullion, and by exportation of ſilver, more than eight millions ſterling*. It muſt here be obſerved, that money always retained its value in Bengal. The commodities purchaſed with bullion continued to yield an equal profit to the merchant, which demonſtrably proves, that the money circulating in ſpecie never exceeded the demands of induſtry. Under theſe circumſtances, a rapid diminution of the current coin muſt neceſſarily impede the internal commerce of the country, and diſcourage the exertions of induſtry in all, whoſe labour could alone render Bengal a valuable poſſeſſion to the Britiſh nation. Early and repeated repreſentations

* The foregoing eſtimate commences at a period when the extraordinary ſucceſs attending our military operations in India produced ſuch riches to the company, and to individuals, as effected an entire revolution in the mercantile ſyſtem, hitherto obſerved by all European nations trading in Bengal. France having loſt her ſettlements, loſt alſo her trade in Bengal, from 1757 to 1765; whence the country was deprived of the ſupply France was accuſtomed to ſend in treaſure, amounting, *communibus annis*, to 200,000 *l.*

As the Engliſh Company was liberally furniſhed with money, either ſtipulated for indemnification, reſtitution, &c. or borrowed of private individuals on their bonds and bills, they diſcontinued ſending bullion to Bengal, the annual amount of which uſually exceeded 250,000*l.*

The Dutch were the greateſt importers of ſilver, not only for purchaſing home inveſtments, but alſo procuring opium, an article of great conſequence to the trade of their Eaſtern ſettlements, and alſo upon account of a conſiderable profit ariſing to their ſervants from coining into ſicca rupees, in the nabob's mint, ingots ſent from Batavia. They likewiſe diſcontinued ſending bullion for more than four years, and thereby deprived Bengal of more than 500,000*l.* per annum.

Even the Danes, finding they could borrow money at a low intereſt and advantageous exchange, on reſpondentia bonds and bills, with-held their little aſſiſtance, which indeed ſeldom exceeded 30,000 *l.* a year.

Of more conſequence to Bengal was the declining trade with Perſia and the Red Sea, the ballance of which, in ſpecie, had been reduced ſince the troubles above alluded to, from 18 or 20 lacks, about 180,000 *l.* ſterling annually, to 3 or 4 lacks. If to theſe drawbacks, from the uſual importation of ſilver, we add the ſums actually exported from Bengal to China and other ſettlements, ſupplying the army ſtationed out of the provinces, king's tribute remitted to Illah-abad, and the ſpecie carried off by Coſſim Ally Cawn, the whole loſs, in the courſe of 12 years, will appear to exceed 13 millions ſterling; a ſum ſo immenſe as will ſcarce gain credit with thoſe who have not been at the trouble of examining the particulars.

of this growing evil were made by the ſelect committee, who exhorted the directors to conſider of ſome expedient to obviate the alarming conſequences of a ſcarcity of coin †. Unfortunately the directors were ſo peculiarly ſituated, that the remonſtrances of their ſervants produced no effect. Influenced, perhaps, by an opinion of the great riches of Bengal, they believed theſe dangers leſs immediate than the difficulties they were likely to encounter by an oppoſition to the public expectations ‡. Large inveſtments from China, and every part of India, became neceſſary to defray the great demands of the company. Hence the fatal policy of exporting treaſure was invariably purſued. To the ſervants, however, in Bengal, the conſequences of this meaſure were not long a ſubject of ſpeculation. The ſelect committee ſaw clearly that difficulties muſt ſoon multiply from a ſcarcity of coin, which might prove equally ruinous to the company's commercial and political intereſts; and they did not heſitate therefore to attempt what appeared to them the only poſſible remedy. But before this ſubject can be underſtood, it will be neceſſary to explain the current money of Bengal.

A writer of reputation has here employed his pen, and added the errors of his own ſpeculations to thoſe which miſinformation reſpecting aſſumed facts has neceſſarily produced *. He ſuppoſes the *current* rupee, like the pound ſterling in England, to be the general money of account in Bengal. A ſlight attention to the term *current*, evidently derived from the Latin, would have ſhewn it to be of European extraction; and in fact the expreſſion is wholly unknown to the natives, who make uſe of the *Sicca* rupee, that being the eſtabliſhed coin of the country. This error would ſcarcely have deſerved notice, but that many ſuppoſed conſequences, which, were the fact true, would by no means follow, have been laborioufly deduced from this miſtake.

However, "the coins of a country may be changed for convenience," this writer would always have "the denominations given to the new

† Letters from the Committee, 30th of January, 1766, 24th March, 1766, 9th December, 1766, and 6th October, 1767. Vid. Appendix.

‡ Court of Directors to Select Committee, 21ſt November, 1766, par. 10. Vid. Appen.

* This gentleman has lately written ſome Obſervations for the Uſe of the Court of Directors.

"coins

" coins conſtantly preſerve an exact proportion of value to this ſtandard " unit," or current rupee, " by which accounts are kept." If by theſe expreſſions be meant, that the unit ſhould expreſs a certain quantity of the precious metals, and that the denominations of all coins ſhould conform to that unit, according to their intrinſic value, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the ſame thing is effected by giving a certain denomination to a certain quantity of ſilver, as in the Sicca rupee, which is the ſole coin legally current in Bengal. The author plainly intends ſomething more, becauſe the change here ſpoken of is upon a ſuppoſed variation in the relative value of gold and ſilver, in which caſe the ſame denomination of value can no longer expreſs the ſame quantity of the reſpective metals as it did before. Let us ſuppoſe *pound* to expreſs a value equivalent to one gold coin, or ten ſilver coins of the ſame weight and fineneſs, the price of metals being as one to ten. If the relative value of the metals varies, and becomes as one to fifteen, *pound* can no longer expreſs the ten coins in ſilver, and one in gold of equal weight and fineneſs, without expreſſing different values, when applied to gold, or when applied to ſilver. In this ſenſe of the unit, *as repreſenting a certain quantity of each metal*, it would be impoſſible " to preſerve an exact " proportion of value to the ſtandard unit." Therefore the unit, in the language of our author, muſt repreſent an ideal ſomething permanent in its nature, with which the quantities of gold and ſilver, and the denominations reſpectively given to each, may be compared as with a known ſtandard. Indeed the term *ſtandard*, conjoined with *unit*, proves that he uſes it in this ſenſe. Here a difficulty occurs. As all our ideas are derived from the impreſſion of material ſubſtance, he who uſes a term not expreſſing ſome ſuch impreſſion, diſcourſes without an idea; and until this difficulty be reſolved, it is a vain attempt to reaſon*.

* It is plain we are not here ſpeaking of ideas derived from the operations of our own mind, which having no ſimilarity, cannot be compared with ſubſtances exiſting without us; nor of a generic term in language, which, omitting every circumſtance of time, place, &c. peculiar to the individual, expreſſes a ſpecies. *Standard* unit muſt here be the name of an individual exiſtence, or it means nothing.

Farther,

Farther, it is impoſſible that the unit, or money of account, ſhould be itſelf a ſtandard, or have any other ſignification than to expreſs a certain quantity *of current coin*. The unit, or denomination in account, expreſſes the extent of a debt. When this debt is paid in any *current coin*, according to the *legal* denomination, the obligation is diſcharged. The value of the unit (which expreſſes only a demand of a certain quantity of legal money) muſt therefore be determined by the value of the coin. Here it will be aſked, what is the uſe of the unit, or money of account? Evidently this. It is merely a number aſſumed, with relation to the method of account by tens, more eaſily diviſible upon paper than any legal coin. It facilitates to the merchant the calculation of exchanges, being a convenient medium for reſolving the legal denomination of money in one country into the money of another. Thus the pound ſterling Engliſh repreſents in accounts twenty ſhillings, or two tens. The Sicca rupee varies in value, in the proportion of 116 to 111. The natives take the 116 as their unit or money of account, being the Sicca rupee, during the firſt year of circulation. The Engliſh, to avoid fractional numbers, take the decimal 100, by relation to which they calculate all debts and credits, and eſtimate all other coins. This $\frac{100}{116}$ parts of the Sicca rupee conſtitutes that money of account, to which the Engliſh have given the name of current rupee.

In the farther progreſs of his reaſoning, the author abovementioned contradicts himſelf. He proves what no man could want to ſee proved, that debaſing the legal coin will leſſen the value of the unit, or money of account. But how is this conſiſtent with his former notion of the unit being itſelf *a ſtandard*? Thus in admeaſurement, if the foot be *the ſtandard*, taking away one third part of the yard will make the latter to conſiſt only of two feet, but will not leſſen the foot. Whereas, if the yard be the *ſtandard*, and the denomination *foot* expreſſes a certain proportion of the yard, then the foot will be leſſened with the yard, and become ſhorter by one third part. In the ſame manner if any alteration in the *coin* affects the *unit*, the *coin* and not the *unit* muſt be the *ſtandard*.—The error of our author has probably ariſen from conſidering the manner in which ſome

ſovereigns have decreed, that they *will not* pay their debts. Should, for inſtance, a law paſs in this country that ten ſhillings in future ſhall be equal to a pound ſterling; this law might ſeem to raiſe the value of the ſhilling, and to make the pound the ſtandard of eſtimation: but no ſuch conſequence would follow. The ſhilling would not purchaſe a greater quantity of any one commodity. The law would indirectly carry this import, that debtors ſhould diſcharge their engagements by paying half the ſum agreed. By changing the application of a name, it would in effect be ſaid to the public creditor, you advanced twenty ſhillings, which we then called a *pound*: you ſhall now receive only ten ſhillings; but that we may ſeem to obſerve the *terms* of our contract, the different ſums ſhall obtain the ſame *name*.

If the *coin* be the ſtandard reſpecting the *unit*, by what relation can the value of the coin be itſelf aſcertained? The natural criterion is the price of bullion in the market. But before we can explain how the value of coin will be affected by this *price*, we muſt enter more deeply into the ſubject.

All purchaſe is exchange. Among rude nations, whoſe wants are few, this exchange is made in the bulky articles of conſumption. Others, more refined, adopt a medium of commerce, the precious metals; and as the laſt improvement, a certain ſtamp is added to certain quantities of the reſpective metals, that the value of each piece may be known by inſpection. Here a curious queſtion occurs. Can a ſovereign, by debaſing the current money, raiſe its actual operative value above the intrinſic worth, depending on the quantity of pure metal contained in the coin? Independent of the effect of habit, which may make a people regard a name when the thing itſelf is changed, it appears to me that he cannot *. The ſovereign may give to coin a nominal value beyond the price of bullion, but to increaſe its actual value, would be to fix by law the price of every commodity to be purchaſed with coin. By varying the denomination of money, the nominal value of bullion, as of every other commodity, might be leſ-

* It will afterwards appear that this ought to be underſtood with a certain limitation, which cannot here be explained.

ſened

ſened or increaſed; but the actual value of coin or bullion to the poſſeſſor muſt be eſtimated by their effect in purchaſing the neceſſaries of life. In this view their value will depend on the quantities of the precious metals, and of the merchandize with which they are compared, and the reſpective demand for each. Now, as the quantity of every ſpecies of merchandize will encreaſe in proportion to the art and induſtry employed in the cultivation and manufacture, while perhaps the demand continues the ſame, it will ever be impoſſible to fix the value of coin or bullion by any permanent ſtandard. In fact, the precious metals being univerſally received as the medium of commerce, have an equal relation to every thing which is ſold; and from theſe various relations combined, reſults their actual value. Here the detail is infinite, and eludes all inveſtigation. Neither is it poſſible to find a certain ſtandard in any ideal point between the relative value of the two metals gold and ſilver *. Compare the two metals to each other at diſtant periods of time, a variation is obſerved in their relative value. How can we diſcover whether the one has riſen or the other fallen in value? This can only be known by the inveſtigation above mentioned; an inveſtigation ſo complex, that no underſtanding can comprehend it, no experience can furniſh the requiſite materials. Now, as the value of the unit (pound ſterling, current rupee, &c.) is determined by its relation to the two metals, it will ever be impoſſible to make this denomination repreſent a fixed and permanent value†.

The precious metals have been received as the common medium of commerce, not becauſe they are abſolutely free from all fluctuation in value, but becauſe they are leſs ſubject to this inconvenience than any *one* mer-

* This is very imperfectly expreſſed, but when we graſp at the mere creature of another man's imagination, our expreſſion muſt be inadequate. The author we allude to ſeems to conceive it poſſible, by adding to the quantity of pure metal in the coin, as gold or ſilver may happen to ſink in price, to preſerve ſome intermediate denomination (as the pound ſterling between our guinea and ſhilling) at a certain fixed and permanent value.

† While certain coins are current by law, the value of the unit muſt be determined by that of the coin. But it is plain the author intends to fix the value of the unit independent of the coin, and alſo of the price of bullion, from the propoſal he makes of adding to the quantity of pure metal contained in the coin, as the price of bullion decreaſes. The propoſal itſelf is an admiſſion that the value of the unit depends immediately on that of the coin.

chandize, and therefore form the beſt repreſentative of *all*. They are diviſible in any proportions without loſs. They eaſily take, and long retain an impreſſion. The quantity being ſmall, a great value is contained in a narrow compaſs. Being removed from the ordinary purpoſes of life, they are little ſubject to conſumption: and being now received as the univerſal repreſentative of all things ſold, the demand can be little governed by caprice. Theſe qualities make them to anſwer tolerably well the purpoſes of coin; and if the man who has money finds his property to fluctuate in value, this is common to him with the poſſeſſor of every other ſpecies of wealth, and in a leſs degree.

The author above mentioned obſerves, "That if no perſon can coin but "one, that one may put a value upon his coining, as any artiſt may put "a value upon an art which he alone poſſeſſes, unrivalled by any other." If by this phraſe be meant, that he may put an arbitrary value on the coin to any extent, it is not true, unleſs he could alſo compel men to become purchaſers. The truth ſeems to be (for on a ſubject ſo obſcure, it were preſumption to affirm any thing) that the precious metals being univerſally adopted as the medium of commerce, and repreſentative of every thing ſold, acquire thence a value. Again, few perſons can judge of the quality, or in other words of the pure metal contained in any maſs produced to their view; and even the few ſufficiently ſkilled can arrive at this knowledge only by a long and expenſive proceſs. In the ordinary dealings therefore of men, the convenience of knowing by inſpection the quality of the metal, ſuperadds a value to the coin beyond the price of bullion. If denominations be given to the coin nearly correſponding with this enhanced value, the people readily receive it upon this eſtimation, and the coin becomes current by general conſent. For no poſitive law can make coin current at a certain value, without fixing the price of every thing which money can purchaſe.

Ought a ſovereign in good policy to take advantage of this enhanced value to defray the expence of coinage, &c. or ought he to make the denomina-

nomination of the coin to correſpond exactly with the price of bullion, according to the pure metal contained in the coin? An exact conformity is recommended by the writer above mentioned; nevertheleſs it appears, that the denomination of the coin ought to exceed in a certain degree the price of bullion, or it will be impoſſible to preſerve the coin in circulation. Suppoſe the price of ſilver bullion to riſe: no man will exchange his ſilver coin for gold coin, becauſe by melting it, the bullion ſold in the market will produce more gold coin than an exchange according to the legal denominations. Let gold bullion riſe in price, the reverſe muſt happen. Every fluctuation in the price of bullion will deſtroy one ſpecies of coin. But if the denomination of money be raiſed in a moderate degree above the price of bullion, any minute variation will not affect the coin. The general convenience of having a common medium of commerce will uphold its value correſponding with the denomination given, and being long uſed as the repreſentative of all things ſold, it will from habit, acquire a value in ſome meaſure independent of bullion.

I have thought it neceſſary to enlarge more fully upon this ſubject, becauſe the learned author referred to, has, by fallacious arguments, founded upon erroneous principles, deduced many important conſequences reſpecting the company's revenue, and the meaſures adopted by their ſervants.

In Bengal the Sicca rupee has ever been the only legal coin ſtruck and authoriſed by the prince. Its denomination, like that of money in moſt countries, exceeds the price of bullion; but this exceſs is moderated by an annual diſcount, the denomination ſinking gradually in three years in the proportion of one hundred and ſixteen to one hundred and eleven. Various other rupees, differing from each other in weight, fineneſs, and impreſſion, are applied to the purpoſes of commerce; but before they can be received, it is neceſſary to eſtimate the intrinſic value of each piece, and calculate the price of the whole maſs by relation to the Sicca rupee. To adjuſt this variety of exchanges is become a ſcience too intricate for the attention

attention of merchants who are obliged to retain in their ſervice a ſet of men, called ſhroffs, bred up in the profeſſion of exchanging money, and aſſaying metals by the touch. In progreſs of time, theſe ſhroffs are grown up to ſo numerous and wealthy a body as to hold in their hands almoſt the whole ſpecie of the country. This ſituation of monied property has an effect which muſt now be explained to the reader.

No ſooner does bullion, receiving a certain impreſſion, become coin; that is, paſs, upon inſpection, according to its legal denomination, than a profit may be gained by making and circulating ſimilar coin of a leſs intrinſic value. To repreſs this evil in Europe, ſevere laws are enacted againſt ſuch offenders. The crime with us is accounted high treaſon. The care of proſecuting it is committed to a particular * officer; and the puniſhment, on conviction, never remitted. If, notwithſtanding this rigid exertion of authority, baſe coin is not uncommon in England, what might be expected in Bengal, where, from the nature of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and the varieties of government prevailing in the ſeveral diſtricts, it is impoſſible to eſtabliſh a regular police? The ſovereign, therefore, thought it neceſſary to intereſt the body of the ſhroffs in the preſervation of the coin, and had, for that purpoſe, eſtabliſhed an annual diſcount or batta on the ſicca rupee. At the expiration of three years, when theſe ſicca rupees, then called ſunats, paſs at $\frac{1}{11\frac{1}{6}}$ parts of the original denomination, they are carried to the mint chiefly by the ſhroffs, who receive them back recoined, and conſequently raiſed in value to 116, the firſt and higheſt denomination †, deducting the expence and duties of coinage, amounting to ſomething more than 2 per cent.‡ By this operation, the ſhroffs gain nearly $\frac{3}{116}$ parts upon the value of the coin every third year; an advantage confined wholly to the ſicca rupee. A

* Sollicitor of the mint.

† The author above mentioned is miſtaken in ſuppoſing that 5 per cent. is gained by a mere ſtroke of the hammer and freſh impreſſion. Sunat rupees are cut down, melted, and ſubjected to the whole proceſs and expence of coinage, in the ſame manner with bullion, a difference being made in the duties only.—Vide Conſultations, January 24th, 1763.

‡ 2 $\frac{5}{4}$ per cent. nearly.

triennial

triennial recoinage is the conſequence of this regulation; and ſuch has been its effect, that while all other coins are debaſed, the ſicca rupee ſeldom loſes any thing of its original purity: for the ſhroffs, who aſſay metals by the touch, gain the $\frac{3}{110}$ parts upon *the pure ſilver*.

Such ſeems to have been the origin of this cuſtom. Some writers have adopted ſtrange notions reſpecting the eſtabliſhed batta on the ſicca rupee, conſidering it as an abuſe introduced wholly "for the benefit of the ſhroffs "and officers of the mint* and revenue;" as if it were probable, that ſucceſſive princes, for more than a century, ſhould have uniformly continued the ſame regulation without a motive. Whatever has been its origin, the effect is certain.

The debaſement of other rupees has given riſe to a miſchief which is now become a great obſtruction to commerce, and tends much to the diſcouragement of induſtry. As the intrinſic value of ſuch rupees is found perpetually to vary, the ſhroffs place thereon an *arbitrary* batta, or, in other words, receive them at a diſcount ſuch as they can ſettle with the poſſeſſor. The profit thus made, being repeated at every payment, is a heavy charge on the circulating ſilver; and, perhaps, no effectual remedy will be found, unleſs the company ſhould coin all thoſe rupees into ſiccas, when received in payment of the revenues.†

Silver being the only meaſure of commerce in Bengal, the common practice of all European nations naturally ſuggeſted a remedy for the growing ſcarcity of money. Although gold had hitherto been a mere

* Mr. Bolts, p. 157, ſays, this cuſtom was introduced by the elder Juggut Seat, in the time of the nabob Jaffier Khawn; but, certain it is the cuſtom prevailed long before the family of the Seets obtained any conſequence.

† The writer frequently mentioned has to many other miſtakes added one reſpecting the profits of recoinage, from which, he ſuppoſes, the company derives no advantage. In fact, beſides 1 per cent on bullion, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on recoinage, and mint charges, which they muſt otherwiſe defray at their own expence, the converſion of *Sunat* rupees, which are paid in at their treaſury, into *Siccas*, produces a large ſum every year.

article

article of merchandize, yet it appeared highly probable, that large quantities exiſted in the country, which, under proper regulations, might be applied to the active demands of induſtry. Lord Clive, therefore, and the ſelect committee reſolved, in the year 1766, to introduce a gold currency; and as the firſt ſtep in proſecuting this meaſure, was to diſcover the relative value of the two metals, gold and ſilver, the miniſters and head ſhroffs were conſulted. According to the beſt informations which could be obtained, the price of gold ſeemed to correſpond nearly with the proportions eſtabliſhed by the mint indenture in England. If this eſtimation was erroneous, it had already been adopted in the gold currency of Madraſs. The pagoda coined in the company's mint paſſes, in their accounts, at eight ſhillings *. This pagoda, weighing 2 dwt. 6 grains, of the fineneſs of 20 carats, contains 45 grains of pure gold, the Engliſh guinea 118 grains. If 118 grs. : 21 ſh. : : 45 grs.=8 ſh. $\frac{1}{118}$ parts of a ſhilling.

At Madraſs ſilver is a mere merchandize, fluctuating in price to the extent of more than twenty per cent. It is impoſſible, therefore, to fix preciſely the relative value of the two metals in that market. From ſome miſcellanies quoted by a writer we have frequently mentioned, the proportion of ſilver to gold appears to have been as 15,49 to 1, in Auguſt, 1753. Although when a conſiderable quantity of gold mohurs were from time to time imported by the company from Bengal, and ſilver was at the ſame time purchaſed for the ſupply of China, the price of ſilver roſe, in May, 1771, as 13,78 to 1, and afterwards, in July following, to 13,09 to 1; yet, probably, the ordinary proportion of the metals at Madraſs correſponded with that eſtabliſhed by law in England, ſince the pagoda has been eſtimated at eight ſhillings, by the company, during a long courſe of years.

* In my experience, the pagoda has always been found equal to 2 dwt. 6 grs. of 20 carats fineneſs, which makes 45 grains pure gold. In Miſcellanies lately collected, it is eſtimated in one place at 42 $\frac{3}{2}$ grains, and in another at 45 $\frac{1}{2}$, pure gold, making a difference of about 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Should the former of theſe accounts be allowed, it will prove the pagoda is valued at more than 4 per cent. higher than the proportion aſſumed in the mint indenture of England.

Gold

Gold imported from Madraſs into Bengal always yielded a profit. To aſſign the cauſe would be difficult, ſince it neither paſſed in circulation, nor was exchanged for the productions of any country within our knowledge. The fact, nevertheleſs, is certain, and reſts upon the moſt undoubted teſtimony *. To attempt, therefore, a gold coinage on a lower eſtimation than that of Madraſs appeared improper. Many reaſons induced the committee to give it a higher valuation. To whatever purpoſes gold had hitherto been applied in Bengal, it was probable, that a new demand for this metal as current money would enhance the price. It was beſides neceſſary to obtain the ſupport of the ſhroffs in this meaſure, by making it their intereſt to bring gold to the mint, as the ſtrong prejudices of the natives againſt innovation would have made the oppoſition of this body of men extremely troubleſome. To theſe arguments, ariſing from the ſtate of the country, may be added one drawn from the ſituation of the company. Had gold and ſilver been eſtabliſhed at the ſame relative value as in the European markets, the exportation of gold would have been eaſier than that of ſilver, which, on account of its bulk, does not admit the ſame clandeſtine conveyance; and the gold coin might have been exported to Europe, when other means of remitting the large ſums acquired by individuals began to fail. After maturely weighing all theſe reaſons, the council reſolved, that gold mohurs ſhould be ſtruck, at a valuation of eight per cent. ‡ above their intrinſic purity, compared with the ſicca rupees, according to the proportion of the two metals eſtabliſhed by the mint indenture in England †.

Upon

* Two reaſons may, perhaps, be aſſigned for the high price which gold always maintained in Bengal. Before the Subahdars became independent of the Mogul Empire, great part of the annual tribute might probably be remitted in gold to Dehly. Since that period, the frequent invaſions and inteſtine wars, rendering property inſecure, gave an increaſed value to gold, which is more eaſily tranſported from place to place, or more eaſily concealed than ſilver. When the Maharattas laſt entered Bengal, gold bore ſo high a value, that ſome merchants ſent it from Madraſs to Bengal, at a profit of 15 per cent.

‡ Two per cent. are the expence and duties of coinage. The remaining ſix per cent. was deſigned as an encouragement to bring gold to the mint. This allowance may appear large to gentlemen in England; but it muſt be obſerved, that the company allow their ſervants to lend money at 12 per cent. as a reaſonable intereſt. Merchants, zemindars, and the natives in general, can ſeldom borrow at ſo eaſy a rate.

† That ſuch was the principle on which the regulation was eſtabliſhed appears evidently from the following paragraph in the mint-maſter's letter to the board. "The difficulty lay in fixing

Upon this principle the following regulations were formed, viz.

" That the new gold mohur ſhould weigh 16 annas, or 7 dwts. 11 " grs. 65, that is about 179½ grains, of the fineneſs of 20 carats.

" That this gold mohur ſhould paſs current, and be received in all " payments, whether of a public or private nature, in exchange for 14 " Sicca rupees, each rupee weighing 7 dwts. 11 grs. 65 of the fineneſs " of 11 oz. 15 dwts. or 13 dwts. better than Engliſh ſtandard, &c."

The following calculations, which are rendered as eaſy and familiar as poſſible, will demonſtrate, that the plan is exactly adjuſted to the before mentioned relative values, and calculated on the quantities of pure metal contained in the reſpective gold and ſilver coins, each being compared with the ſtandard and coinage of England*.

A gui-

" upon ſuch a rate of exchange as ſhould anſwer the intention of bringing gold to the treaſury " without reducing ſilver below that natural value which it bears in moſt kingdoms in Europe, " ſince this circumſtance might be productive of inconvenience at home. Gold being merely " a merchandize in Bengal, and the quantity of it already contained in the country very un- " certain, it was thought proper to make the mean rate of exchange in Europe the principle " upon which the following regulations for a gold currency are calculated. Vide Appendix." M. Maſter's letter, 3d June, 1766—Yet merely upon the authority of an inaccurate expreſſion in Article 4. of this letter, is the plan ſuppoſed to have been calculated on the proportion of 14, inſtead of 15⅛ to 1, which difference conſtitutes the extraordinary advanced price, ſtated by the writer of the principles of money, not leſs than 9½ per cent.

* Abſtract of the mint indenture in England.

" By this indenture the mint maſter contracts to make five ſorts of gold monies, viz. quar- " ter-guineas, half-guineas, guinea, two guinea, and five guinea pieces, to be in fineneſs 22 " carats pure gold, with two carats alloy, and after the rate of 44½ guineas to the Troy pound " Weight.

" This will be, in every ſuch pound weight, either

" 178 quarter-guineas,
" 89 half-guineas,
" 44½ guineas,
" 22 two guineas, and one half-guinea,
" 9 five guineas, wanting the weight of half a guinea.

" Now as money cannot be made in all things exactly conformable to the ſtandard, but may " differ from it in weight, in fineneſs, or in both; ſo it is agreed that one ſixth of a carat, " which is equal to 40 Troy grains, be allowed as *remedy* for the maſter on every pound weight " of gold monies, with an additional remedy of half a Troy Grain in every four quarter-gui- " neas, becauſe theſe cannot be made ſo exact as larger pieces.

" The mint maſter alſo contracts to make eight ſorts of ſilver monies, viz.

" 12 crowns and two ſhillings,

" 24

A guinea, twenty-two carats fine, containing by ſtatute one hundred and eighteen grains of pure gold, is rated by act of parliament and mint indenture at twenty-one ſhillings. A gold mohur twenty carats fine, and weighing 7 dwts. 11 grs. 65 contains one hundred and fifty grains of pure gold. †

	grs.	Sh.	grs.		
Q. If	118	: 21 : :	150	- -	26 8½
And 8 per Cent. increaſed price,					2 1½
				Sh.	28 9½

Such will be the produce of the gold mohur, according to the proportions before eſtabliſhed by relation to the mint indenture. Let us now ſee what will be the produce, by the ſame rule, of the ſilver allowed in exchange.

The regulation by ſtatute of ſilver in England is, that a pound, or 12 ounces Troy, of Engliſh ſtandard, ſhall contain 5328 grains of pure ſilver, and that this pound ſhall produce 62 ſhillings of ſtandard money.

The pound Troy of Sicca rupee ſilver 13 dwts. better than Engliſh ſtandard, contains 5640 grains of pure ſilver.

	grs.	Sh.	grs.	
Q. If	5328	: 62 : :	5640	65 7½

" 24 half-crowns and two ſhillings,
" 62 ſhillings.
" 124 half ſhillings, or ſix pences, &c. &c. to be in fineneſs 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine ſilver, and " 18 dwts. of alloy, and after the rate of three pounds and two ſhillings (62 ſhillings) to the " Troy pound weight.

" The *remedy* allowed for the maſter in ſilver coin is 2 dwts. or 48 grains Troy, on every " pound weight, for the ſame reaſons as before mentioned. The remedy both on gold and " ſilver coins is to include the exceſs or defect both of weight and fineneſs, and is only to be " allowed where ſuch fault happens from caſualty."——The maſter is bound to make all gold monies, agreeable in fineneſs to the ſtandard trial-piece of the 4th of James the Second, and all ſilver monies by the ſtandard trial-piece of the 1ſt of George the Second, part of which pieces are lodged in his majeſty's exchequer.

† We have purpoſely omitted fractional numbers, which would occaſion perplexity, without producing any material difference in the calculation.

A pound Troy is equal to 32 Sicca rupees in weight ‡ and of Sicca rupee ſilver, produces 65 ſh. 7½ d. according to the laſt operation.

Sic. Rup. oz. ſh. d. Sic. Rup.

Q. If 32 = 12 : 65 7½ :: 14 being the value in exchange of a gold mohur?

Anſw. 28 ſh. 5½ d.

The comparative values of a gold mohur, and 14 Sicca rupees, will therefore ſtand in the following manner:

		Sh.	d.
Produce of the gold mohur,		26	8¼
Eight per Cent. added,		2	1½
	Sh.	28	9¾
Produce of 14 Sicca rupees,		28	5¼
			4½

Whence it appears that a ballance of four-pence and one *half-penny* remains in favour of the gold mohur, which is to that amount better than was propoſed in the regulations publiſhed by authority.

Theſe gold mohurs having continued in circulation 18 months, without murmur or complaint, to what cauſes muſt we aſcribe the ſubſequent miſcarriage? Wherever the two metals are admitted into currency, the denomination of the coins muſt be adapted to a ſuppoſed proportion between gold and ſilver. If their relative value ſhould be changed by a decreaſe in the quantity of either, a new proportion muſt be aſſumed. If, moreover, a competition among many purchaſers ſhould ariſe, this competition, independent of the quantities of either metal in the country,

‡ 12 oz. Troy weigh exactly 32 S. wt. 0 an. 10 pi. 29 decim. parts.

will

will enhance the price of one *. Both cauſes here conſpired to produce the ſame effect. Notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances of lord Clive and the ſelect committee, the neceſſities of the company obliged the directors to order more than thirty lacks annually in ſilver to China, and their other ſettlements. If, to this drain, be added an annual tribute of 26 lacks to the king, the expences of a brigade ſtationed at Illahabad, and ſilver exported by the French to Pondicherry, the loſs of ſilver coin during two years muſt be eſtimated at a very large ſum.

Neither had gold been yet tried in procuring inveſtments. It was deemed by private merchants, and even by the company, too delicate an experiment, to make advances for the proviſion of the year in a coin to which the manufacturer had not been accuſtomed. For the ſame reaſon ſilver was alſo preferred by the foreign companies, in exchange for their bills of remittance. Hence a competition enſued, individuals purchaſing rupees at an enhanced price, for the purpoſes of bills and inveſtments. This competition raiſing the price of ſilver, will explain many facts which have been invidiouſly mentioned by others. In Calcutta, gold mohurs were exchanged for rupees, at a loſs of 38 per cent §. In China, where all payments being made in ſilver, gold bears but a low price; the loſs upon gold mohurs, nevertheleſs, did not exceed 10 per cent. or 2 per cent. more than the additional value †, avowed by the regulations publiſhed when the coin was firſt iſſued. At Madraſs, where the importation of an inconſiderable

* Experience ſhews the effect which a ſcarcity of ſilver coin produces upon gold, even in England, where the neceſſities of the trader frequently oblige him to exchange a guinea for leſs than its legal value. Yet here gold has long been equally with ſilver the price and meaſure of all merchandize and neceſſaries of life; whereas, in Bengal, ſilver alone had heretofore been the ſole ſtandard price and meaſure of all things ſold, and gold was received in commerce only, at a value proportioned to the ſilver rupees it would produce in exchange. When gold afterwards became money, and the mohur had a fixt relation to the Sicca rupee *by law*, ſuch was the effect of habit, that the people continued ſtill to regard the gold mohur rather as bullion than coin, comparing it with merchandize, through the medium of the ſilver rupee. The conſequence was, that when the price of ſilver increaſed, from the growing ſcarcity of this metal, a more ſenſible check was given to the currency of the gold coin, than in countries where the people had been habituated to conſider gold and ſilver equally as ſtandard price or current coin. See App. Diary of the riſe and fall of ſilver in the market, p. 245, and ſeq.

§ Mr. Bolts, p. 205.

† Above the proportions of the mint indenture.

quantity

30045

quantity of gold affects the price, and the council were likewiſe purchaſing ſilver for the ſupply of China, the gold mohurs were either exchanged for ſilver, or coined into pagodas, at a loſs of 13 per cent. including alſo the charges and loſs upon a recoinage into pagodas. Mr. Bolts was too good a merchant not to perceive the increaſing price of ſilver to be the real cauſe of this loſs, and therefore cautiouſly uſes a phraſe, which is literally true. His words are theſe; "that the loſs at Madraſs, in ſuch remittances of "gold mohurs from Bengal, had been 13 per cent. *as ſilver rupees would* "*to that degree have better anſwered.*"

The reader has ſeen the reaſons which induced the council to give a higher valuation to gold than in the mint indenture of England; and eight per cent. above this price was the proportion aſſumed. A continued exportation of ſilver afterwards varied this proportion, while a competition in the purchaſe of the laſt mentioned metal farther enhanced the relative value of ſilver. Theſe cauſes, aided by the intrigues of the ſhroffs, ſo effectually obſtructed the currency of gold mohurs in Calcutta, that they were there exchanged for rupees, at a price which had no relation to their intrinſic worth. Juggat Seet, the great banker and principal ſhroff, when firſt conſulted, ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of allowing a batta or annual diſcount on the gold mohurs, in the ſame manner as had ever been uſual upon the Sicca rupee; and perhaps a neglect of this advice was the greateſt error in the plan of 1766. Yet the directors, having frequently condemned the batta in their letters to Bengal, the council could not adopt it in a new coinage, even to enſure ſucceſs.

When the gold mohur was firſt iſſued, the faith of the company became thereby engaged to the poſſeſſor of the coin, for whatever value might be added in denomination beyond the intrinſic worth. The council therefore juſtly thought themſelves obliged to receive the coin at the original denomination, and theſe mohurs were accordingly recalled.

In compliance with the general deſire of the inhabitants of * Calcutta, the governor and council afterwards determined to eſtabliſh another gold

* See petitions in Appendix.

coinage,

coinage, avoiding the ſuppoſed error of the former plan, and making juſt allowance for a real variation in the proportion of the two metals, ariſing from a continued exportation of ſilver. In March, 1769, it was reſolved, that a gold mohur, weighing 7 dwts. 22 grs. 773 decimal parts, of the fineneſs of 23 cts. 3¼ grs. or 190½ grains pure gold, ſhould be iſſued at the denomination of 16 Sicca rupees. This eſtimation of gold, 11½ per cent. lower that of 1766, reduced its value more than three per cent. below the proportion of the mint indenture in England, and likewiſe of the pagoda coined in the company's mint at Madraſs. Yet has the learned writer before mentioned endeavoured to ſhew, that gold was here likewiſe too highly eſtimated, by 5½ per cent. That the gold was not too highly eſtimated in the ſecond coinage of 1769 is farther evinced, by the lateſt advices from Bengal, which ſay, that this mohur has been readily received in exchange for ſilver rupees, according to the eſtabliſhed denomination.

When the growing ſcarcity of ſilver was explained in a former part of this chapter, I had no intention even to inſinuate that the price of Bengal manufactures, brought thence to Europe, ſhould be paid in bullion by the India company. This can never be done without ſacrificing our own intereſts, and rendering the revenues of a diſtant country uſeleſs to Great Britain. Bengal, like other ſubjected provinces, muſt yield its tribute; but experience will inculcate the neceſſity of moderating our demands, that the country may be enabled long to continue this payment. If the court of Directors will, for the future, be contented with an annual inveſtment, not exceeding five or ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and diſcontinue entirely the exportation of ſilver from Bengal, the foreign trade of that country may again revive. Increaſing induſtry will in time reſtore its wealth; and ſhould ſome expedient be required to palliate the preſent defect of current money, a gold coinage will afford relief. Without dreaming of banks and paper credit, ſuch a meaſure may be effected; but it will ever be found impoſſible to preſerve a coin in currency, unleſs we aſſume the ancient practice of the natives for

our

our guide, and assimilate our new regulations to those of the Sicca rupee*.

* The following is the number of gold mohurs, coined agreeable to the new regulations, made August 1st, 1766, to , 1768, when they were recalled by an order of the council.

	Mohurs.
In Calcutta,	177871
Moorshed-abad,	70000
Patna,	15274
Total,	263045
Of the above sent to Madrass,	134417
	128628
Returned to the treasury of Calcutta, from circulation,	120161
Ballance not brought in,	8467

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Society eſtabliſhed in the Year 1765, for conducting the Trade in Salt, Beetle-nut, and Tobacco.

THE internal commerce of Bengal is now become ſo important to the intereſts of Great Britain, that I could wiſh to treat of this ſubject at large; but the miſrepreſentations which have been induſtriouſly propagated compel me to make the ſociety eſtabliſhed in 1765, for conducting the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, the principal object of my preſent inveſtigation.

Phirmaunds from the emperor had long been poſſeſſed by the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, exempting from the payment of duties "whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring or carry, by land "or by water, in the ports, quarters, and borders of the provinces." This privilege, while the Engliſh were wholly ſubordinate to the country government in Bengal, was confined to exports and imports, and under this limitation, enjoyed rather from connivance than of right, by the private traders in the company's ſervice.

When Meer-Jaffier was raiſed to the muſnud by our arms, the trade of the ſervants encreaſed with the authority of the company, and they now engaged, at firſt ſparingly, in the inland traffic of ſalt. Some even claimed an exemption from duties; but as theſe pretenſions were diſcountenanced by colonel Clive during his government, ſuch claims were at that time relinquiſhed.

By the treaty with Meer Coſſim, the company obtained a ceſſion of lands, yielding about 600,000 l. per annum. Their troops had continually increaſed, until the power of the company gave effect to private uſurpations.

The inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco was univerſally carried on by gentlemen in the ſervice, without payment of duties; and knowing the Nabob to be preparing the means of reſiſtance, they treated every complaint of his officers as a freſh indication of enmity to the *Engliſh*. Thus the fears of public policy, conſpiring with private intereſt, ſoon produced a rupture, which, after riſking our exiſtence upon the fate of a battle, ended in the overthrow of Coſſim and final eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh power.

Before this laſt event took place, intelligence was received at home of the confuſion in which Bengal was involved, of the defeat at Patna of a detachment amounting nearly to one third of our army, and of the cruel maſſacre of many Engliſh gentlemen. The reputation acquired by lord Clive in India directed all eyes to him; and he was called, by the concurrent voice of the nation and proprietors, to undertake once more the labour of reſtoring order to our affairs.

The cauſe of theſe events naturally became the ſubject of deliberation. It appeared, that an exemption from duties had thrown the whole trade of the country into the hands of the Engliſh. This, however, was the leaſt evil. The country government was deſtroyed by the violence of their agents; and individual tyranny ſucceeded to national arrangement. In the general confuſion, all, who were diſpoſed to plunder, aſſumed the authority of our name, uſurped the ſeats of juſtice, and carried on what they called a trade, by violence and oppreſſion. The Nabob's officers either fled before them, or, joining the invader, divided the ſpoil. The barrier of the country government once broken down, it became impoſſible to ſtop the inundation. Mahomedan, Portugueſe, and Armenian alike, nay, every illiterate mariner who could eſcape from a ſhip, erected our flag, and acted as lord of the diſtrict around him.*

* Frequent orders of the council and of the ſelect committee, for recalling free merchants and others diſperſed throughout the country are to be found on the company's records, during a courſe of ſeveral years, under different governors. One of the firſt reſolutions of the ſelect committee, upon lord Clive's arrival, (the ſecond day of their ſitting) is founded on diſobedience to former orders. See Committee Proceedings, May 11, 1765.

Upon

Upon lord Clive's acceptance of the preſidency and command of the forces in Bengal, he wrote the letter mentioned by Mr. Bolts to the court of directors, recommending an entire abolition of the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which, in his opinion, "concurred," with other cauſes mentioned in the letter, "to haſten and bring on the late troubles." He adds, that "as a means to alleviate, in ſome meaſure, the diſſatisfaction which "*ſuch reſtrictions* on the commercial advantages of your ſervants may "occaſion in them, it is my full intention not to engage in any trade myſelf."*

The intended reſtrictions did not take effect; for many active proprietors, when the affair was conſidered in a general court, ſtrongly urged the continuance of this indulgence, under ſome limitations, to the ſervants, who would otherwiſe be deprived of a decent ſubſiſtence abroad; much leſs could they ever hope to reviſit their native conntry with ſuch independent fortunes as reaſon and juſtice equally authoriſed them to expect. Theſe ſentiments being generally embraced, it was propoſed, that the directors ſhould give inſtructions to the preſident and council to ſettle ſuch regulations, "*as ſhall prove moſt advantageous to the company*," which regulations were to be tranſmitted home for the * *court of directors to determine* on ſo important a ſubject.

This motion, made on the † 18th of May, did not coincide with the ſenſe of the majority, who very juſtly thought that the ſtate of Bengal rendered it highly improper to interpoſe a delay of near two years, but that ſome regulations ought to be immediately adopted. The above-mentioned motion was therefore withdrawn, and it was RESOLVED, "That it be "recommended to the court of directors to reconſider the ‡ orders ſent to

* The motion was, verbatim, as follows: "That it be recommended to the court of di-"rectors to give inſtructions to the preſidency of Bengal to ſettle ſuch regulations in carrying "on the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, *as ſhall prove moſt advantageous to this company*, "without prejudicing the juſt rights of the nabob of the provinces; *and that ſuch regulations be* "*tranſmitted home to the court of directors* by the firſt opportunity, with every information which "can *enable them to determine* on ſo important a ſubject.

† Lord Clive's letter is dated the 27th of April preceding.

‡ The orders here ſpoken of are contained in the letter to Bengal, dated 8th of February preceding, a diſobedience to which orders by governor Spencer and his council, the directors afterwards reprehend in their letter, dated 24th of December, 1765. Vide p. 109.

" Bengal, relative to the trade of the COMPANY'S SERVANTS in ſalt, " beetle-nut, and tobacco; and that they do give ſuch directions for *regu-* " *lating the ſame*, agreeably to the intereſt of the company and the ſubah, " as to them may appear moſt prudent, either by *ſettling here at home the* " RESTRICTIONS *under which this trade ought to be carried on*, or by refer- " ring it to the governor and council of Fort William *to regulate this im-* " *portant point* in ſuch a manner as may prevent all future diſputes be- " tween the ſubah and the company."

In purſuance of this recommendation from their conſtituents, the directors finding it impoſſible to ſettle an equitable plan, " deſtitute of " the informations and lights neceſſary in ſo important an affair," expreſsly order * the governor and council, after " conſulting the Nabob, to " form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade†."

Notwithſtanding this expreſs and poſitive injunction, it has been aſſerted, that the ſalt ſociety was formed in oppoſition to orders received from home. The miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from too haſty a peruſal of the general letter to Bengal, dated the 26th of April, 1765. This letter, written in anſwer to one from governor Vanſittart and the council, dated the 27th of September, 1764, condemns the treaty ſtipulating a trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, on payment of a ſmall ‡ duty; and refers throughout to the conſultations previous to that period, when lord Clive was expected to arrive in India. The ſeparate letter to governor Spencer, dated the 24th of December, 1765, is yet more § explicit, reciting part of a minute by

* This letter is dated the 1ſt of June, 1764, and was ſent by the ſame ſhip which carried lord Clive and Mr. Sumner to India. A duplicate arrived before them in Bengal by another ſhip.

† This letter requires that theſe regulations ſhould be tranſmitted home to the directors; but to imagine ſuch requiſition was intended to ſuſpend the execution of theſe regulations was impoſſible with thoſe in whoſe memory the above-mentioned debates were freſh, and who muſt conſider this letter of the 1ſt of June, as written in purſuance of the vote of a court of proprietors, in which vote the directors are ordered to adopt one part of this alternative, " either to " give ſuch directions for regulating the ſame, *as to them may ſeem meet*, or to refer it to the " governor and council of Fort William to regulate this important point." That the letter of the 1ſt of June was not at that time underſtood even by the directors, in the ſenſe which ſome people affect now to give it, appears from their letter to governor Spencer, dated December 24th, 1765, hereafter mentioned.

‡ Two and a half per cent.

§ Written in anſwer to their letter of the 26th of November, 1764.

Mr.

Mr. Johnſtone, which the directors ſeverely condemn, and then add, "We "ſhall ſay nothing farther at preſent on the inland trade, *till that impor-* "*tant ſubject ſhall be taken up by lord Clive and the gentlemen of the ſelect* "*committee*, only to obſerve that the regulation propoſed in conſultations "of the 17th of October, 1764, is a manifeſt diſobedience of our orders "of the 8th of February*, *then under deliberation*, which poſitively forbid "all trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco."

Mr. Bolts adopts this miſrepreſentation of the orders. Immediately after he has laboured to irritate the reader againſt the ſalt-ſociety eſtabliſhed by the committee, he ſays, "The court of Eaſt India directors *repeatedly*, and in "the ſtrongeſt terms, forbad *this monopoly* in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; "particularly in their general letter per lord Camden, dated the 19th of "February, 1766, wherein they poſitively directed their governor and "council to make a *formal renunciation*, by ſome ſolemn act to be entered "on their records, of all right to trade in thoſe articles; directing their "preſident to tranſmit ſuch renunciation in form to the Nabob in the "Perſian language, with adding theſe expreſs words: 'Whatever go-'vernment may be eſtabliſhed, or whatever unforeſeen occurrences may 'ariſe, it is our reſolution to prohibit, and we do abſolutely forbid *this* '*trade* in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco.'

When the letter of the 19th of February, 1766, was written, the court of directors had not † received the plan which the ſelect committee had framed, in purſuance of the reſolution taken by the court of proprietors. This letter therefore muſt be regarded as a continuation of the before-mentioned prohibition to trade, *till that important affair had been taken up by lord Clive and the ſelect committee.* The reader will recollect that the trade to which theſe orders refer had been claimed by the ſervants, *duty free*, under the phirmaun from the emperor; had been made an article ‡

* This date is previous to the reſolution of the general court. The regulation here referred to was merely confining the trade to certain markets.

† Until the 19th of April, 1766.

‡ Paying 2 ½ per cent.

in

in the treaty upon Meer Jaffier's reſtoration; which article, although condemned by the directors, was tranſcribed into the treaty with his ſon Nudjum al Dowlah, by governor Spencer and his council. To *this diſobedience of orders* the animadverſions of the court apply, and throughout the letter of the 19th of February they every where ſpeak of the claim under the phirmaun and this treaty. They then direct the *renunciation* mentioned by Mr. Bolts "of all right, *under the ſaid treaty*, or * otherwiſe, "to trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco," "according to the ſpirit of "the phirmaun." "And that you tranſmit THIS RENUNCIATION *of that* "*part of the treaty* † in form to the Nabob."

Another extract is given by Mr. Bolts, to prove that the orders were uniform to this point. He has candidly ſuppreſſed the date, wiſhing probably the reader to imagine this likewiſe had been received before the ſociety was eſtabliſhed for the ſecond year. This is an extract from a letter, in which the court of directors declare they cannot conſent to carrying on that trade in any manner whatſoever. This letter was received in December 1766, and in obedience to this order the plan was aboliſhed. But the directors here add, that they do not condemn the conduct of the ſelect committee.

Admitting for a moment that the directors had authority to annul the orders of a general court, without attempting the execution, it will be impoſſible to believe ſuch could be their intention, when they had given particular inſtructions for fulfilling the expectation of the proprietors; when the letter of the 19th of February was written to a different governor and council, being throughout a comment on *their conduct*; and when prior letters, containing the like general diſapprobation of the trade, expreſsly excepted the plan to be framed by lord Clive and the ſelect committee.

* This plainly refers to the claim under phirmaun, which is recognized by this article of the treaty.

† The words, "*of that part of the treaty*," are omitted by Mr. Bolts, in order to apply RENUNCIATION to the plan of lord Clive and the ſelect committee, not then known in England.

A won-

A wonderful diſcovery is now made of a deed, an unheard-of engagement among the company's ſervants, to ſupport each other in a predetermined diſobedience of orders. If thoſe who ſo readily adopt this opinion, had conſulted the company's records for information, and not to ſerve a *preſent* purpoſe, they would probably have read the whole relative to the ſubject, and might in ſuch caſe have found every particular entered at large among the proceedings of the council, 16th of September*, 1765, and tranſmitted to the directors in the general letter.

The plan being formed, and ſhares of the ſociety diſtributed among the company's ſervants, according to their reſpective rank, the conduct of this trade was entruſted to a committee, choſen for that purpoſe, who proceeded to make many contracts for ſalt. But it was ſoon found impoſſible, without the concurrence of the council, "to † eſtabliſh the credit of the "ſociety, ſo as to raiſe the neceſſary fund for carrying on the trade." The committee of trade therefore requeſt a deed in writing to ſecure to them this trade during the year, ending 31ſt of Auguſt, 1766.

Had the directors thought fit to ſend retroſpective orders for the abolition of this ſociety, erected with the previous aſſent of themſelves and their conſtituents, ſuch orders could not arrive in Bengal ‡ before the year was expired. The council therefore unanimouſly reſolved to indemnify the committee of trade, in an engagement undertaken upon the faith of the company; and as the Admiral Stevens was not yet diſpatched, "It is agreed "to apply to the company for permiſſion to renew the ſame for the fu"ture concerns, *if the plan meets with their approbation.*" By this deed the committee of trade became *perſonally* reſponſible for the duties to the company, the council on the other hand engaging to continue the ſociety during one year. So little idea of guilt was entertained, that none of the gentlemen concerned have ever kept a copy; but the original deed

* Appendix, p. 249 No. 143.

† Letter of the committee of trade, entered in Conſultations, 16th September, 1765.

‡ The Admiral Stevens, which carried the firſt intelligence, was diſpatched on the 18th of October, 1765, and the engagement expired in Auguſt, 1766.

was

was drawn by Mr. Whittal *, whom Mr. Bolts ſuppoſes to have been cruelly oppreſſed, by the ſame men who entruſted him with this very dangerous conſpiracy. Mr. Bolts knew the tranſaction would not bear the conſtruction he wiſhed it to receive. He therefore makes another † deed, the date of which is ſuppreſſed, to *precede* this in his Appendix, becauſe it would otherwiſe have proved, that a diſobedience of orders had never been in contemplation of the parties. This deed *relating to a period*, within which orders were expected to arrive from home, plainly ſuppoſes ſuch orders would be obeyed, for it contains an expreſs ſtipulation in *a particular private contract* upon this event, "that any order or direction ſhall be "iſſued by the honourable court of directors of the Eaſt India company "in England, *by which the ſaid joint trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, "ſhall be ſtopped.*" It was not, therefore, the *private* intention of theſe gentlemen to diſobey, much leſs would they have ſet forth ſuch intention upon the *public* records of the company, if they had ever entertained the thought.

Having thus removed the imputation of diſobedience, we may now proceed to examine the plan propoſed for carrying on the trade in a manner agreeable to inſtructions received from home. It appears, from a review of the evils which gave riſe to the firſt deliberations on this ſubject, as likewiſe from the whole courſe of correſpondence with the governor and council, that the principal object of the company was to repreſs the practices of private traders, ſo ruinous to the peace of the country, the revenues and government of the nabob. At the ſame time, the trade, in the language of the reſolution of a general court, "*ought to be carried on*", for the benefit of the "*company's ſervants*," under "ſuch regulations as may pre-"vent all future diſputes between the ſubah and the company ‡."

* Mr. Whittal, an attorney of the mayor's court, was directed to draw out the deed; and the letter of the committee of trade, and reſolution thereupon, which appear in Conſultations, were tranſmitted to him as inſtructions for forming the ſame. What this friend of Mr. Bolts may have added, before or ſince, it is impoſſible for thoſe to ſay who have no copy of the deed.

† This deed was executed more than twelve months after the other.

‡ The reſolution of the general court is entered at length in the firſt part of this chapter.

It

It occurred, that a government beaten down by the violence of individuals, in the profecution of a claim afterwards enforced by our arms, and eſtabliſhed by treaty, a government, which had long been trampled upon by all who aſſumed the Engliſh name, could not again rear its head, while the ſame perſons were permitted to traverſe the country without controul. The council, or the committee, had no legal authority to interfere, much leſs to puniſh oppreſſors; and among a people formed by nature, and by habit, to bear the yoke of conquerors, where the dread of our power increaſed with our victories, the ſword of juſtice muſt fall from the feeble hands of a magiſtrate, yet unaſſured of ſupport. Neceſſity, not to ſay humanity, required an immediate recall of all the Engliſh agents or gomaſtahs, diſperſed throughout the provinces, that the nabob's officers, in diſcharging their duty, might no longer fear a conteſt with power. This meaſure was enforced by the moſt poſitive repeated orders of the directors, who had very juſtly determined not to permit a continuance of the trade on its former footing. The new covenants had excluded the receipt of preſents; while the increaſed inveſtment of the company, (after the dewanny was obtained) abſorbed the trade of individuals, and removed all proſpect of advantage in a foreign commerce. No other fund remained for the reward of ſervices; and without propoſing a reaſonable proſpect of independent fortunes, it was ridiculous to hope that common virtue could withſtand the allurements of daily temptation, or that men armed with power would abſtain from the ſpoils of a proſtrate nation.

Theſe conſiderations induced the committee to frame a plan for carrying on the inland trade in theſe articles, by which it was propoſed, to recall all private agents, to form one ſociety, who ſhould diſpoſe of their ſalt, &c. at certain markets, diſtributing the ſhares in this ſociety among the company's ſervants, according to their reſpective rank.

Mr. Sumner, who was indefatigable in adjuſting every part of the plan, actually ſearched about twenty years back; and the price was in conſequence of this reſearch fixed at the ſeveral markets, to which the ſociety tranſported ſalt, full fifteen per cent. lower than the price at which it

uſually ſold. From theſe markets it was carried by the natives; ſo that the conſumer muſt purchaſe his ſalt for leſs than had been ordinarily given. A duty, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, was eſtabliſhed for the company, which was increaſed the following year to one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds.

Salt is made at a certain ſeaſon of the year; and perſons who advance their money to the manufacturer, contracted to furniſh the ſociety. As the committee of trade, by the famous deed, became reſponſible for the duties, it may appear reaſonable to all but Mr. Bolts, that they ſhould poſſeſs the means of performing their obligation. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary that the trade ſhould continue during one whole year; and that permiſſion ſhould be given to diſpoſe of their ſtock in hand, in caſe the directors aboliſhed the ſociety at the expiration of that period.

A difficulty will here occur to the mind of the reader. How could the ſalt be ſold at the uſual price, when the company and proprietors received each a profit? A duty had been always collected upon this article at ſeveral chokeys, or cuſtom-houſes. The extortions and vexatious delays of the Nabob's officers at each paſs, were ſo burthenſome to the trade, that although the Subahdar received leſs than what was now paid to the company, yet the merchant ſuffered to a much greater amount. Theſe duties were before collected at many places higher up the river than Calcutta; but as Calcutta now contains a greater number of people than Muxadavad in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, no reaſon could be urged for exempting the inhabitants from a burthen common to all the province. This exemption moreover would have been ſcarcely practicable, as the whole duty upon ſalt to the Company was paid by the committee of trade, who became reſponſible in conſequence of the deed above mentioned. Mr. Bolts, fully aware of this difference, eſtimates his prices, comparing them with former years, in the market of Calcutta. That the price of ſalt was not enhanced at other places, will appear by the teſtimony of many gentlemen now in England.

Suppoſing,

Suppoſing, for the ſake of argument, that the price of ſalt was enhanced throughout the country; this would only prove, that men who traded without payment of duties, could ſell cheaper than thoſe who conformed to the orders of their maſters. But as the price was really lower, we may hence judge of the exorbitant profit made by the Engliſh trader, who paid no duty, and puniſhed the officers of government if they preſumed to interfere. Mr. Bolts very truly aſſerts, that ſeveral *inferior* ſervants would have preferred their former trade to a ſhare in the ſociety; yet the reader, perhaps, may not think, with Mr. Bolts, that *private* intereſt is the teſt of *public* regulations. Mr. Keir himſelf, who was ſo great a trader in ſalt, that he employed, in one ſeaſon, thirteen thouſand people in the manufacture, ſays, "That the ſociety for the trade in ſalt, "beetle-nut, and tobacco, inſtituted by lord Clive and the ſelect committee, "was ſo far from being detrimental to the country, that thoſe articles "were not only not ſold dearer, but indeed at a lower rate, during the "monopoly, at moſt places at leaſt, than, at a medium, had been done for "many years before, while there was a fixt price upon them, which, "no doubt; would have been of advantage to the people, had it been "continued, particularly with regard to ſalt." This confeſſion will have the greater weight from Mr. *Kier*, as the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety in queſtion "put an entire ſtop to his trading in that article *."

When the firſt plan was framed, lord Clive was engaged in negociations at a great diſtance from Calcutta. He did not, however, heſitate to give his aſſent to the eſtabliſhment of a ſociety which promiſed ſo well to anſwer the expectations of the company. The experience of a few months ſuggeſted ſeveral amendments, and lord Clive, in a minute, dated 3d September, 1766, ſays, "I find that the induſtrious native is ſtill deprived "of that ſhare to which he has an undoubted and a more natural right; "nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which juſtice and humanity "would, I am ſure, incline this committee to eſtabliſh." He therefore propoſes, that the ſalt ſhall be ſold at Calcutta, and the places where made, to the black merchants, who ſhall have the ſole right of vending it throughout the country †. To prevent the rich from engroſſing, the

* Vide Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal, by Arch. Keir, Eſq. p. 57.

† Vide Appendix, p. 251.

Calcutta black merchants were not to purchaſe more than a certain proportion. As the price of ſalt was fixed at two hundred * rupees per hundred

* As ſalt was the only conſiderable article of this commerce we have ſpoken of the ſociety, as eſtabliſhed for that article alone. In truth, tobacco was never bought, and a very ſmall quantity of beetle-nut.

It will be granted, I preſume, that the eſtabliſhment of this ſociety was advantageous to the company. Let us now conſider how the natives were affected.

The price of ſalt in Bengal, has ever been fluctuating and precarious, not only at Calcutta, where the ſalt is firſt imported, or rather landed, but at Patna, which is our extreme boundary of this trade.

At Calcutta, from the year 1760 to 1765, ſalt has ſold from 100 Arcot rupees, to 170 Arcot rupees, per 100 maunds.

At Patna, the loweſt price has been 350 rupees, and it has been often known to riſe to 500 rupees, 600 rupees, and even 700 rupees, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety in queſtion.

For the purpoſe of fixing the prices of ſale at the twelve different markets, eſtabliſhed by the committee of trade throughout the country, prices current, or rates of ſale for many years paſt, were obained from each; from ſome places for 13 years, from others for upwards of 20 years. The medium of which prices being taken, the committee eſtabliſhed their prices of ſale from 12 to 15 per cent. lower than ſuch medium.

It has been above obſerved, that the prices of ſale at Calcutta have been at 100 to 170 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds. At theſe rates it has been purchaſed in Calcutta, and thence tranſported to Patna, and the other interior parts of the country, ſubject, however, firſt to the government's duty, and then to many illegal ſtoppages, vexations, and taxes, which were at all times very conſiderable. Under theſe circumſtances, ſalt has always been ſold at Patna from 350 rupees to 700 rupees per 100 maunds.

By the ſociety's plan in 1765, a duty of 35 per cent; and by the plan 1766, a duty of 50 per cent. was paid to the company as duans, and the ſalt was then permitted to paſs through the whole country free from all farther duty, and free from vexations or ſtoppages of any kind.

It was evidently for the benefit of all interior parts of the country, to receive their ſalt at a certain fixed rate, rather than be ſubject to a precarious riſe or fall, eſpecially when this fixed rate was eſtabliſhed from 12 to 15 per cent. lower than the medium price for many years paſt.

It is true that the inhabitants in and about Calcutta ſuffered an increaſe of price upon their own immediate conſumption. The reaſon was, that formerly the duties were levied on the paſſage of ſalt to the different parts of the country, and now the duty was levied upon its importation into Calcutta. Mr. Bolts ſeems to have formed all his eſtimates upon the price which ſalt bore at Calcutta, without making any allowance for the advantages which the interior parts of the country experienced. Mr. Sumner, who was at the head of the committee of trade, will teſtify, that, excluſive of the diſtrict of Calcutta, ſalt was ſold by the ſociety at more moderate rates than it had been in former years, communibus annis.

This increaſe of price to the conſumers of ſalt in the precincts of Calcutta, ſmall as it was, fell on them only. By the ſecond year's plan, when the ſociety delivered ſalt to all the black merchants who choſe to become purchaſers in Calcutta, at the rate of 200 rupees per 100 maunds, in which price was included the company's duty of 50 per cent. and the purchaſers had liberty to tranſport it through the country free from every other charge whatever. It is evident that the people then received it on terms infinitely more advantageous than ever they did in former times, when

dred maunds, and all taxes, delays, and difficulties, were removed, by collecting the duty from the ſociety, the committee were enabled to aſcertain the price at the ſeveral markets, which would effectually ſecure the conſumer from every impoſition.

Thoſe who borrow their notions of commerce from countries where it is highly cultivated, under the protection of a perfect police, may condemn this laſt attempt: but to the minds of ſuch readers, I wiſh to recall thoſe

when ſalt was not only ſubject to the government's duties, but to very conſiderable additional charges, which aroſe from ſtoppages, vexations, and illegal practices.

According to Mr. Sumner's eſtimate, the loweſt price of ſalt at *(a)* Patna, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, was 350 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds, or 1 d. $\frac{12}{64}$ per lb. Engliſh, and it has been known to riſe to 500 rupees, or 1 d. $\frac{52}{64}$ 600 rup. or 2 d. $\frac{7}{64}$ and even to 700 rup. or 2 d. $\frac{35}{64}$ per lb. Engliſh. And after the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, the higheſt price was 400 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds, which is 1 d. $\frac{20}{64}$ per lb. Engliſh.

But I have authority from original papers in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Rumbold, to declare that all the ſociety's ſalt at Patna was ſold at the rate of 1 d. $\frac{12}{64}$, 1. d. $\frac{23}{64}$, and 1 d. $\frac{20}{64}$ per lb. which is rather lower than Mr. Sumner's eſtimate.

I learn alſo from Mr. Rumbold's papers, that the common price of ſalt at Patna, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, was at the rate of 1 d. $\frac{11}{64}$, 1 d. $\frac{31}{64}$, and 1 d. $\frac{26}{64}$ per lb. and that after the abolition of the ſociety (in 1769 and 1770) the common price was 1 d. $\frac{12}{64}$, 1 d. $\frac{15}{64}$, and 1 d. $\frac{31}{64}$ per lb. Theſe circumſtances are ſubſtantial proofs that the price of ſalt at Patna was nearly, if not preciſely, communibus annis, the ſame, before the ſociety took place, during the continuance of the ſociety, and after the abolition of it, and therefore the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, even according to Mr. Rumbold's papers, cannot be ſaid to have been a grievance.

But there is a material difference between the price of ſalt at Patna, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety as ſtated by Mr. Rumbold and as ſtated by Mr. Sumner. The reaſon is obviouſly this: Mr. Rumbold's prices are only eſtimated for two years before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, when they could not be very high, becauſe at that time the Engliſh gentlemen in general traded in ſalt without paying any duties, but Mr. Sumner's prices are taken upon an average of thirteen and twenty years back, long before the Engliſh had any concern in that trade, when the duties of the country government were regularly paid.

At Gualparah the price of ſalt, after the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, was 400 Arcot rupees per 100 *(b)* Aſſam maunds, which is full 1 d. $\frac{16}{64}$ per lb. In the Rungpore and Chilmary diſtricts, the price was 250 Arcot rupees per 100 *(c)* Chilmary maunds, which is 0 d. $\frac{53}{64}$ per lb. Theſe were alſo the average prices for many years before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety; but then they were the prices at which ſalt uſed to be engroſſed by the *rich*, who ſold it again at a conſiderable profit by retail to the poor. Now *after* the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, the poor bought their ſalt at the ſame price at which the rich engroſſers uſed to buy it, and conſequently were gainers of the difference between the wholeſale and retail prices. Theſe particulars I have from Mr. Baillie, who was agent for the ſociety in the diſtricts of Gualparah, Rungpore, and Chilmary.

(a) Patna may be called the extreme boundary of the company's limits.

(b) An Aſſam maund is 93 lb.

(c) A Chilmary maund is 88 lb.

ſcenes

ſcenes of violence which had long diſtracted Bengal; and at the ſame time beg leave to ſuggeſt, that encouragement of induſtry * in the production, by an enhanced price from a ſcarcity, was altogether unneceſſary in an article which might eaſily be increaſed to any quantity, which the ſociety were always ready to ſell for a certain ſum; and when conſequently ſalt would be purchaſed by the merchants as long as the commodity would pay the expence of conveyance to the ſeveral markets.

The violence with which the inland trade of individals had been ſupported during Meer Coſſim's government, the bloodſhed and confuſion which followed, together with the perſeverance of governor Spencer and his council, to ſupport their conſtruction of the phirmaund, or what was equivalent thereto, an exemption from all other duties except two and a half per cent. upon ſalt, had irritated the directors, and raiſed ſo ſtrong a prejudice againſt the trade, that the court reſolved to aboliſh even the plan eſtabliſhed by the ſelect committee. This they did in their letter dated the 17th May 1766, not ſufficiently conſidering, that orders of diſtant maſters were but a feeble barrier againſt the united intereſt of every man in the ſettlement. They afterwards diſtributed among the ſervants a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. on the revenues, amounting to 63,000 l. per annum; but when the general reſtraint of inland trade was no longer ſupported by the private intereſt and authority of the council, Europeans largely engaged under the names of their black agents, and the profits of this commerce were added to the public allowance.

The committee, better informed, foreſaw the miſchiefs which might probably enſue throughout the country, and the general relaxation of government, which muſt neceſſarily follow, ſhould the council ſecretly engage in a trade prohibited by their employers. The letter from the directors, above-mentioned, reached Calcutta in December 1766, at a time lord Clive was confined by a very ſevere illneſs, which had nearly deprived him of life. As ſoon as his lordſhip could attend to buſineſs, the com-

* It is by counteracting this principle that monopolies are generally injurious to a country; but here the objection was obviated.

mittee

mittee aſſembled, and on the 16th of January 1767, RESOLVED, "That "the Society of Trade ſhall be aboliſhed, and the inland trade totally re- "linquiſhed on the firſt day of September next; but that we fully expreſs "our ſentiments in our next advices to the company, reſpecting the ad- "vantages which would reſult to the ſervice and to the country from the "continuance of this trade under the preſent reſtriction." In conſequence of this reſolution the ſociety was actually aboliſhed on the 1ſt day of September 1767, nor did they engage in any new concern. But as the committee were perſonally liable for large duties to the company, certain ruin muſt have enſued had no time been allowed for the diſpoſal of their ſtock in hand. One year was therefore given for that purpoſe.

On the 24th of January, 1767, the committee wrote as follows to the court of directors.

"We now come to ſpeak of your inſtructions relative to the inland "trade, which you very juſtly conſider as the foundation of all the blood- "ſhed, maſſacres, and confuſion which have happened of late years in "Bengal. Your orders are poſitive, and therefore our obedience ſhall be "implicit. Accordingly you will obſerve in our proceedings, that the ſo- "ciety for conducting this branch of traffic ſtands abſolutely aboliſhed on "the firſt day of September next. The contracts for the preſent year be- "ing formed, and large advances made, it was impoſſible, without ruin "to individuals, and confuſion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the "execution of your orders.

"But although our duty obliges us to pay the ſtricteſt obedience to "your peremptory orders for aboliſhing a trade, to which you expreſs ſo "ſtrong an averſion, the ſame duty requires we ſhould freely offer our "ſentiments upon a ſubject, in which we think your immediate intereſt, "the good of the ſervice, and the public welfare are deeply concerned. "The honourable court of directors, and, indeed, the whole body of pro- "prietors, found it neceſſary to reſtrain by covenants their civil and mili- "tary ſervants from receiving thoſe advantages to which they had for

"many

"many years been accuſtomed. It is likewiſe propoſed, that you may "enjoy the real fruits of your late acquiſitions, to make ſuch an encreaſe "of inveſtment, particularly in ſilk, as will effectually deprive your ſer- "vants of the uſual benefits ariſing from private trade. Farther, that the "revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from "lending money at a higher rate of intereſt than twelve per cent. per an- "num; and a trade by ſea in the manufactures of the country, being the "only remaining channel for the exertion of induſtry, that likewiſe is "choaked up by thoſe ſhoals of free merchants annually imported, who "being incumbered with no public buſineſs, nor confined to reſidence in "Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India to much "greater advantage than your ſervants.

"Taking all theſe circumſtances into conſideration, reflecting alſo upon "the great increaſe of luxury of late years, in conſequence of the ſudden "influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce "the charges of living to the preſent means of ſupporting thoſe charges, "we adopted, in conſequence of your permiſſion, the plan of a regulated "and reſtricted inland trade, as the beſt method of rewarding faithful "ſervices, the ſureſt means to excite zeal, and the faireſt mode of car- "rying on a beneficial trade, without relinquiſhing all the advantages we "have hitherto received, or ſubjecting the natives to thoſe encroachments "on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reaſon com- "plained.

"Our letter by the Camden, and proceedings by the Cruttenden, will "explain to you the regulations in the original plan of the ſociety, which "took place in the month of September laſt. Under theſe regulations "the trade can ſcarce be conſidered in the odious light of a monopoly, "ſince we are rather the agents for manufacturing the ſalt, than the pro- "prietors of the trade. It is ſold in Calcutta to the natives only, and, to "the utter excluſion of all Europeans, at an eaſier rate than it could be pro- "cured when under the management of the government, before we were "admitted to any participation. The natives tranſport it to all the differ-

"ent

" ent parts of the country, under ſuch limitations, that it muſt reach the " hands of the conſumer at a ſtated and moderate price. Hereby the peo- " ple ſenſibly feel the juſtice and lenity of our government; and your ſer- " vants, who have attained the higheſt ſtations, after a courſe of many " years ſpent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their ſervices, " and enjoy the means of ſecuring that independence to which they have " ſo equitable a claim.

" We are now directed totally to renounce all ſhare and benefit ariſing " from this trade. It muſt be made over to the natives. The govern- " ment muſt of courſe come into poſſeſſion; nor can it be carried on " otherwiſe than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to miniſters, " officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear " immenſe fortunes upon the oppreſſion and ruin of the public, in deſpite " of our utmoſt influence and endeavours. Theſe are at preſent our ſuſ- " picions, time alone can verify our conjectures. You no doubt will " maturely conſider how far it is probable men will continue honeſt againſt " all the ſeductions of private intereſt; and whether it may not be ne- " ceſſary to ſtrengthen the ties of that duty expected from your ſervants, " by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy " during the time of their ſervitude, and the independency they ought " to ſecure before the cloſe of their labours."

Long before the laſt orders of the directors arrived, the committee, ſenſible that abuſes might grow up, notwithſtanding the late regulations, unleſs the governors were wholly unconnected with every intereſt in the country, recommended to the council, in conſequence of the following minute, entered in conſultations 19th of September 1766, that the preſident ſhould relinquiſh his ſhares in the ſalt-ſociety, and receive an equivalent * from the revenues.

* The directors afterwards adopted this expedient reſpecting all their ſervants; but by aboliſhing the reſtrictions under which this trade was carried on, and oppoſing ineffectual prohibitions to the private intereſt of all their ſervants, they have let in upon the country all the former evils, and loſt their revenues from this commerce.

Select Committee Proceedings, 19th of September 1766.

" The right honourable the preſident has urged the neceſſity of reſtrict-
" ing the future governors of this preſidency, in points of trade and
" private intereſt, with arguments of ſo much force and conviction, in
" the following minute, that we unanimouſly agree in recommending his
" lordſhip's propoſal to the board, that it may be carried into execution
" with all convenient diſpatch.

" *Lord* Clive's *Minute.*

" Our attention as a ſelect committee inveſted with extraordinary powers
" by the court of directors, has been conſtantly engaged in reforming the
" abuſes which had crept into the ſeveral departments of this government.
" The important work has been ſteadily proſecuted with zeal, diligence,
" and diſintereſtedneſs on our parts, and the ſucceſs of our labours gives
" us reaſon to hope that our employers will be of opinion that we have
" eſtabliſhed many uſeful and neceſſary regulations. Many others how-
" ever are ſtill wanting to complete our plan; but I doubt not that the
" ſame principles which have hitherto guided our conduct, will continue
" to direct and juſtify the meaſures we have yet to purſue.

" To place the preſident in ſuch a ſituation as will render his govern-
" ment honourable to himſelf, and advantageous to the company, appears
" to be an object of as much conſequence as any that has been taken into
" our conſideration. Where ſuch immenſe revenues are concerned, where
" power and authority are ſo enlarged, and where the eye of juſtice and
" equity ſhould be ever watchful, a governor ought not to be embarraſſed
" with private buſineſs. He ought to be free from every occupation in
" which his judgment can poſſibly be biaſſed by his intereſt. The exten-
" ſive commercial affairs, the ſtudy of the finances, the politics of the
" country, the epiſtolary correſpondence, the proceedings of council and
" committee, theſe are ſufficient to employ every moment of his time;
" and I am confident they cannot be conducted with the requiſitive atten-

tion

" tion to the company's intereſt, if the mind of the governor be diverted " by complicated mercantile affairs of his own.

" If we look back upon thoſe unhappy diſſenſions, which have fre- " quently brought the company's poſſeſſions in Bengal almoſt to the point " of deſtruction, we ſhall find that they have generally proceeded from " the conduct of governors, who, too eager in the purſuit of private in- " tereſt, have involved themſelves in affairs which could not be recon- " ciled to the ſtrict principles of integrity. To prevent ſcrutinies and " diſcoveries, which might in any degree affect their honour, they have " frequently been reduced to the neceſſity of conniving at abuſes which " would otherwiſe have been brought to light and remedied. The wel- " fare of this great company ſhould be the ſole ſtudy of a governor; " attached to that point alone, his meaſures could never be thwarted by " the malice of oppoſition, becauſe they would all be propoſed for the " public good, and actions will always be juſtified or condemned from the " principles on which they are founded.

" Such a ſtate of independency and honour muſt be highly eligible to " a governor; and, in my opinion, it can only be acquired by cutting " off all poſſibility of his benefitting himſelf either by trade, or that " influence which his power neceſſarily gives him in theſe opulent pro- " vinces.

" I therefore propoſe that the governor ſhall, in the moſt public man- " ner, in the preſence of all the company's ſervants, the mayor and al- " dermen, and free merchants, aſſembled at the Mayor's Court, take the " oath and execute the penalty-bond annexed.

" The conſideration I have propoſed is $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the revenues, " excepting thoſe ariſing from the company's own lands at Calcutta, " Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

" Although by theſe means a governor will not be able to amaſs a for- " tune of a million, or half a million, in the ſpace of two or three years,

" yet he will acquire a very handſome independency, and be in that very " ſituation, which a man of nice honour and true zeal for the ſervice " would wiſh to poſſeſs. Thus ſituated, he may defy all oppoſition in " council; he will have nothing to aſk, nothing to propoſe, but what he " means for the advantage of his employers. He may defy the law, be- " cauſe there can be no foundation for a bill of diſcovery; and he may " defy the obloquy of the world, becauſe there can be nothing cenſurable " in his conduct. In ſhort, if ſtability can be inſured to ſuch a government " as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a ſmall ſpace " of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without ca- " pacities, it muſt be effected by a governor thus reſtricted; and I ſhall " think it an honour if my propoſal be approved, to ſet the firſt ex- " ample."

The oath was, That the governor ſhould not, directly or indirectly, carry on any trade, but that he ſhould not be precluded from diſpoſing of ſuch goods or merchandiſe as might be on his hands unſold at the time of his commencing governor.

OBSERVATIONS.

The reader muſt obſerve that this oath was drawn up not to be taken by lord Clive only, but by future governors, who, as merchants, muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſome merchandiſe undiſpoſed of at the time of their coming to the chair. Lord Clive himſelf was not engaged in commerce.

A proviſo was inſerted, That he ſhould not be prevented from purchaſing diamonds or other precious ſtones, provided he did not diſpoſe of the ſame by way of barter or ſale in the Eaſt Indies, or from remitting his fortune to England by bills, or in any other ſhape.

It may be proper to remark that there were only two (eligible or perhaps ſtrictly legal) modes of remitting private fortunes to England, the one by bills on the company, the other by diamonds. Every man preferred the former when he could obtain it, as the leaſt hazardous.

That he would not lend money at a higher rate of intereſt than ten per. cent.

The company's ſervants, even by permiſſion of the court of directors, had a right to lend money at twelve per cent. and the common practice had been to lend at two

and

and three per cent. per menſem. It would have been very ridiculous if a governor, upon not being able to procure the remittance of all his fortune, ſhould not have had the power of lending at a moderate rate of intereſt, which ten per cent. moſt certainly is in that country. It is not more than equivalent to five per cent. in England.

That he would not receive any preſent from any of the country powers exceeding the amount ſpecified in his covenants with the company.

It was poſſible that former covenants might be evaded. This oath, and the penalty-bond which followed it, made all evaſion impracticable.

That he would not receive any fee or gratuity for the diſpoſal of any office or employment whatſoever, the true intent and meaning of the oath being, that in conſideration of $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the *Dewannee collections*, his ſalary and ſtated allowances, commiſſion upon the mint, coral, and freight goods, and money lent at ten per cent. intereſt, no other emolument or advantage whatſoever, either by trade or otherwiſe, ſhould accrue to him as governor of Bengal.

The commiſſion upon the mint, coral, and freight ſhips is fixed, and belong to the governor by long uſage, and by the appointment of the company. It amounts to a very trifling ſum.

This propoſal being approved by the council, a deed between lord Clive and the company, correſpondent with the oath, was executed and regiſtered in the Mayor's Court, by which the governor bound himſelf to the faithful performance of every clauſe in the penal ſum of 150,000l. to be forfeited in caſe he ſhould act contrary to that indenture, one third to the informer, and two thirds to the company; recoverable upon proof given in

in the court of chancery, exchequer, the mayor's court at Calcutta, before the court of directors, or the council at Bengal.

Whether the trade of this ſociety ſo reſtrained under the eye of a preſident, who, without the bias of intereſt, might derive honour to himſelf by correcting the faults of others, was leſs injurious to the natives than the trade carried on at preſent, the reader may determine. I will venture to aſſert, without fear of contradiction, that when the increaſed charge of 40,000 l. upon the revenues, is added to the loſs of duties, it will be found, that the company have ſuffered more than 150,000 l. per annum by overturning this plan.

To anſwer the arguments of every caviller, would be unworthy thoſe who wiſh to give information. Facts are ſtated, the motives explained, and authentic papers referred to for proof of my aſſertions. This may be deemed ſufficient by ſome, for ſo far only the public intereſt extends; but I hope the candid reader will not think it an improper intruſion on his patience, if I proceed to refute an injurious aſperſion thrown upon the character of the noble lord, who was a principal actor in the tranſaction here explained.

Lord Clive declared, in his letter to the court of directors, that his intention was to relinquiſh his ſhare of trade to the inferior ſervants. This declaration was made upon a ſuppoſition that the *inland trade* would be prohibited, and deſigned "*as a means to alleviate* the diſſatisfaction which "*ſuch reſtrictions* may occaſion." The company reſolved to continue the inland trade. No reaſon therefore exiſted which could induce a man of honour to refuſe that ſhare in the ſociety, which was eſtabliſhed for all ſucceſſive governors, when a plan, framed in purſuance of orders from directors and proprietors, was carried into execution.

But it is ſaid, lord Clive declared, in a general court, that he would return to England not enriched a ſhilling by his expedition. This engagement he literally fulfilled. His ſhares in the ſociety of the firſt year, for he had none in the ſecond, together with his commiſſion on the revenues,

nues, appear upon the public records. Theſe he diſtributed among the gentlemen who accompanied him to India; and his intention ſo to do was known in England as early as the 24th of March, 1767; for on that day a ballot being taken on a queſtion concerning the jaghire, the following declaration from a friend of his lordſhip was not only repeatedly publiſhed in every news-paper, but induſtriouſly circulated among the proprietors of India ſtock.

" That his lordſhip has been adding to his fortune is moſt untrue. His " friends defy the bittereſt of his enemies to ſupport the charge. A " ſolemn aſſeveration in that reſpect, from lord Clive himſelf, was read " in court by the friend to whom lord Clive addreſſed his letter; and " it is now ſubmitted to print, in order to diſcredit aſſertions which " are falſe, or elſe to remain in public teſtimony againſt his lord- " ſhip."

Extract of a letter from lord Clive, dated Calcutta, 30th Sept. 1765.

" That you may aſſert with confidence the juſtice of my cauſe, I do " declare by the God who made me, it is my abſolute determination to " refuſe every preſent of conſequence; and that I will not return to Eng- " land with one rupee more than ariſes from my jaghire. My profits " from ſalt ſhall be divided among thoſe friends who have endangered " their lives and conſtitutions in attending me. The congratulatory na- " zirs*, &c. ſhall be ſet oppoſite my extraordinary expences; and if ought " remains, it ſhall go to Poplar, or ſome other hoſpital."

The account laſt mentioned was delivered to the council of Calcutta upon his departure for England; and the writer of theſe ſheets can teſtify that nothing did remain. On the contrary, his lordſhip expended more than five thouſand pounds from his private fortune.

* To refuſe complimentary preſents, or, as they called in the letter, congratulatory nazirs, would, in India, be deemed an affront. Preſents, to a certain value, are therefore excepted in the covenants.

The

The reader ſhould underſtand whence this laſt engagement, not to enrich himſelf, had ariſen. The motion, in 1764, to requeſt lord Clive would again embark for India, was received with univerſal applauſe, and immediately paſſed into a vote. Some gentlemen in the direction, although they could not object to the expedition, raiſed obſtacles to its execution in every ſtage of the buſineſs. They condemned the powers to be given to the ſelect committee, although they themſelves had three months before, in a leſs alarming ſituation of affairs, inveſted Mr. Vanſittart ſingly with abſolute authority *, had given the ſame powers to Mr. Vanſittart's unknown ſucceſſor, jointly with a ſelect committee; nay, aſſigned as a reaſon for not giving theſe powers to him alone, that they knew not who that ſucceſſor might be. It was at length inſinuated, that the expedition was convenient to his lordſhip, who had the *ſame object* with every other man in the company's ſervice. Lord Clive thought proper to contradict theſe calumnies; at the ſame time declaring that he would not enrich himſelf by his voyage to India. It ſurely will appear a very forced conſtruction of ſuch an engagement, to contend that he ought not to apply the acknowledged profits of his government to the reward of thoſe whoſe ſervices were neceſſary to him in the diſcharge of his public duty.

Theſe gentlemen went to India with the knowledge of the directors, but without any emoluments from the company. Unreſtrained by covenants, they might have been eaſily enriched by trade or preſents. Numberleſs opportunities occurred; but it was thought more honourable to confer upon them the known acknowledged rewards which the governor might juſtly have appropriated to himſelf.

It has been aſſerted, that the jaghire was reſtored to lord Clive upon his entering into the engagements before mentioned. Nothing is leſs true. It is notorious, that he declared himſelf ready to embark for India, and leave his right to the deciſion of the law. When the proprietors requeſted him to accept the government and command of their forces, the jaghire was depending in chancery. By the proceedings in the cauſe, it appears

* See the general letter to Bengal, in February, 1764.

that

that a curious reaſon had been given for withdrawing it, " becauſe all " cordiality had ceaſed between the directors and his lordſhip." This reaſon not being concluſive with the proprietors, a propoſal of accommodation was accepted, and the jaghire was ſettled upon his lordſhip for ten years, if he ſhould ſo long live. The directors, in the year 1767, ſenſible of his diſintereſted ſervices in Bengal, propoſed to a general court a prolongation of this term; and, although ſome oppoſition was made while the crown claimed a right to the company's revenues, a farther term of ten years was afterwards added, by an *unanimous* vote of the proprietors, Mr. Vanſittart himſelf ſpeaking in ſupport of the motion.

CHAP. V.

The Impoſſibility of introducing Engliſh Laws into Bengal, with ſome Obſervations on the Nature of thoſe Regulations which the Manners and Habits of the Natives may admit.

IN the foregoing chapters of this work, the principal objects of government are examined ſo far as the power and influence of the Engliſh have produced a change. The reader, who is converſant with the hiſtories of more ſettled ſtates, will not be greatly ſurpriſed if ſome errors ſhould appear, and will judge with temper the conduct of men, who, compelled by neceſſity, have acted in a new ſcene, unaided by experience. If in Great Britain, where the form of our government has grown up to maturity in the courſe of ſeveral ages; where the power of each magiſtrate has undergone frequent diſcuſſions from the united wiſdom of ſucceſſive generations; where all authority is committed to the hands of men formed by education for their ſeveral ſtations, and where the effects of its exertion may be traced in our hiſtory; if, in a country like this, we are perpetually alarmed with ſuppoſed invaſions of our rights, and frightful pictures of encreaſing deſpotiſm are daily held forth to terrify the people, what a portrait might the dulleſt imagination exhibit of Bengal? By minds open to ſuch impreſſions, little regard will be had to the different manners and habits of a people; to the enterpriſing Mahomedan or Armenian oppoſed to the gentle native of India; to the condition of conquerors living amidſt a timid and ſubmiſſive race, like ſoldiers unreſtrained by diſcipline; of men clamorouſly demanding the protection of laws ill underſtood and worſe applied, where intereſt and paſſion unite to confound all order, and where lordly traders, impatient of controul, hope to gratify their own ſordid avarice in the general wreck. Such conſiderations will have little weight with many readers, who will eſtimate our conduct in the government of Bengal by the rigid letter of thoſe laws, which the more perfect polity of

Great

Great Britain can alone admit. Without examining my own conduct by rules which I do not underſtand, and which were not formed for the ſcene in which I acted, it will fully ſatisfy my ambition, if to the candid and diſpaſſionate I ſhall appear to have purſued the intereſts of my employers, to have reſpected the rights of others, and to have deſerved the character of an honeſt man.

When lord Clive arrived in Bengal, in the year 1765, the Engliſh had gradually advanced to that point, which rendered a continuance of their former ſyſtem impoſſible. The principles upon which the ſubſequent change was conducted, the reader will examine by the motives which our ſituation at that time ſuggeſted; and, if he wiſhes to form a juſt judgment, will attend to the whole affairs of the company, both at home and abroad. I have here given a plain and artleſs narration of our tranſactions, and might now diſmiſs the ſubject, but that, after the experience of more than twenty years, I feel myſelf inſtigated to reſiſt thoſe wild opinions, which probably have ariſen from ignorance of the country. To demonſtrate the impoſſibility of introducing Engliſh laws, or, indeed, any new ſyſtem, will not be difficult. To point out thoſe alterations in government, by which it may be poſſible to connect the welfare of Bengal with the intereſt of Great Britain, is a more arduous taſk. I ſhall attempt the latter part with extreme diffidence and diſtruſt, ſince our own experience is yet very imperfect, and that of other nations can afford little aſſiſtance.

Men well verſed in hiſtory too often imbibe not the ſpirit of nations. They trace not the various means by which the minds of a people gradually unfold to civilization, by which men are moulded for the reception of laws. They regard not the ſlow growth of thoſe opinions, which can alone give effect to limitations of power in the magiſtrate, but would tranſplant in an inſtant a ſyſtem of laws eſtabliſhed in this country by the progreſſive experience of ages, and impoſe it on a diſtant people whoſe religion, whoſe cuſtoms, whoſe habits of thinking, and manner of life equally prohibit the attempt.

Theſe are not errors of the vulgar. The philoſopher here only miſtakes. Aſk the peaſant his right to a field; his father enjoyed it before him. Let a clown be ſlightly beaten for a treſpaſs, whom an action at law would have ruined: he underſtands not the trial by jury, or the relation it bears to our government; yet he complains of arbitrary violence, and his cauſe is eſpouſed by his neighbours, as little informed as himſelf.

This ſpirit, this opinion of right, which gives force and effect to our laws, is matured by age, and tranſmitted from father to ſon, like the ſubjects to which it relates. If the northern nations who broke in upon the Roman empire could not reliſh thoſe beauties of art which are the immediate objects of ſenſe, how can a people receive even beneficial proviſions, which have no exiſtence but in the mind, are known but by their effect, and which experience alone can approve? Intricate laws among a rude people may, like refinements in religion, be uſeful to men entruſted with the ſacred depoſit. The more anxious the care of the legiſlator, the more complex the limitations of power, the more occaſions of abuſe will occur. Lawyers, like the prieſts of old, will judge of the duties of men by the intereſts of their own order, and the oppreſſed ſubject will feel the inſtitution a burthen without reaping the ſmalleſt advantage. Even ſuppoſing men of enlightened minds and tried integrity to preſide, their influence will ſcarcely be felt. The dread of the Engliſh name has proved a plentiful ſource of oppreſſion in the hands of private men. Shall we add a complicated ſyſtem of laws to impoſe on a timid and indolent race? Who will underſtand his rights? Who will apply to our courts for redreſs? Thus to leſſen the powers of government, muſt we fly to anarchy, and render every Engliſh gomaſtah the interpreter of his own claims? There are ſome notions of juſtice not confined to time and place, derived from the neceſſary intercourſe of men, and common to every clime. Theſe are the foundations of all government, and from ſuch ſimple beginnings muſt our fabrick be reared. To render all rights plain and ſimple, to remove rather the occaſion than means of oppreſſion, and to enforce a prompt adminiſtration of juſtice, according to the primary laws of all nations, can alone be ſafely attempted.

This

This ſubject deſerves a fuller diſcuſſion. Let us therefore deſcend ſomewhat into detail. Perſonal contracts form a conſiderable title in every code; and here different nations approach neareſt to each other. Our law of contracts is greatly borrowed from the civil law, which has been adopted with ſome little variation by all the other nations of Europe. The commentaries upon the Koran, as far as they regard matters of contract, are, I am told, chiefly derived from the ſame law, eſtabliſhed in the Greek empire, and are received, ſubject to the arbitrary will of the prince and his officers, wherever the Mahomedan religion prevails.

The truth is, that there can be little diverſity, where all men have the ſame intention, and expreſs it nearly in the ſame manner. No ſooner do mutual neceſſities beget an exchange of commodities, than the nature of a ſale is perfectly underſtood. If I relinquiſh my horſe, and accept the price, in no quarter of the world can this ſimple tranſaction be miſtaken. So he that receives goods from a merchant without mention of price, tacitly engages to pay their real value in the market. So likewiſe he that employs a perſon to tranſact buſineſs, or perform any work, undertakes to pay him as much as his labour deſerves. Yet even here ſome diverſities will occur in the laws of different ſtates. Not to mention the various cauſes or conſiderations of contracting, every agreement has a relation not to the parties only, but to all around them, to the government, to the ſtate of commerce, to the police of the country.

Public rights are every where more expoſed than private. The extent of the former renders them leſs ſubject to inſpection, and the officers employed have little intereſt in their defence. In the moſt free countries the magiſtrate is therefore armed with extraordinary powers, and is permitted to vindicate his claim, when a lapſe of time ſeems to have eſtabliſhed the right in another. Where ſhall this privilege end? What ſuperior remedies ſhall the magiſtrate poſſeſs? Into what hands ſhall he follow the property of his debtors? or what tranſactions ſhall he be permitted to unravel?

Again,

Again, various degrees of credit prevail in the dealings of different nations, but in none are all engagements *immediately* executed. Upon what mutual undertaking muſt the contract be founded, by what evidence ſupported, before the individual can call upon the magiſtrate for aſſiſtance? When ſhall it be conſidered as his duty to interfere? What proceſs againſt the perſon ſhall the creditor demand? What puniſhment be inflicted to enforce the payment of debts? What unequal contracts ſhall the creditor be admitted to reſcind?

Theſe are queſtions which no general reaſoning can enable us to anſwer, but which the prudent legiſlator muſt determine, with a view to the preſent ſituation and commerce of his ſubjects.

The hungry and neceſſitous will ever commit depredations on property. This is an evil which the public are concerned to repreſs, and encouragement muſt be given to the owner in purſuit, whether the injury be an open and violent, or a ſecret theft. To what caſes ſhall this right extend? By what transfer of poſſeſſion ſhall the property be changed? Shall the rule vary, as the thing taken can be more eaſily conveyed or concealed? How ſhall we decide between the intereſt of a fair purchaſer on one hand, and the claim of a meritorious proſecutor of crimes, himſelf equally innocent, equally injured on the other? Theſe, and innumerable like points, muſt finally depend on the ſtate and condition of a nation; and he, who is in the ſmalleſt degree converſant with the hiſtory of laws in any country, muſt have obſerved, that they perpetually vary with the varying condition of a people. As well might we tranſplant the full-grown oak to the banks of the Ganges, as dream that any part of a code, matured by the patient labours of ſucceſſive judges and legiſlators in this iſland, can poſſibly coaleſce with the cuſtoms of Bengal.

To purſue our chain of reaſoning, it will be neceſſary to inveſtigate the domeſtic relations of private life. Here the intelligent reader will diſcover that different nations diverge, as it were, ſtill farther from the common centre, until climate, religion, and laws conſpiring, have formed

creatures

creatures ſo diſſimilar to each other, as might tempt one to rank them under different ſpecies. As well might we expect that the Hindoo could change his colour, as that ſeveral millions of people ſhould renounce in an inſtant thoſe cuſtoms, in which they have lived, which habit has confirmed, and religion has taught them to revere. If this were accompliſhed, more than half our work would yet remain. They muſt not only renounce old, but aſſume new manners. The man muſt be again created; and this prodigy be effected by unknown laws, repugnant to every thing he had heard, ſeen, or felt.

It is common to uninformed man, in every quarter of the globe, to judge rather from the perceptions of ſenſe, than the cooler reſinements of reaſon. This habit of thinking pervades his whole conduct. The diſtant relation to the magiſtrates is forgotten, while the benefits derived from the father or maſter make a lively impreſſion on the mind. Remove the impulſe of fear, and the former relation depends wholly on an opinion of remote advantage, the growth of which no experience of protection in deſpotic ſtates can greatly favour. A defect of government naturally tends to draw cloſer the ties of private life, and the individual unprotected from without, ſhrinks into the ſmaller ſociety, where all the affections of his heart concentre. A country without police provides no aſylum for diſtreſs. The poor look up to the hand that feeds them, and experience of a maſter's indulgence produces a more ready ſubmiſſion to his power, than to that of a judge, whoſe conduct is equally unreſtrained by rule. This is not confined merely to domeſtic ſervants, but extends equally to manufacturers employed by the merchant. Without this authority the maſter would fear to advance his money, and the workman be unable to procure either the means of ſubſiſtence, or the materials of his work.

When Coſſim Ally Cawn claimed the full dominion of his country, and bitterly inveighed againſt the Engliſh for encroaching upon the officers of his government, it was univerſally underſtood that he claimed no power over the weavers, &c. in the Engliſh pay. Throughout Mr. Vanſittart's

ſittart's Narrative this is every where ſuppoſed, and the Nabob, in anſwer to the laſt treaty propoſed, declares, "Whenever the chiefs and gomaſtahs "of your factories interrupt not my people, and the dependents on the "government, my officers alſo will not interfere with the weavers, py-"cars, and others *uſually dependent* on your factories."

That Mr. Vanſittart underſtood this power not to be relinquiſhed in his treaty, though the right appeared too plain to be expreſsly inſerted, is evident from his minute in Conſultations, the firſt of February, 1763. This authority was afterwards abuſed, when the company became grand monopolizers of the trade. But the intereſt of common maſters abundantly ſecured the ſervant from oppreſſion, leſt he ſhould ſeek for protection elſewhere.

Such being the prevailing habits among the natives of Bengal, it is difficult to conceive a more ridiculous ſcene, than a grave judge, arrayed in his robes of dignity, diſcourſing before the ſimple Indian of implied hirings for a year; of ſtatutes compelling labourers to work, and maſters to employ; of apprenticeſhips; of indentures; of the neceſſary qualifications for the exerciſe of trades, and the incapacities conſequent on neglect; where relief may be given by one magiſtrate, and where redreſs muſt be ſought from another. He might pronounce a very graceful panegyric upon the noble policy of our Engliſh law, upon the generous equality ſubſiſting in the inferior relations of life, and the elevated ſentiments it is fitted to inſpire. All this may be juſt, would the native obſerve, but I know not the judge, and how can I believe him my friend? If my maſter forſakes me, to whom ſhall I look for ſupport? or how can I expect protection from thoſe who derive no advantage from my labour*?

A plurality of wives is admitted throughout the Eaſt. It is a law derived from the climate. "Women in hot climates," ſays the preſident

* In Bengal the people are ſo far from ſuppoſing juſtice due from the magiſtrate, that one quarter of the property in diſpute belongs to the judge, as a reward for his trouble.

Monteſquieu,

Monteſquieu, "are marriageable at eight, nine, or ten years; they are "old at twenty. It is therefore extremely natural, that in theſe places a "man, when no law oppoſes, ſhould leave one wife to take another, and "that polygamy ſhould be introduced." Our laws, formed in a temperate climate, where the charms of women are better preſerved, where they arrive later at maturity, and their reaſon accompanies their beauty, have adopted the natural equality between the ſexes, and allow but one wife. The children of others are conſidered as baſtards, the relation of parent and child is diſſolved, and they are not permitted to inherit.

A dying father diſtributes his effects. He gives the bulk of his fortune to the ſon of his favourite, making a proper proviſion for all. The happy man enters on the poſſeſſion, and enjoys it for years, with the approbation of all around him. Laws are now diſcovered, by which the marriage of his mother is void*, and the teſtament of his father annulled†. The poor wretch is dragged before our courts, and committed to a dungeon, until he produces the money, which he has innocently ſpent. In vain would he implore their mercy, and deprecate a puniſhment he had never deſerved. The judge might commiſerate, but could not redreſs, for the rules of private property no power can ſuſpend. Thus ſhould we teach the encircling ſpectators to admire our juſtice, and bleſs the hands that had impoſed the yoke. Could we even tear the feelings of nature from their hearts, the gaping creatures would wonder at the violence, without underſtanding the object to be attained.

Marriage is a ſtate connected with the former relation, and inſtituted for the better performance of a parent's duty. It varies, however, in different countries, not only as to forms and ſolemnities, the age of contracting, and the rights of property conveyed, but likewiſe as to the power and dominion of a huſband. It is a happineſs to live in thoſe cli-

* The common law of England never allowed polygamy.

† 29 Car. II. c. 3. regulates the forms of teſtamentary diſpoſitions.

mates, which permit a free communication, where that ſex, who have moſt charms, embelliſh without corrupting ſociety.

This happineſs, however, cannot be the lot of every nation. In climates where marriage is contracted at an early age, before reaſon aſſumes her empire, where the paſſions are quickened by the near approach of the ſun, and morality ſerves only to awaken remorſe, the confinement of women univerſally prevails. "Thoſe, ſays the preſident Monteſquieu, who "conſider the horrible crimes, the treachery, the black villainies, the "poiſonings, the aſſaſſinations, which the liberty of women has produced at "Goa, and in the Portugueſe ſettlements in the Indies, where religion permits "only one wife; and who compares them with the innocence and purity of "manners of the women of Turky, Perſia, Mogulſtan, China, and Ja-"pan, will clearly ſee, that it is frequently as neceſſary to ſeparate them "from the men, when they have but one, as when they have many."

If this account be juſt, and it is ſupported by the relation of travellers, the confinement of women is a law that cannot be changed. Throughout India the practice moſt certainly prevails, and is cloſely connected with the manners and religion of the people. The Hindoo, not leſs than the Mahometan, dreads the expoſal of his women as the worſt diſhonour. Mr. Scrafton informs us, "that nothing hurt Suffraz Cawn (a former Subahdar of Bengal) ſo much, as the diſgrace he put on his richeſt ſubject, Jaggut Seat. Hearing that his ſon was married to a young lady of "exquiſite beauty, he inſiſted on a ſight of her. All the father's remonſtrances were vain. He ſaw her, and ſent her back, poſſibly uninjured. "But the very ſeeing her in a country, where women are concealed, was "an injury not to be forgiven." "Women," ſays Mr. Dow, "are ſo "ſacred in India, that even the common ſoldiery leave them unmoleſted "in the midſt of ſlaughter and devaſtation. The Haram is a ſanctuary "againſt all the licentiouſneſs of victory; and ruffians, covered with the "blood of a huſband, ſhrink back with confuſion from the ſecret apartments of his wives."

Shall

Shall our writs of liberty unlock theſe ſacred receſſes? ſhall no reverence be thought due to the honour of a huſband? or ſhall we diſregard the condition of a wife, incapable of governing herſelf? ſhall our courts of juſtice become the authors of outrage, which the bloody ruffian would fear to commit? Thus, in deſpite of nature, ſhall we diſſolve the ties of domeſtic life, without ſubſtituting any government in their place, and force the ſervant, the child, and the wife, to renounce their dependence, unable to afford them protection.

Our notions of man are two frequently taken from the poliſhed citizen of Britain; and we rudely imagine him to be the ſame creature in every ſtate. We forget that ſociety has a progreſs, as well as the individual. Man may exiſt, where the citizen is unknown. With growing laws the latter gradually unfolds, until, aſſured of protection, each individual looks around with confidence for the objects of his ſeparate purſuit, and becomes unmoleſted the artificer of his own fortunes. But as well might we expect the frivolous gallantry of a Frenchman in the wilds of America, as hope that minds depreſſed by deſpotiſm can embrace the idea of a common intereſt, or conceive the dominion of laws.

If the civil rights eſtabliſhed in Great Britain cannot be adopted by the inhabitants of Bengal, to impoſe our criminal code, will be found yet more impracticable. This head of laws has leſs relation to individuals, than to the whole, to the government with its dependencies, to the eſtabliſhed religion, to the domeſtic and foreign intereſts of the ſtate. The natural rights of men muſt be protected in every country; but the means of affording even this protection muſt relate to the habits of the mind; and example would loſe its effect, unleſs experience of benefit kept pace with the puniſhment of crimes. It is difficult to ſpeak with temper of ſubjecting nations to laws, which they cannot underſtand; of inflicting puniſhment, where there can be no intention to offend; and of enforcing regulations without an object, becauſe the neceſſities of a diſtant people, diſſimilar in ſoil, in climate, in ſituation, in morals, manners, religion, and

habits of life, have extorted theſe proviſions from their rulers. To analyze a ſubject of ſuch extent will be difficult. To contraſt the laws, manners, and cuſtoms of two ſeparate nations, will require a knowledge I do not poſſeſs, a labour which I care not to employ. Yet a part of the ſubject may deſerve our attention, and afford both profit and pleaſure for our toil.

In the firſt claſs of crimes are uſually ranked ſuch actions as directly ſtrike at the very being of the ſtate. High treaſon is every where ſeverely puniſhed, but in a country jealous of its liberty, among a people devoted to their laws, where nevertheleſs a ſingle magiſtrate poſſeſſes an extenſive authority, this crime will be ſtrictly defined. The ſtatute of treaſons relates wholly to the immediate adminiſtration of the king. Our judges have very liberally expounded theſe proviſions, and conſtrued every action ſubverſive of government, to be either "imagining the king's "death"—"levying war againſt him"—"or giving comfort and aid to "his enemies."

Let Britiſh laws be adopted in Bengal, the preſident of our ſettlement will poſſeſs neither power nor prerogative, but will ſink to a level with the meaneſt. The name is unknown to our judges; and violence to his perſon muſt be adjudged a private injury. It may even be doubted whether correſpondence with an enemy of the company, ſupplying him with military ſtores, diſciplining his army, and aſſiſting his councils, would ſubject an offender to the penalties of treaſon. Should ſuch doubts prevail, every check interpoſed might be deemed an injury, every puniſhment inflicted be an arbitrary violation of law. Not only the great bonds of ſociety will be broken, but all public rights, relative either to domeſtic government or external defence, be deſtroyed, becauſe Engliſh laws relate to the executive power of the ſtate entruſted in very different hands.

Thus would the whole fabric of government be diſſolved, and every power annihilated, where the dominion of a few ſtrangers over a multitude of natives, will require a jealous, active, and vigorous adminiſtration

tion for its ſupport; and where the ſubject accuſtomed to deſpotiſm will regard as weakneſs in his rulers, even the ordinary delays of juſtice.

Our laws would be equally deſtructive of the people, as ruinous to the government of Bengal. Not to mention the laws relative to religion and domeſtic policy, not to enumerate the long * train of felonies created by parliament, the rigid puniſhment of a very few ſpecies of crimes might deluge the country with blood.

Women in the Eaſt are transferred with little † ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men ſeldom await their conſent. Were our laws of rape and rules of ‡ evidence enforced, one half of the males would incur the penalty of death. I mean not to juſtify their practice, but beg leave to ſuggeſt that the ſword of juſtice, when too deeply ſtained with blood, may prove but an indifferent corrector of the morals of a nation. It has before been remarked that the neceſſities of a people extort many laws from their rulers, ſome of a very ſanguinary nature, which even the ſavage deſpot would condemn, when applied to a different ſtate of ſociety. The amazing extent of public and private credit in Great Britain, has induced our legiſlators to puniſh forgery with death. Under this law a native of Bengal was condemned in the year 1765. But ſo extravagant did the ſentence appear, where experience had never ſuggeſted the principle, ſuch the diſproportion in their eyes between the puniſhment and crime, that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and alarm in a petition to the governor and council; and upon a proper repreſentation, Radachurd Metre received a pardon §.

Theſe, among many other inſtances which might be given, will ſuffice to prove the violent effects of introducing the Engliſh laws. In other particulars their defect will be as conſpicuous as in theſe their exceſs.

* Not leſs than one hundred and ſixty capital felonies are created by acts of parliament.

† When colonel Clive defeated Surajah al Dowlah, Meer Jaffier ſent to offer the colonel ſome hundreds of Surajah's women who were taken in the camp.

‡ Girls under ten years of age are incapable of conſenting by our law; and therefore the knowledge of them without violence is puniſhed with death.

§ Vide Petition, App. p. 177, No. 63.

A Hindoo

A Hindoo had been bribed to procure ſome papers belonging to a gentleman who died in the company's ſervice. The ſon caught him in the fact; and, in revenge of his treachery, compelled him to ſwallow a ſpoonful of broth. Ridiculous as the puniſhment may ſeem, it was attended with very ſerious conſequences. No ſooner was his pollution known, than he was degraded from his caſt, loſt all the benefits of ſociety, and was avoided as a leper by his tribe. When a man is thus diſgraced, he is thenceforward obliged to herd with the Hallachores, who can "ſcarcely* "be called a tribe, being the refuſe of all tribes. Theſe are a ſet of poor "unhappy wretches deſtined to miſery from their birth. They perform "all the vileſt offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing "that is polluted. They are held in ſuch abomination, that, on the Ma"labar ſide of India, if one of theſe chances to touch a man of a ſuperior "tribe, he draws his ſabre, and cuts him down on the ſpot, without any "check from his own conſcience, or from the laws of the country." In this miſerable ſituation was the Hindoo, when lord Clive deſired the Bramins to aſſemble and conſider, if there could be no remiſſion of an involuntary deviation from their law. After many conſultations, a ſimilar caſe was ſaid to have been diſcovered in the ſacred books; but although the Bramins affected a compliance, the man was never reſtored to his caſt.

Their Mahomedan governors often take advantage of this principle, when they want to extort money; and ſo highly do the Hindoos value their religious purity, that after they have borne the ſevereſt corporal puniſhment rather than diſcover their wealth, a threat of defilement will effect what torture has attempted in vain. Should this ſpecies of oppreſſion be now practiſed in Bengal, what adequate puniſhment could our law inflict for ſo atrocious an injury? or how can we teach the natives to acknowledge our juſtice, when rights dearer to him than life are left wholly unprotected?

Happily for the inhabitants of Bengal, this abſurd and extravagant ſyſtem of tranſplanting Engliſh laws, which have grown from the pecu-

* Mr. Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Indoſtan.

liar

ſar neceſſities of a people in the courſe of ſeveral centuries, to a country where the occaſions of enacting them never had an exiſtence, is not more ridiculous in ſpeculation, than impoſſible in practice. Independent of the difficulty ariſing from their abhorrence of oaths, and their ignorance of the language in which our laws are conceived, how impoſſible would it be to promulgate them to many millions of people; or how could the magiſtrates obtain a knowledge of tranſgreſſors, when the nation were unacquainted with rules to which the idea of offence muſt relate?

He who will conſider how ſmall a portion of what we deem RIGHTS in civil ſociety, are derived from the firſt impreſſions of nature, and that all beyond are mere creatures of law, ſupported by habits of enjoyment on one ſide, of acquieſcence on the other, will readily conceive the violence with which a ſudden change muſt operate on the feelings of mankind. It is well known that the experiment has already been tried with a nation leſs diſſimilar than the Hindoos to our own, but without ſucceſs. The power of conquerors in Canada could give only a nominal exiſtence to our laws. They were eſtabliſhed indeed by the magiſtrate, yet rejected by the people; and property is now diſtributed according to their former cuſtoms, unſupported by public authority.

We come now to ſpeak of thoſe regulations which the ſtate and condition of the people may permit. Here it firſt occurs, that Bengal muſt be governed by a few ſtrangers from this country, who will not renounce their laws, or the liberty which in this iſland they enjoy. To enforce theſe rights courts of juſtice muſt be eſtabliſhed, and Europeans in our ſettlement be ſubjected to the civil and criminal laws of Great Britain. But, as this inequality of condition might uphold the tyranny of individuals over the natives, all Europeans (except gentlemen upon actual ſervice) ſhould be confined to the ſeveral ſettlements of the company*.

Why cannot the liberty thus ſecured to Europeans be extended throughout the province? If the reader be not yet ſatisfied, a momentary atten-

* Some exceptions may be admitted, with permiſſion of the governor and council.

tion

tion will convince him, that it is inconſiſtent with the nature of that government of which alone the people are capable, and repugnant to that relation which they now bear to Great Britain.

All free governments have their foundation in the natural equality of mankind. The forms of ſuch governments, by diſtributing political power among the ſeveral orders of men, nurture this principle in the minds of a nation; while the principle itſelf gives life, vigour, and effect to the laws. Theſe forms, theſe laws, and this principle, without which the laws would be worſe than a dead letter, are, nevertheleſs, the growth of ages. Their gradual progreſs, and the aid which they mutually afford to each other, cannot be better underſtood than from the hiſtory of our own country, whoſe government is a model of political perfection. But the execution of our laws ſuppoſes a people educated under them; and were it poſſible to infuſe this ſpirit into the natives of Bengal, we inſtantly emancipate them from ſubjection to ourſelves.

The forms of adminiſtering juſtice in different countries are regulated by the ſame cauſe, and the ſimplicity of laws will be greater or leſs under different governments. "If we examine," ſays the preſident Monteſquieu, "the ſet forms of juſtice, in reſpect to the trouble the ſubject "undergoes in recovering his property, or in obtaining ſatisfaction for "an injury or affront, we ſhall find them, doubtleſs, too many; but, if "we conſider them in the relation they have to the liberty and ſecurity "of the ſubject, we ſhall often find them too few." The ſame ingenious author adds, "that when a perſon renders himſelf abſolute, he immediately thinks of ſimplifying the laws." The reaſon which he there gives is common to the people with their rulers: "They are more affected "with particular inconveniencies than the liberty of the ſubject." For this reaſon no complex adminiſtration of juſtice can ever exiſt but in a free government; and the ſimplicity of their ancient laws muſt be continued to a people long accuſtomed to deſpotiſm like the natives of India.

To

To preſerve to a conquered nation their laws, cuſtoms, and magiſtrates, humanity, juſtice, and ſound policy will equally demand. To connect this government, ſo preſerved, with that of Great Britain, may well deſerve the attention of parliament. How this can be effected we now proceed to examine.

Delegated power in Aſia has ever been moderate in the exerciſe. The reaſon is obvious; the intereſt of the deſpot has no relation to the paſſions and follies of his ſervant, who is readily ſacrificed when he affords cauſe of complaint, or interrupts the * tranquillity of his maſter. On the contrary, when governors are entruſted by free ſtates with abſolute power over a conquered people, this authority has always been abuſed. Witneſs the deſolation of the Roman provinces, where the laws againſt peculation rather increaſed the oppreſſion. In free ſtates, it is impoſſible to inflict an adequate puniſhment upon a man whoſe criminalty can be aſcertained by no † ſettled rules, but muſt reſult from the whole of his conduct. The power of the judge in a free country is limited by the ſtrict letter of law; and the formalities of juſtice increaſe in proportion to the value which is ſet on honour, fortune, liberty, and life of the ſubject.

The nature of the people, and the relation in which they ſtand to us, render impoſſible a free government in Bengal; and our laws are inadequate to the controul of diſtant governors armed with ſuch extenſive authority as muſt ever be upheld in India. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, to impoſe ſome check upon the ſpot, and give the natives an adminiſtration of juſtice not immediately dependent upon the will of their rulers. Aſſuming alſo the propoſition, that we muſt continue to the natives their laws and cuſtoms, both civil and religious, it follows, that the judges who ad-

* This is the cauſe why the mogul government was more tolerable in the provinces, than that of the independent nabobs and ſubahdars.

† On the other hand, the ſtrict letter of our laws may condemn acts not only innocent but laudable, and even neceſſary. It will be abſurd to judge of *the conduct of a governor* by a reference to rules fitted for a very different ſituation of men and things.

miniſter juſtice muſt be taken from among * themſelves. As this would lead to independency, it is neceſſary, that the governor and council, being the ſupreme power in Bengal, ſhould have authority to iſſue edicts from time to time; but as it is the nature of legiſlation, that its proviſions ſhould be *general*, and not directed to a *particular* object, theſe edicts ſhould have no effect until — months after they had been regiſtered in the ſupreme court of Engliſh judicature.

Laws have no power, unleſs the obſervance be enforced by the ſanction of puniſhment; and as a conquered people are to be held in ſubjection, this power muſt reſide in the conquerors. Were this authority entruſted to the legiſlators, two powers, which ought ever to be diſtinguiſhed, being united in the ſame perſons would be liable to abuſe.

The ſupreme judges of our Engliſh court, who will have no other concern with the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the country, ſhould therefore puniſh the native judges for nonobſervance of the edicts, refuſal to hear and determine, or for groſs partiality and corruption.

Such a government would be too limited in its operations to repreſs crimes which immediately affect its ſafety. Infinite would be the means of conſpiring againſt the ſtate condemned by no previous law. While, therefore, the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice continues in other hands, a political power of puniſhment muſt exiſt in the governor and council, like to that aſſumed by the prince in the abſolute monarchies of Europe. This power might extend to ſending Europeans home, and to puniſh in another manner the native of India †.

* Whether the diſtribution of juſtice might not be rendered more pure and uniform, by giving an appellate juriſdiction to a court in which Engliſh judges might preſide aſſiſted, by natives, may deſerve the attention of the legiſlature; but to inveſt Europeans with the original judicature throughout the country would be productive of infinite oppreſſion.

† In all countries, a power of this nature is exerted upon extraordinary occaſions. With us, it reſides in parliament; and their acts for this purpoſe are called acts of attainder.

Our

Our government will yet partake the greateſt imperfection incident to a deſpotic ſtate. Its exiſtence can alone be preſerved by a numerous army, which experience has ever taught us to think formidable to abſolute rulers, whoſe intereſts are not blended with thoſe of any order of men. In Bengal, this army is moreover compoſed of natives, while all dominion throughout the country has been tranferred to a few ſtrangers. Independent, therefore, of the encouragement due from every ſtate to the cultivator of the land, without inſiſting upon the conſequent increaſe of population and commerce, a regard to our own ſafety requires that we ſhould give the native a permanent intereſt in the ſoil, and teach him to conſider the preſervation of his own fortunes as involved with the ſafety of his maſters*.

Should this arrangement be attempted by granting ſmall portions of land at a moderate rent, ſhould the right of the tenant be evidenced by regiſters of theſe pottahs or leaſes, eſtabliſhed in every diſtrict, perhaps the ſecurity of ſuch a tenure might prove an invitation to other proprietors. Thoſe who poſſeſs lands by claims of a different nature might gladly relinquiſh a part of the profits for a title which could never be queſtioned. While the peninſula of India ſwarms with inhabitants, the waſte lands of Bengal could not long remain uncultivated. With an improving revenue, the company might remit the impoſts upon commerce with their long train of evils; and thus, by ſimplifying every right, and aſcertaining every claim, remove the occaſions of oppreſſion. To enforce a prompt adminiſtration of juſtice would not then be difficult, where the proceedings are public, and where the judge could rarely ſhelter a fraud under the cloak of error. Each individual poſſeſſing a ſure property in the produce of his toil, induſtry will diffuſe its bleſſings; and Bengal may reach a height of proſperity, heretofore unknown in India. The wounds which this country has ſuſtained are great, and the ſevere checks which induſtry has here received, might, in a more northern climate, almoſt ſtarve a

* An additional ſecurity might, perhaps, be attained by encouraging the ſettlement of European ſoldiers with women of the country. Regulations might eaſily be ſuggeſted, under which their deſcendants would become an uſeful colony to Great Britain.

people. But in Bengal, where the demands of nature are few, where manufactures from various cauſes have been preſerved amidſt ſucceſſive revolutions, theſe loſſes will be quickly retrieved. While by ſuch means, all orders of men being combined in one common intereſt, the enemies of Great Britain will be for ever excluded from India, and London become the great emporium of Europe, for the various produce of the Eaſt.

The progreſs to this ſtate of improvement muſt nevertheleſs be ſlow. Sudden changes in property or government are always dangerous, and the hand of power can produce nothing but confuſion. Even in laying the foundations of order we muſt follow the genius of a people, we muſt attend to their habits, and even reſpect the prejudices they have imbibed. If, relinquiſhing the airy ſchemes of projectors, the wiſdom of the Britiſh nation ſhould be employed in deviſing a ſimple form of government for Bengal; if happy in giving peace to millions, ſome enlightened minds ſhould watch with parental care over a growing empire; poſterity may behold with admiration a noble monument of national humanity, and the praiſe of arts, of ſcience, and of arms, ſerve rather to adorn than conſtitute the future character of the Britiſh nation.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

TO THE

READER.

IT may be neceſſary to offer ſome apology for the length of this Appendix, which has ſwollen to a ſize greatly beyond the wiſh and intention of the writer. The treaties, and other papers, in the latter part of the Appendix, could not be omitted, without depriving the reader of thoſe proofs which the public have a right to expect. Objections did occur to a publication of the whole Select Committee's correſpondence with the Court of Directors; yet ſome parts of theſe letters were neceſſary, to ſhew that the repreſentation, here given of Bengal tranſactions, has not been fabricated to ſerve the preſent occaſion. An unwillingneſs to revive the memory of private faults, rather than any apprehenſion of injury, or even offence to the Company, had determined the writer to give ſuch extracts only as the Narrative required: but, upon peruſal of theſe extracts, they appeared ſo disjointed, and ſo liable to miſconſtruction, that, to avoid all appearance of concealment, it was thought expedient to print the whole.

As to the arrangement of this Appendix, the author judged it better to adhere to the connection of theſe papers with each other, than to follow the order of the text; ſince references inſerted in the margin (when theſe papers are conſidered as proofs to ſupport the Narrative) will abundantly ſupply the want of conformity: whereas, by the order here choſen, the Appendix will, in ſome degree, form a ſecond Narrative.

The reader may remark a great ſimiliarity between ſome parts of this work on the ſubject of revenues, and the accounts already publiſhed by Mr. Dow. That gentleman borrowed largely from Mr. Verelſt, as will appear upon a peruſal of the papers printed in this Appendix; but he has added his own comment to the text, which the conduct of individuals by no means deſerved.

APPENDIX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

No. I.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 30, 1765.

1. THE accompanying proceedings of the Select Committee will explain our motives for purchaſing the Admiral Stevens, to convey to your hands theſe diſpatches, which we hope will be deemed of ſufficient importance to merit any extraordinary expence thereby incurred; an expence which, we flatter ourſelves, will be fully defrayed by the valuable cargo ſhe carries home at this early ſeaſon.

2. By the general letter of this date, you will be informed by the Preſident and Council of every material circumſtance that has been tranſacted before the Board; at the ſame time, we beg leave to refer to letters diſpatched by the Vanſittart and Bute, (whereof duplicates are now encloſed) for a detail of the military operations, political occurrences, and eſpecially the very important tranſactions previous to our arrival, and ſubſequent to the death of Meer Jaffier; an event that furniſhed the moſt glorious opportunity of eſtabliſhing your influence and power on ſo ſolid a baſis, as muſt ſoon have rendered the Engliſh Eaſt India Company the moſt potent commercial body that ever flouriſhed at any period of time.

3. It is from a due ſenſe of the regard we owe and profeſs to your intereſt, and to our own honour, that we think it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to lay open to your view, a ſeries of tranſactions too notoriouſly known to be ſuppreſſed, and too affecting to your intereſts, to the national character, and to the exiſtence of the Company in Bengal, to eſcape unnoticed and uncenſured: tranſactions, which ſeem to demonſtrate, that every ſpring of this government was ſmeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppreſſion univerſally prevailed, and that every ſpark of ſentiment and public ſpirit was loſt and extinguiſhed in the inordinate luſt of unmerited wealth.

4. To illuſtrate theſe poſitions, we muſt exhibit to your view, a moſt unpleaſing variety of complaints, inquiries, evidences, accuſations, and vindications, the particulars of which are entered in our Proceedings and the Appendix; aſſuring you, that we undertake this taſk with peculiar reluctance, from the perſonal regard we entertain for ſome of the gentlemen whoſe characters will appear to be deeply affected.

5. At Fort St. George we received the firſt advices of the demiſe of Meer Jaffier, and of Sujah al Dowlah's defeat. It was there firmly imagined, that no definitive meaſures would be taken, either in reſpect to a peace, or filling the vacancy in the Nizamut, as the Lapwing arrived in the month of January with your diſpatches and the appointment of a Committee, with expreſs powers to that purpoſe, for the ſucceſsful exertion of which the happieſt occaſion now offered. However, a contrary reſolution prevailed in the Council. The opportunity of acquiring immenſe fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be reſiſted. A treaty was haſtily drawn up by the Board, or rather tranſcribed, with a few unimportant additions, from that concluded with Meer Jaffier; and a deputation, conſiſting of Meſſrs. Johnſtone, Senior, Middleton, and Leyceſter, was appointed to raiſe the natural ſon of the deceaſed Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice to the claim of his grandſon; and, for this meaſure, ſuch reaſons are aſſigned, as ought to have dictated a diametrically

oppoſite reſolution. Meeran's ſon was a minor, which circumſtance alone would naturally have brought the whole adminiſtration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indiſpenſibly neceſſary we ſhould realize that ſhadow of power and influence, which having no ſolid foundation, was expoſed to the danger of being annihilated by the firſt ſtroke of adverſe fortune. But this inconſiſtence was not regarded; nor was it material to the views for precipitating the treaty, which was preſſed on the young Nabob, at the firſt interview, in ſo earneſt and indelicate a manner, as highly diſguſted him, and chagrined his miniſters; while not a ſingle rupee was ſtipulated for the Company, and their intereſts were ſacrificed, that their ſervants might revel in the ſpoils of a treaſury before impoveriſhed, but now totally exhauſted.

6. This ſcene of corruption was firſt diſcloſed at a viſit the Nabob paid to Lord Clive, and the Gentlemen of the Committee, a few days after our arrival. He then delivered to his Lordſhip a letter, filled with bitter complaints of the inſults and indignities he had been expoſed to, and of the embezzlement of near ‖ twenty lacks of rupees, iſſued from his treaſury, for purpoſes unknown, during the late negociations. So public a complaint could not be diſregarded, and it ſoon produced an inquiry. We referred the letter to the Board, in expectation of obtaining a ſatisfactory account of the application of this money; and were anſwered only by a warm remonſtrance, entered by Mr. Leyceſter, againſt that very Nabob in whoſe elevation he boaſts having been a principal agent.

7. Mahomed Reza Cawn, the Naib Subah, was then called upon to account for this large diſburſement from the treaſury; and he ſoon delivered to the Committee, the very extraordinary narrative entered in our proceedings the ſixth of June; wherein he ſpecifies the ſeveral names, the ſums by whom paid, and to whom, whether in bills, caſh, or obligations. So preciſe, ſo accurate an account as this, of money iſſued for ſecret and venal ſervices was never, we believe, before this period, exhibited to the Honourable Court of Directors; at leaſt, never vouched by ſuch undeniable teſtimony, and authentic documents: by Juggutſeat who himſelf was obliged to contribute largely to the ſums demanded; by Mooteram who was employed by Mr. Johnſtone in all thoſe pecuniary tranſactions; by the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Cawn who were the heavieſt ſufferers; and, laſtly, by the confeſſion of the gentlemen themſelves whoſe names are ſpecified in the diſtribution liſt.

8. Juggutſeat expreſsly declares in his narrative, that the ſum which he agreed to pay the deputation, amounting to * 125,000 rupees, was extorted by menaces; and ſince the cloſe of our enquiry, and the opinions he delivered in the Proceedings of the twenty-firſt of June, it fully appears, that the *preſents* from the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Cawn, exceeding the immenſe ſum of † ſeventeen lacks, were not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but contributions levied on the weakneſs of the government, and violently exacted from the dependent ſtate and timid diſpoſition of the miniſter.

The charge, indeed, is denied on the one hand, as well as affirmed on the other. Your honourable Board muſt determine how far the circumſtance of extortion may aggravate the crime of diſobedience to your poſitive orders, of expoſing the Government in a manner to ſale, and receiving the infamous wages of corruption from oppoſite parties, and contending intereſts. We ſpeak with boldneſs, becauſe we ſpeak from conviction founded upon indubitable facts, that beſides the above ſums ſpecified in the diſtribution account, to the amount of 228,125 l. ſterling, there was likewiſe to the value of ſeveral lacks of rupees procured from Nundcomar and Roydullub, each of

‖ 250,000 *l.*

* 15,625 *l.*
† 212,500 *l.*
228,125 *l.*

of whom aſpired at and obtained a promiſe of that very employment it was pre-determined to beſtow on Mahomed Reza Cawn. The particulars of this extraordinary bargain came too late to our hands to be inſerted in the Proceedings, nor do we think it material; ſince to inſiſt on farther proofs than are already fully and clearly exhibited, in order to convince you that our inquiry was neceſſary, and our deciſion moderate, would, we apprehend, ſerve rather to exhauſt your patience than confirm your belief.

9. Theſe particulars being ſubmitted to your conſideration, it may be neceſſary to offer a few remarks on thoſe arguments urged by the gentlemen in their ſeveral minutes, either in their own juſtification, or with a view that our proceedings ſhould appear arbitrary and oppreſſive. Meſſrs. Johnſtone, Leyceſter, Senior, Gray, and Burdett, vindicate the receiving preſents by arguments which, in our opinion, render their conduct ſtill more culpable.

They urge, that as the covenants were not then executed, they could not be obligatory. In anſwer, we will beg leave to aſk thoſe gentlemen, Whether the Company's orders were not clearly and perfectly underſtood?---Whether the Covenants themſelves were not tranſmitted from England, ready to be filled up and executed?---Whether a ſingle motion for fulfilling the Company's Inſtructions appears on the face of their Conſultations? Whether it was not incumbent on them, as the ſuperior power, to have ſet this example of reſpect and deference to the orders of their Conſtituents? And, whether they conceive the Company would have ſuſtained any detriment from this act of their obedience? How then came the orders to be totally neglected, at a juncture eſpecially when the letter and ſpirit of thoſe obligations clearly manifeſt that particular regard ſhould be had to their execution?

10. The ſame gentlemen arraign the conduct, and deny the powers of the Select Committee. Mr. Leyceſter in particular affirms, that candour and decency required the truth of a charge brought againſt any of the Members of the Board, ſhould be determined by the Board. You, gentlemen, will be able to judge of the force of this argument, and of the propriety of the meaſure propoſed, when we acquaint you that of a Board then ſitting at the Preſidency, conſiſting of the Preſident and eight Members, five of thoſe Members were themſelves the accuſed, who, by having a majority of voices, would of conſequence become the judges of their own conduct. We will not enter into a diſcuſſion of the preciſe powers entruſted to the Committee; but we may venture to affirm that, unleſs the ſpirit of their Inſtructions be extended to the correction of abuſes, the detection of corruption, and puniſhment of diſobedience, the ends propoſed of reſtoring peace and tranquility will be fruſtrated, and their appointment rendered ridiculous and abſurd.

11. Mr. Johnſtone is pleaſed to aſſert, that no proofs can be produced of menaces being uſed to obtain a ſum of money from Juggutſeat. To this we reply by a reference to the evidence of his own agent, Mooteram, where it is declared upon oath, that he delivered, by Mr. Johnſtone's expreſs orders, the very meſſages recited in his examination; meſſages of ſuch tendency, as certainly bear hard on Mr. Johnſtone's character. As to what he further adds, of our obtaining this evidence by military force and terror; we are ſorry to ſee a gentleman reſt his defence on the ſubterfuge of a pitiful evaſion. Mr. Johnſtone certainly knows, at leaſt he ought to know, as the Proceedings were immediately ſent to him, that Mooteram was ſeized in the commiſſion of a clandeſtine illegal act, of intereſting conſequence to the public in general, and to Mr. Johnſtone and the gentlemen of the Deputation in particular. Mooteram was actually detected in an attempt to ſuppreſs bills to the amount of * 175,000 rupees which had been unwarrantably obtained from Mahomed Reza Cawn, and ſcreen from diſcovery a circumſtance which it highly imported the Committee to know, and which

* 21,875 *l.*

Mr. Johnſtone ſhould have made known, were he ſolicitous to exculpate himſelf from a charge that deeply affected his reputation, and of ſuch irreproachable conduct as he would endeavour to perſuade the world. But that the leaſt ſhadow of a doubt might not remain of the candour and equity of the meaſures we purſued, we readily conſented that the ſame Mooteram might be re-examined in preſence of the Council, where he confirmed, without contradiction or evaſion, every material circumſtance ſet forth in his firſt evidence. The remainder of Mr. Johnſtone's minute, you will perceive, doth not affect the Committee as a body; it conſiſts entirely of perſonal invective, looſe and virulent declamation, the genuine effects of enraged diſappointment and detection. Yet ſhould any thing further be required in anſwer, we beg to refer you to the replies made by Lord Clive and the members of the Committee, which, we flatter ourſelves, will appear full and explicit.

12. One circumſtance more occurs in the courſe of theſe gentlemen's minutes, that merits our obſervation. It is declared by Mr. Leyceſter upon oath, that he did not receive the preſent intended him by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and that his Letters will demonſtrate his intention was to have refuſed it. This is a fact, of the truth of which we entertain not the leaſt doubt; but it proves nothing more than, that Mr. Leyceſter would not receive a ſum of money, after the Covenants had been enforced by the Committee, and an enquiry ſet on foot concerning the diſtribution of that very money, a part of which was now privately tendered back to Mahomed Reza Cawn. He will not deny that he knew of the intended preſent when he was at Coſſimbazar. The letters of Meſſrs. Senior and Middleton prove that he did. He will not deny that bills to the amount of * 50,000 rupees were made out in his name; their being now offered to Mahomed Reza Cawn, and Mooteram's being detected in the fact, evince it. The whole, therefore, of this ſolemn aſſeveration, amounts only to an evaſion in reſpect to time and circumſtances, which no way affects the nature of the act itſelf.

13. Having now explained the origin and progreſs of this diſagreeable inquiry, We beg leave to touch upon a few circumſtances, in juſtification of the lenity of our opinions delivered and reſolutions entered in the Committee Proceedings of the 21ſt June.

And here we muſt obſerve, that notwithſtanding we believe a reformation of abuſes to be actually our duty, yet we could not think the ſame duty neceſſarily extended to the puniſhment of tranſgreſſions. We owed a regard to the perſons and characters of ſome of the gentlemen concerned, who muſt ſuffer extremely by ſuſpenſion or diſmiſſion. The great objects of our wiſhes were, that your ſervice might in future be conducted with integrity, diligence, and œconomy, without a retroſpect to the paſt, where it could be avoided. The ſubject, indeed, of the preſent inquiry was ſo recent, it was of ſo intereſting a nature to the public, and came recommended to us, or rather was forced upon us with ſuch peculiar circumſtances, as rendered our proceeding to a ſcrutiny neceſſary to our own reputation; but the ſeverity of judgment, and a deciſion which would have left ſo great a void in your Council, was not equally neceſſary either to your intereſt, or to our honour. Such an event might have impreſſed the minds of the natives with ſtrange ideas of the fluctuating ſituation of our councils; and it would unavoidably have admitted a number of your junior ſervants to the ſupreme direction of this vaſt machine of government, at an age little exceeding the period fixed by the laws of their country for entruſting them with the management of their own private fortunes. We muſt further obſerve, that many of the moſt aggravating circumſtances had not then reached our knowledge; at the ſame time we were under the neceſſity of coming to ſome determination. Sujah al Dowlah impatiently expected Lord Clive in camp to conclude the propoſed treaty, and the regulations of the government lately eſtabliſhed, with other matters then tranſacting, abſolutely required Mr.

* 6250*l.*

Mr. Sykes's attendance at the Durbar. Some of the extraordinary facts above related were obtained ſince their departure; and had they come ſooner, they would ſerve only to perplex and embarraſs us the more. In a word, to obviate future evils, we conſidered as our immediate duty; the puniſhment of paſt miſconduct we choſe to refer to your Honourable Board, that malice itſelf ſhould have no foundation for aſſerting we had aſſumed and exerted a power not fully and expreſly authorized by the Court of Directors.

We think it neceſſary to declare, in juſtice to Mr. Cartier, whoſe character ſtands irreproachable in the liſt of your ſervants, that he never knew of, or conſented to the receiving, any the ſmalleſt preſent, either from the Nabob, or from Mahomed Reza Cawn.

14. Although we will not take upon us to declare that we entirely approve of the Covenants in the form in which they have been tranſmitted, yet are we perſuaded, from the inſtances juſt related, that ſome reſtraint is neceſſary to prevent the abuſe of the cuſtomary indulgence to receive preſents. This indulgence has certainly been extended to the moſt ſhameful oppreſſion and flagrant corruption, and is otherwiſe attended with manifold inconvenience to the ſervice. We therefore determined immediately to enforce your inſtructions relative to thoſe obligations, and to bind down by law all ſuch as are not to be checked by a ſenſe of honour and juſtice. You will accordingly obſerve, that carrying thoſe orders into ſtrict execution throughout every department civil and military, was among the earlieſt tranſactions of your Select Committee.

15. We alſo took an early opportunity of conſidering the tendency of your repeated inſtructions for recalling free merchants and other Europeans, who, without the leaſt claim to your protection from indentures, were nevertheleſs permitted to reſide up the country, and in all the different parts of the Nabob's dominions. Sorry we are to obſerve, that this indulgence has frequently given birth to grievous acts of inſult and oppreſſion, at places remote from the Preſidency and ſubordinate factories, and that carrying your orders into execution becomes daily more neceſſary. By this meaſure, however, the buſineſs of your ſervants will ſuffer conſiderably, from their being now obliged to employ black Gomaſtahs, on many affairs which demand the vigour and activity of Europeans. Hence likewiſe will many perſons of real merit be deprived the means of ſubſiſtence; yet in conſideration that private intereſt muſt give way to the public benefit; and that it is our duty to obey, where your immediate intereſts do not abſolutely require a deviation from your orders, we determined to recall all the Europeans reſiding up the country, under protection of the Engliſh name, by the twenty-firſt of October next, and have for that purpoſe circulated advertiſements and orders to the different Subordinates.

16. Regulating the country government was the next object of our attention. We found the Nabob highly diſſatisfied with thoſe plenary powers veſted in Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by virtue of the treaty acted in quality of prime miniſter, and enjoyed uncontrouled authority. This unlimited ſway, lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, appeared dangerous to the preſent eſtabliſhment, which we thought it becoming the Company's honour to maintain, as having been ſolemnly ratified by the Governor and Council. To amend the very obvious defects in the treaty, without reverſing the principles on which it was founded, was conſiſtent with equity, whilſt it met with the Nabob's own approbation; and the moſt effectual means of doing this ſeemed to us to conſiſt in an equal partition of miniſterial influence. As Mahomed Reza Cawn's ſhort adminiſtration was irreproachable, we determined to continue him in a ſhare of the authority, at the ſame time that we aſſociated with him men of weight and character; ſo that each became a check upon the conduct of the others. Accordingly we fixed on Juggutſeat and Roydullub, for the reaſons aſſigned in the Proceedings; and we

now

now have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the buſineſs of Government goes on with unanimity, vigour, and diſpatch.

17. By the laſt diſpatches you were adviſed that Sujah al Dowlah was making freſh and formidable preparations to penetrate a ſecond time into the Nabob's dominions. He had found means to engage Mulhar, a conſiderable Maharatta chief, in his alliance; and if the judicious and vigorous meaſures purſued by General Carnac had not prevented a junction of the numerous forces deſtined for this invaſion, a ruinous war muſt have been ſupported through the courſe of another campaign. The enemies ſituation rendered their deſign for ſome time uncertain, and obliged the General to great circumſpection in his movements, leſt he ſhould leave the frontiers expoſed. Having, however at length received undoubted advice they had taken the Korah road, he ſuſpected their intention was to fall upon Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded a ſeparate corps in that diſtrict. Accordingly he made forced marches to effect a junction, which he happily accompliſhed, and then the united army moved in purſuit of the enemy. On the third of May the General came up with, attacked and entirely defeated them; in conſequence of which, Sujah al Dowlah ſeparated from his allies, while the Maharattas retired with precipitation toward the Jumna. In fact, this blow appears to have been deciſive; for Sujah al Dowlah never again attempted to join the Maharattas, who obſerving the General dropt the purſuit in order to watch the Vizier, made a ſecond effort to re-enter Korah, in which they were diſappointed. Perſuaded that to ſtop their incurſions, it would be neceſſary to drive them beyond the Jumna, the General croſſed the river the twenty-ſecond, diſlodged them from their poſt on the oppoſite ſide, and obliged them to retire to the hills. There he quitted his purſuit, and returned to his ſtation at Jajemaw, to receive Sujah al Dowlah, who had intimated a deſire of ſubmitting to whatever conditions we ſhould think fit to preſcribe. His letter to the General expreſſes his feelings; and the reception he met with in camp was ſuch as policy dictated ſhould be given to a vanquiſhed enemy, of Sujah al Dowlah's rank and character.

18. A peace with the Vizier became the next immediate object of our deliberation, in adjuſting which we endeavoured to extend our views beyond the preſent advantages that might poſſibly be obtained. We regarded Sujah al Dowlah's perſonal character, and high reputation over the whole empire, the ſituation of his country which we had conquered, and the great riſk and expence of maintaining the conqueſt, if we cloſed in with the plan adopted by the late Governor and Council, of giving it up to Nudjeef Cawn, who had neither weight of reputation nor force ſufficient to keep poſſeſſion, or to form a ſecure barrier to the Nabob's dominions. The words of our inſtructions to Lord Clive, when he left the Preſidency to adjuſt the conditions of a peace, expreſs the ſentiments which we ſtill entertain on this ſubject.

" Experience having ſhewn that an influence maintained by force of arms is de-
" ſtructive of that commercial ſpirit which we ought to promote, ruinous to the
" Company, and oppreſſive to the Country, We earneſtly recommend to your Lord-
" ſhip, that you will exert your utmoſt endeavours to conciliate the affections of the
" country powers, to remove any jealouſy they may entertain of our unbounded
" ambition, and to convince them that we aim not at conqueſt and dominion, but
" ſecurity in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to them and to us.

" With this view, policy requires that our demands be moderate and equitable;
" and that we avoid every appearance of an inclination to enlarge our territorial
" poſſeſſions. The ſacrifice of conqueſts, which we muſt hold on a very precarious
" tenure, and at an expence more than equivalent to their revenues, is of little con-
" ſideration to us; yet will ſuch reſtitution impreſs them with a high opinion of our
" generoſity and juſtice.

" For

" For theſe reaſons, we think Sujah al Dowlah ſhould be reinſtated in the full " poſſeſſion of all his dominions, with ſuch limitations only as he muſt ſee are evi- " dently calculated for our mutual benefit. We would decline inſiſting upon any " terms that muſt prove irkſome to his high ſpirit, and imply a ſuſpicion of his " ſincerity. Retaining poſſeſſion of any of his ſtrong holds may poſſibly be deemed " a neceſſary pledge of his fidelity; for our part, we would rather conſider it as a " ſource of future contention and an unneceſſary burthen to the Company, unleſs it " be one day propoſed to reſume the thoughts of extending their dominions; a meaſure " very oppoſite to the ſentiments in which we left the Court of Directors."

19. Agreeably to theſe inſtructions his Lordſhip and General Carnac concluded a treaty of peace with Sujah al Dowlah, that will, if any thing can, ſecure his friendſhip and fidelity, and render the public tranquility permanent. They found him extremely averſe to the eſtabliſhment of factories in his dominions, which he conſidered as laying the foundation of a future rupture, and the only thing that could poſſibly diſturb our amity. He very juſtly obſerved, that our encroachments in Bengal, the great abuſes committed by the Company's ſervants, and extraordinary extenſion of the privileges originally granted to the Engliſh, had been productive of much confuſion and bloodſhed in Bengal, and he feared might produce ſimilar conſequences in his country; accordingly Lord Clive and General Carnac judged it adviſeable to omit the word *factories* in the treaty, but without relinquiſhing the right, ſhould it be found expedient, after mature deliberation, to enforce it. To ſpeak our own ſentiments freely, we foreſee no benefit that can accrue to the Company, from maintaining ſettlements at ſo vaſt a diſtance from the Preſidency, whatever advantages may ariſe to their ſervants: at leaſt the proſpect is ſo remote, while the expences are ſo certain, the riſque ſo evident, and the diſputes it will occaſion ſo probable, that we are at preſent of opinion, the factory lately eſtabliſhed at Benâres ought immediately to be withdrawn; we mean as ſoon as the agreement between the Company and Bulwantſing is expired. The limits of the Nabob's dominions are ſufficient to anſwer all your purpoſes. Theſe, we think, ought to conſtitute the boundaries, not only of all your territorial poſſeſſions and influence in theſe parts, but of your commerce alſo; ſince by graſping at more, you endanger the ſafety of thoſe immenſe revenues, and that well-founded power, which you now enjoy, without the hopes of obtaining an adequate advantage.

20. With reſpect to the other articles of the treaty you will obſerve, that a ſufficient proviſion is ſecured for the ſupport of the King's honour and dignity, without danger of his becoming a future incumbrance; and that * twenty-ſix lacks yearly are granted to him on the revenues of Bengal: a revenue far more conſiderable than he ever before enjoyed. In gratitude for this inſtance of our attention to his intereſt, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to beſtow on the Company the moſt important grants ever yet obtained by any European ſtate from the Mogul Court. Beſides confirming to the Company all their former poſſeſſions, and ſecuring to them the reverſion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's Jagheer, he has conferred on them the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and ratified, in the ſtrongeſt terms, an agreement we propoſed concluding with the Nabob, if the King's conſent could be procured; ſubjects which it will be neceſſary to explain in a ſeparate paragraph.

Another article ſtipulates, that Sujah al Dowlah ſhall pay the Company fifty lacks of rupees, by way of indemnification for the charges incurred by the war. This indemnification we know is inadequate; but his circumſtances would not afford more, without oppreſſing the country, and thereby laying the foundation of future contention and trouble; and accordingly you will perceive that no money is granted for any other conſideration whatever.

As

* 325,000 *l.*

As to ſurrendering Coſſim Ally, Sombre, and the deſerters, compliance with ſuch a demand is now entirely out of his power. The former, we hear, has ſought ſhelter in the Rohilla Country, and the latter reſide under protection of the Jauts, ſkreened both from Sujah al Dowlah, and from us; ſo that making this an eſſential preliminary, would be highly unreaſonable and abſurd: however it is ſtipulated, that they ſhall never meet with encouragement or aſſiſtance from Sujah al Dowlah, or be again admitted into his country.

Upon the whole, we have paid ſuch regard to Sujah al Dowlah's character and intereſt, and to what juſtice as well as policy requires, without any the ſmalleſt ſacrifice of your honour or intereſt, that we entertain the moſt flattering hope this treaty of peace will be laſting, and our frontier on that quarter perfectly ſecure againſt future invaſions.

21. The time now approaches when we may be able to determine, with ſome degree of certainty, whether our remaining as merchants, ſubjected to the juriſdiction, encroachments, and inſults of the country government; or ſupporting your privileges and poſſeſſions by the ſword, are likely to prove moſt advantageous to the Company. Whatever may be the conſequence, certain it is, that after having once begun, and proceeded to ſuch lengths, we have been forced to go on, ſtep by ſtep, until your whole poſſeſſions were put to the riſque by every revolution effected, and by every battle fought. To apply a remedy to thoſe evils, by giving ſtability and permanency to your Government, is now and has been the conſtant object of the ſerious attention of your Select Committee.

22. The perpetual ſtruggles for ſuperiority between the Nabobs and your Agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimouſly of opinion, after the moſt mature deliberation, that no other method can be ſuggeſted of laying the axe to the root of all thoſe evils, than that of obtaining the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, for the Company. By eſtabliſhing the power of the Great Mogul, we have likewiſe eſtabliſhed his rights; and his Majeſty, from principles of gratitude, of equity, and of policy, has thought proper to beſtow this important employment on the Company, the nature of which is, the collecting all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a ſufficient fund for the ſupport of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Dehly, or wherever the King ſhall reſide or direct. But as the King has been graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow on the Company, for ever, ſuch ſurplus as ſhall ariſe from the revenues, upon certain ſtipulations and agreements expreſſed in the Sunnud, we have ſettled with the Nabob, with his own free will and conſent, that the ſum of * fifty-three lacks ſhall be annually paid to him, for the ſupport of his dignity and all contingent expences, excluſive of the charge of maintaining an army, which is to be defrayed out of the revenues ceded to the Company, by this royal grant of the Dewanny; and indeed the Nabob has abundant reaſon to be well ſatisfied with the conditions of this agreement, whereby a fund is ſecured to him, without trouble or danger, adequate to all the purpoſes of ſuch grandeur and happineſs as a man of his ſentiments has any conception of enjoying; more would ſerve only to diſturb his quiet, endanger his government, and ſap the foundation of that ſolid ſtructure of power and wealth, which, at length, is happily reared and completed by the Company, after a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure.

23. By this acquiſition of the Dewanny, your poſſeſſions and influence are rendered permanent and ſecure, ſince no future Nabob will either have power, or riches ſufficient to attempt your overthrow, by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions muſt henceforward be at an end, as there will be no fund for ſecret ſervices, for donations, or for reſtitutions. The Nabob cannot anſwer the expectations

* 662,500 *l.*

tions of the venal and mercenary, nor will the Company comply with demands injurious to themſelves, out of their own revenues. The experience of years has convinced us that a diviſion of power is impoſſible without generating diſcontent and hazarding the whole: all muſt belong either to the Company or to the Nabob. We leave you to judge which alternative is the moſt deſirable and the moſt expedient in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. As to ourſelves, we know of no other ſyſtem we could adopt, that would leſs affect the Nabob's dignity, and at the ſame time ſecure the Company againſt the fatal effects of future revolutions, than this of the Dewanny. The power is now lodged where it can only be lodged with ſafety to us, ſo that we may pronounce with ſome degree of confidence, that the worſt which will happen in future to the Company will proceed from temporary ravages only, which can never become ſo general as to prevent your revenues from yielding a ſufficient fund to defray your civil and military charges, and furniſh your inveſtments.

24. But to ſecure theſe valuable poſſeſſions, a conſtant regard muſt be paid to your military eſtabliſhment. By the regimental returns, which we encloſe in the packet, and which are very exact, you will ſee, at one view, the deplorable condition of our infantry, to complete which, agreeable to your directions and to the propoſals made by Lord Clive, not leſs than 900 men will ſuffice. We therefore moſt earneſtly requeſt, that you will next year ſend us out 12 or 1400 men for this eſtabliſhment, giving ſuch peremptory orders as muſt be obeyed, that none of this number be detained, upon any conſideration, on the coaſt of Coromandel. Our numbers being once completed, we ſhall require for the ſecurity of your immenſe poſſeſſions in this country, no more than 600 recruits, to be ſent out annually in the following manner, viz. 500 infantry, 60 artillery, 20 cavalry, and 20 ſerjeants for the ſepoys: to this number muſt be added 20 volunteers and officers; and it would be of the utmoſt benefit to our plan, that you would ſend out every year 6 or 7 gentlemen from the academy at Woolwich, for artillery officers, this being a ſervice that ſuffers extremely for want of perſons properly inſtructed in the buſineſs; ſince no officer, who knows the benefit of the infantry ſervice here, will chuſe to quit it for any advantages the artillery affords.

25. Already we feel the good effects of regimenting your troops; diſcipline, ſubordination, and œconomy begin to take place. Had General Carnac's merit been much greater, if poſſible, than it is, he could not effect this of himſelf, unaſſiſted as he was by field-officers, and thwarted as he always has been in his military operations, by the late Governors and Council.

We have already iſſued our orders for ſtriking off half the double Batta, and ſhall, in a very few days, put your forces intirely upon a footing with the troops on the coaſt of Coromandel, which will be reducing your military expences as low as they can well bear, conſiſtently with your intereſt and the good of the ſervice.

26. Before we quit this ſubject, we muſt requeſt, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that you will ſupply us for the firſt year with 10,000 ſtands of arms, and afterwards with 4,000 annually, which will in future anſwer all our demands, if proper care be taken in the purchaſe. Of late years, the bad quality of your ſmall arms in general have expoſed your poſſeſſions to the greateſt riſk and danger; the locks are ill-finiſhed, and the metal ſo badly tempered as not to ſtand the heat of the ſun in this climate. We are therefore perſuaded, it would prove in the end much to your advantage, if you purchaſed all your ſmall arms of the ſame perſons who furniſh the Government, and pay at the rate of twenty-ſeven, inſtead of eighteen ſhillings per firelock, ſince experience demonſtrates they will continue ſerviceable for double the time, without being liable to the inconvenience above repreſented.

The iron-founder, whom you ſent out in the Kent, died on his paſſage to this place; but as the caſting of ſhot and ſhells in this country is an object of importance, we

ſtrongly recommend that you will ſupply the loſs as ſoon as poſſible, by ſending three or four perſons well verſed in that buſineſs, that our whole deſign may not be fruſtrated by ſuch an accident in future.

It alſo merits your ſerious conſideration to provide, by every poſſible means, againſt the illicit importation of ſmall arms to your ſettlements in India, and particularly to Bengal. Of late years, this has become a profitable branch of trade with the Europe captains, as well as that of furniſhing the natives with ammunition; and they elude the ſearch of your officers, by ſending round ſmall veſſels to meet them at ſea in certain latitudes, or to Teneriff and St. Jago, or elſewhere, out of the reach of your inquiries. However, as their continuing ſuch practices any longer may prove fatal in their conſequences to all your poſſeſſions in this country, we earneſtly exhort, that you will immediately apply the moſt effectual remedies you can ſuggeſt, either by way of prevention, or by the rigorous and exemplary puniſhment of the offenders. At the ſame time, you may be aſſured, we will take every ſtep in our power to detect the leaſt breach of your orders on this head, and to obſtruct the ſale of all kinds of fire-arms.

27. Having obſerved the reluctance that appeared in bidding for your farms, at the laſt ſale of your lands in the Burdwan province, the great annual deficiency in the collections, and the numberleſs complaints made of grievous exactions and oppreſſions, we determined, upon Mr. Johnſtone's reſigning your ſervice, to appoint Mr. Verelſt in quality of Superviſor of thoſe revenues, in order to form the beſt judgment poſſible of the cauſe of the yearly deficiency of the real value of the lands, the beſt method of improving and letting them; and alſo to procure the neceſſary materials for a plan to conduct the collections in future, in ſuch manner as ſhall appear moſt conducive to your intereſt, and likely to promote the happineſs of the people. It is with pleaſure we acquaint you, that we have the greateſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with Mr. Verelſt's attention to the ſeveral objects recommended, and the diligence he has exerted during his ſhort reſidence in that country, of which you may form ſome judgment from his Memorial to the Committee, annexed to our Proceedings of the 14th September.

28. It was in conſequence of this Memorial, that we formed our Reſolution of that date to withdraw the Factory, and alſo to recall the Member of the Board reſident at Midnapore, the collections and buſineſs of which may as conveniently be tranſacted by a junior ſervant, at a much leſs expence. Many are the inconveniencies, beſides the extraordinary charge incurred, that reſult from ſuch appointments, which we conſider as neceſſary only at thoſe Subordinates where your principal inveſtments are made. We are convinced by very late experience, that the moſt flagrant oppreſſions may be wantonly committed in thoſe employments by Members of the Board, which would not be tolerated in junior ſervants; and that the dread and awe annexed to their ſtation as Counſellors have too frequently ſcreened them from complaints, which would be lodged without fear or ſcruple againſt inferior ſervants.

29. But there are other manifold inconveniencies, of ſtill more pernicious effect to the ſervice, which reſult from thoſe appointments. Hence it was found neceſſary to enlarge the Council from twelve to ſixteen Members, that there might be a ſufficient number to conduct the buſineſs of the Preſidency, and alſo to manage your affairs at the out-ſettlements, either in quality of Chiefs or Reſidents. What is the conſequence but ſuch perpetual revolutions at the Board, as render it impoſſible for any of the Members to acquire a competent knowledge of your intereſts, and of the particular duty of their own ſtation?

This encreaſe in the number of the Board is alſo productive of a further inconvenience, of the deepeſt concern to your intereſt in the preſent ſituation of your affairs.

To

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Jan. 31, 1766.

1. We have now the honour to tranſmit the ſequel of thoſe Proceedings of the Select Committee, which were diſpatched the 30th of September, by the Admiral Stevens, and alſo a duplicate of our letter of that date.

2. The conjectures we then formed, with reſpect to the ſyſtem which the Committee found it neceſſary to adopt, have, in the event, correſponded to our warmeſt expectations; and it is with extreme ſatisfaction we can aſſure you, that a happy proſpect is daily opening to our view, of ſecurity and opulence to the Company. Money flowing into your Treaſury; contentment expreſſed by the Country Government; and Peace diffuſing her bleſſings throughout every diſtrict of the Nabob's dominions, are to us the moſt pleaſing teſtimonies of the rectitude of the meaſures we purſued, when the late grants were obtained.

The more we reflect on the ſituation of your affairs, the ſtronger appear the reaſons for accepting the Dewanny of theſe provinces, by which alone we could eſtabliſh a power ſufficient to perpetuate the poſſeſſions we hold, and the influence we enjoy. While the Nabob acted in quality of Collector for the Mogul, the means of ſupporting our military eſtabliſhment depended upon his pleaſure. In the moſt critical ſituations, while we ſtood ballancing on the extreme border of deſtruction, his ſtipulated payments were ſlow and deficient, his revenues with-held by diſaffected Rajahs, and turbulent Zemindars, who deſpiſed the weakneſs of his government; or they were ſquandered in profuſion, and diſſipated in corruption, the never-failing ſymptoms of a declining conſtitution and feeble adminiſtration. Hence we were frequently diſappointed of thoſe ſupplies, upon the punctual receipt of which depended the very exiſtence of the company in Bengal.

We cannot indeed look back without horror, upon that deſperate criſis to which your affairs were reduced, when a mutinous ſpirit prevailed among your troops, when diſſentions diſtracted your conſultations, and a powerful army was invading the provinces, to ſeize and deſolate your poſſeſſions, and probably to extirpate your ſervants. To us it evidently appears there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done, and graſp at the whole power, or to ſhrink back into our primitive condition of ſimple merchants, to abandon our poſſeſſions, diſband our forces, and reſt our future hopes on the clemency of princes, who will not eaſily forget or forgive the ſuperiority we have ſo long maintained.

In a word, this laſt meaſure was in itſelf impracticable; for we muſt obſerve, altho' with much regret, that the miſconduct of individuals hath rendered the Engliſh name ſo odious, that we are no longer ſecure than whilſt our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and property.

3. The ſeveral ſtatements entered in the Committee Proceedings, ſhew clearly the amount of revenues to be collected this year into the Treaſury, excluſive of thoſe iſſuing from the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, the Calcutta lands, and all your former poſſeſſions. At preſent they ſtand incumbered with a variety of ſuperfluous charges, which we hope to reduce, when we come to adjuſt the collections of the enſuing year; but we thought it adviſeable to avoid introducing innovations, which might create diſguſt and diſſatisfaction at ſo early a period of our government. The next balance, amounting to 212 lacks of Sicca rupees, or 286,200 *l.* ſterling, will be the more readily paid, that the miniſters and officers of the government can have nothing to plead in excuſe for deficiencies; and we have reaſon to believe it will not

fall

fall greatly ſhort of the ſtated amount. This ballance is abundantly ſufficient to ſupply your China trade, provide for our own inveſtment, and defray all the expences of your civil and military eſtabliſhment: whatever ſurplus may remain in the treaſury after the ſtipends to the King and Nabob are diſcharged, and all other more immediate demands are anſwered, this, together with the revenues of Burdwan, &c. ſhall then be applied to relieve the wants of the other Preſidencies, to pay off your bonds, and to ſuch other purpoſes as may appear to us the moſt conducive to your intereſt.

4. Mr. Sykes, who was ſome time ſince appointed reſident at the Durbar, and Superviſor of the collections, hath now taken charge of the factory at Coſſimbazar, upon Mr. Senior's application for leave to return to Europe. The great diligence he has exerted in ſettling the revenues, and forming the ſtatements, as well as ſhewn to the other ſeveral objects of the adminiſtration, afford us the utmoſt reaſon to be highly ſatisfied with his conduct. He is daily making remittances, the firſt fruits of the collections to the treaſury, whereby we are already enabled to ſet apart a ſupply of * twenty-four lacks for your China inveſtment, † twelve of which are now under diſpatch for Canton; the remainder will be ſent in the month of February to Madraſs, to be forwarded from thence to China, by the earlieſt conveyance.

When the collections of the year are cloſed, we have directed Mr. Sykes to enquire ſtrictly into the ballances due to the government, and to uſe every poſſible endeavour to recover them, as we entertain the moſt flattering hope, that from theſe arrears will ariſe a fund ſufficient to diſcharge all the public demands on the late Nabob, for which your honour may ſtand any way engaged.

5. Notwithſtanding theſe immenſe revenues, of which the Company is actually poſſeſſed, we muſt earneſtly requeſt your ſerious attention to the conſequences of our impoveriſhing the country, by ſuch annual exports of treaſure to China. We muſt alſo recommend, that you deviſe ſome method of enabling your ſervants, and the inhabitants of the ſettlement, to remit their own fortune, and the effects of deceaſed perſons in their hands, by ſome other channel than that of bills upon France and Holland. You are now in a ſituation which will never require your receiving private effects into the treaſury, to be able to complete your own inveſtment. Your collections are adequate to every purpoſe and demand which we can foreſee. The Governor and Council could not therefore, with any propriety, ſubject you to the inconvenience of anſwering bills to the amount of § forty or ‖ fifty lacks, merely for the benefit of your ſervants, and ſuffer your own money to lie dead and unappropriated in the treaſury. Indeed we were particularly cautious of drawing largely for this year, in order that you might be able to diſcharge your more immediate and preſſing engagements at home. Yet, ſhould the neceſſity continue of remitting private property by foreign funds, the French and Dutch will not only be enabled thereby to provide early and valuable inveſtments, but the provinces will alſo be deprived of a very conſiderable addition to the current ſpecie, which thoſe nations will otherwiſe be obliged to import every year in ready money.

To obviate as far as poſſible any immediate bad effects to the public from the above cauſes, the Preſident has now under conſideration a propoſal to prevent the exportation of treaſure from occaſioning a ſcarcity of money for ſome years at leaſt. Yet as this propoſal rather tends to palliate, than effectually to remedy the evil, it is from your inſtructions only that we are to expect a radical cure.

6. The opportunity which the reſtoration of peace affords for carrying into execution your orders relative to the Batta allowed to military officers, will contribute greatly to the increaſe of your ſurplus fund. Thoſe orders, although reaſonable and neceſſary, could not, however, be conveniently enforced before the public tranquility,

* 300,000 *l.* † 150,000 *l.* § 500,000 *l.* ‖ 625,000 *l.*

To keep up to the letter of your Inſtructions, we muſt fill the vacancies in Council from the next in ſucceſſion, without regard to the qualifications they poſſeſs for the diſcharge of ſo important a truſt, and thus commit into the hands of raſh unexperienced young men the conduct of a ſyſtem of government which demands the diſcretion, judgment, and ſteadineſs of more advanced years and longer ſervices. Circumſtances are now widely different from what they were a few years ſince, when you confined your whole attention to commerce, and were happy in being able to complete your inveſtments without inſult or exaction from the Country Government. You are now become the ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; your ſucceſs is beheld with jealouſy by the other European nations in India, and your intereſts are ſo extended, ſo complicated, and ſo connected with thoſe of the ſeveral ſurrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult ſyſtem of politics.

Theſe weighty conſiderations determined us to avoid filling the vacancies lately occaſioned in Council by the death of Mr. Billers and reſignation of Meſſrs. Johnſtone and Burdett. We carefully examined your orders reſpecting the appointment of a Board; we compared the different paragraphs of your Letter, the more clearly to aſcertain the ſpirit of your Inſtructions, and are unanimous in our opinion, your reaſons for encreaſing the number of the Board were founded on a ſuppoſition, that this meaſure would conduce to the benefit of the Company. Experience convinces us of the contrary; and we ſhould be wanting in duty to our conſtituents, if, from a ſervile regard to the letter, we neglected the evident ſenſe and meaning of your Inſtructions, by admitting to the government of your affairs a number of perſons who have certainly no other claim to this diſtinction, than that of ſtanding next in ſucceſſion.

It is therefore with the utmoſt regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole liſt of your junior merchants there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could poſſibly recommend to higher ſtations at preſent.

In this number juſtice requires we ſhould mention Mr. Campbell, Secretary to this Committee, whoſe abilities and indefatigable diligence, of which we have had the moſt convincing proofs in the courſe of our proceedings, entitle him to this inſtance of our regard, and to your particular notice; and as the ſame qualifications will diſtinguiſh him in any ſtation in your ſervice, it is our joint requeſt, that you will pleaſe to remove the reſtriction on his riſing, as a covenant-ſervant, and ſuffer him to take rank accordingly from the date of his appointment.

30. At all times it has been found expedient to deviate occaſionally from this general rule of preferring ſeniority. It now becomes your indiſpenſible duty to admit no claim but that of merit, if you would preſerve the valuable poſſeſſions you enjoy, and realize the very near proſpect you have of eſtabliſhing your affairs on ſo firm and ſolid a baſis as nothing but miſconduct can overſet. So much reſts with the Board, that on your judicious impartial ſelection of the members it depends, whether you hold a foot of land, and enjoy a privilege in Bengal; or whether you continue in poſſeſſion of the moſt ample revenues and eſtabliſhed extenſive influence ever eſtabliſhed by any European mercantile body. We therefore moſt earneſtly exhort you, that no conſideration of favour or prejudice be ſuffered to biaſs you in the important buſineſs of compoſing your Council; and that no other diſtinction be admitted, except what is due to ability, to integrity, and to faithful eſſential ſervices.

Were we to ſpeak our own ſentiments further, we ſhould confeſs it to be our firm opinion, founded on the experience now before us, that the buſineſs of this government can never ſo effectually be conducted as by a ſelect unanimous Committee. By dividing the power into many hands you weaken the authority, promote diſſention, and deprive your meaſures of that ſecreſy, ſteadineſs, vigour, and diſpatch neceſſary

to their ſucceſs. The ſame means by which you obtained the great advantages you now enjoy, muſt be continued, and conſtantly exerted, to ſecure and perpetuate them; and, indeed, we can think of no other form of government ſo well adapted, ſo perfectly congenial to your peculiar preſent circumſtances in Bengal.

31. It will not be neceſſary, we apprehend, to dwell upon a refutation of the ſpecious but flimſy arguments advanced by Mr. Leyceſter for immediately filling up the vacancies at the Board, and purſuing the literal ſenſe of your Inſtructions, when you enlarge the Board to ſixteen. We have already ſhewn, and Mr. Leyceſter does not deny it, that the buſineſs of Burdwan and Midnapore may be conducted to greater advantage by junior ſervants than by Members of the Council. We have alſo ſhewn, that enlarging the Council beyond the number required for the buſineſs of the Preſidency and Subordinates has proved injurious to the Company. He knows it is our determination, that ſeven or eight Members ſhould conſtantly reſide at the Preſidency, while all proper attention ſhall be given to your inveſtment and collections; and this we certainly judge to be the ſpirit of your orders. But if that gentleman means, that no act can be valid which is executed by a leſs number of Agents than you have expreſly appointed, he renders void every deed, covenant, contract, treaty, and obligation, entered into by the Council ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of this ſettlement; he even renders null and of no effect the treaty with the preſent Nabob, in which he himſelf had a principal ſhare, and which, we believe, is not ſigned by more than half the Company's Agents.

In a word, we foreſee ſo many inconveniences conſequent on a literal compliance with your inſtructions, that our duty obliges us to ſuſpend, and we think our powers authorize us in ſuſpending at leaſt, if not revoking thoſe orders, until your further pleaſure be known.

32. By conſulting our Proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt, and 18th of September, you will be able to judge of the progreſs we have made in carrying your orders into execution, relative to the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco. This ſubject we conſidered with all the attention poſſible, and regard to your intereſt, and the good of the ſervice. We found that to remove the inconveniencies of a free trade, prevent the oppreſſions daily committed, ſave this valuable article of commerce from ruin, and diffuſe the benefits reſulting indiſcriminately among all your ſervants entitled to Duſtucks, it was neceſſary to inveſt the whole in an excluſive company, compoſed of the three firſt claſſes of your covenanted ſervants, the field officers, chaplains, and head ſurgeons. In admitting the field officers, and ſtating the proportions allotted to each claſs, we had particular regard to the preſent ſituation of your Council, and field officers, who are now excluded many emoluments they before enjoyed. It is our opinion, that gentlemen who have riſen to thoſe ſtations with credit and reputation, are certainly entitled to ſomething more than a ſubſiſtence: they even have a right to expect ſuch advantages in your ſervice, as may enable them to return in a few years with independence to their native country.

With reſpect to the Company, we are unanimouſly of opinion, it is more for their intereſt to be conſidered as Superiors than Proprietors; and, as the royal grant of the Dewanny renders the 11th article unneceſſary, we are thereby enabled to ſubject the trade to a duty which will produce a clear annual revenue of 120,000 l. ſterling; whatever ſurplus of their revenues the Company may find themſelves poſſeſſed of, after diſcharging all the demands in this Preſidency, we imagine may be employed much more to their benefit, in ſupporting and extending the China trade, and aſſiſting the wants of the other Preſidencies. However, ſhould it either appear that we have miſtaken the Company's real intereſt, or that the profits of the trade will admit of encreaſed duties, it is our reſolution to give all poſſible ſatisfaction on thoſe points to

our

our Honourable Maſters; and to lay before you a fair, full and candid repreſentation of the amount of the coſts, charges and ſales of the firſt year.

33. We think it incumbent on us to obſerve, that the management of this important buſineſs was committed to Mr. Sumner. If the plan, therefore, ſhould prove ſo fortunate as to meet your approbation, the merit is chiefly due to that gentleman, who ſpared no pains to acquire a thorough inſight into the ſubject, at the ſame time that he diſcharged the duties of the Preſidency, during Lord Clive's abſence, much to our ſatisfaction. Mr. Sumner would have chearfully accepted the poſt of Reſident at the Durbar, now grown an employment of conſequence, ſince the grant of the Dewanny; but we judged it to be more becoming his ſtation, more agreeable to your intention, and more for the benefit of the ſervice, that he ſhould remain at the Preſidency to take charge of the government in caſe of Lord Clive's abſence.

We therefore determined to appoint Mr. Sykes to the Durbar, as he has already ſufficiently manifeſted his capacity and diligence in that employment.

34. When theſe diſpatches are finiſhed, we reſolve to apply ourſelves heartily to a reformation of the abuſes which have crept into almoſt all your public offices, and every department civil and military. The taſk is arduous, but not impracticable, and we are aſſured it becomes highly neceſſary to the ſervice. The ſame unanimity which hath enabled the Committee to diſpatch ſo great a variety of important affairs ſince their eſtabliſhment, ſhall, we hope, be firmly continued and vigorouſly exerted, until we have accompliſhed every end propoſed at our appointment; until we have ſtemmed the torrent of luxury and corruption, and eſtabliſhed a ſpirit of induſtry, œconomy, and integrity, throughout every claſs of your ſervants.

We beg leave to conclude with aſſuring you, that it is the higheſt ambition of this Committee to merit the confidence repoſed in them, by promoting with their utmoſt diligence and abilities, the honour and intereſt of the Eaſt India Company, which have ever been the objects of their moſt fervent wiſhes.

We have the Honour to be, with reſpect,

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Your moſt faithful humble Servants,

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

SUPPLEMENT.

In juſtice to the memory of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, we think it incumbent on us to acquaint you, that the horrible maſſacres wherewith he is charged by Mr. Holwell, in his Addreſs to the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock (page 46) are cruel aſperſions on the character of that Prince, which have not the leaſt foundation in truth. The ſeveral perſons there affirmed, and who were generally thought to have been murdered by his order, are all now living except two, who were put to death by Meeran, without the Nabob's conſent or knowledge; and it is with additional ſatisfaction we can aſſure you, that they are lately releaſed from confinement by the preſent Subah, which fully evinces the entire confidence he repoſes in the Company's protection, againſt all attacks on his government.

We

We are further to acquaint you, that not ſatisfied with paying all due attention to the confirmation and ſecurity of your poſſeſſions in Bengal, Lord Clive has alſo obtained from the King Sunnuds for the five Northern Provinces, and the ſtrongeſt ratification under his Majeſty's hand and ſeal, of all your former poſſeſſions in the Carnatic.

Mr. Sykes has exerted his utmoſt diligence in procuring an exact eſtimate of the amount of the revenues of the Nabob's dominions, of which you are not only the Collectors but the Proprietors; and we are in hopes of tranſmitting an accurate account of the ſame by the Admiral Stevens; but the books of the Sircar are ſo much behind, ſo many balances are outſtanding, and ſuch negligence appears in the collection of the revenues for ſome years paſt, owing, in a great meaſure, to the diſturbances in the country, which prevented any regular collections from being made, that he has not been able yet to ſucceed to his entire ſatisfaction; we therefore think it better to poſtpone the ſubject until our next diſpatches, when we can write with preciſion and certainty. At preſent, we can only affirm, that the acquiſition of the Dewanny, and the agreement with the Nabob, will neceſſarily turn out a prodigious increaſe of your revenues, at the ſame time it muſt conduce to the ſtability of your power and influence.

You will obſerve in our general letter from the public department, what has paſſed in Council on the ſubject of the donation to the navy, which is indeed no more than a tranſcript of our Conſultations. We here think it neceſſary to remark, that we cannot, in the preſent circumſtances of your affairs, and conſiſtently with our late engagements with the Nabob, either take upon us to pay ſo large a demand out of your revenues, or inſiſt upon the Nabob's paying it out of his limited ſtipend; more eſpecially as it appears that the donation to the navy was never voluntary, but obtained from Meer Jaffier by dint of ſolicitation, and other means, which never met with his intire approbation.

It is with ſome regret we acquaint you, that we apprehend it will be neceſſary to reſume our late enquiry into the conduct of the Deputation, having juſt received information from Nundcomar of further ſums paid to them out of the Nabob's treaſury, during their reſidence at Murſhed-abad. Mr. Johnſtone makes a principal and conſpicuous figure in this account alſo, having obtained a very large ſum beſides what is ſpecified in the diſtribution liſt, or the narratives of Mahomed Reza Cawn and Juggutſeat, which with the ſums received by the other gentlemen, fully accounts for the Nabob's aſſertions in his letter addreſſed to the Committee. The neceſſity we are under of diſpatching the ſhip, in order to receive the earlieſt notice of your ſentiments on our proceedings, and your further inſtructions, prevents our entering immediately upon the enquiry; of which, however, you may be aſſured, we ſhall tranſmit a faithful and particular account in our next advices.

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

lity, and military diſcipline and ſubordination, were firmly eſtabliſhed. It was alſo neceſſary to deviſe the means of their living cheaper, and of ſupplying them with liquors, and other ſtores, at a more moderate price than thoſe articles had uſually been furniſhed. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that regimenting the troops has not only conduced to the reformation we propoſed, but facilitated the reduction of expence you enjoin; a ſoldier, who knows and performs his duty, will neither expect nor require the ſuperfluities and luxuries of life.

Accordingly we have ordained, that on the firſt day of the preſent month, the cuſtomary Batta ſhall be ſtruck off from the troops in general, excepting the brigade ſtationed in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, who, on account of the high price of proviſion, and the difficulty of procuring ſtores, will be allowed double Batta in the field, and half double Batta in cantonments and in garriſon, until they are recalled to the provinces.

For the ſame reaſons half Batta is continued to the troops quartered at Patna and Mongheer; but the reſt of the army, we mean the detachments at ſubordinates and other places, that are not engaged in actual ſervice, are reduced preciſely on a footing with the Company's forces on the coaſt; even thoſe ſtationed at Mongheer and Patna receive the ſame exact Batta as your troops at Trichinopoly.

From ſuch regulations, and alſo from the check already given to the many ſhameful abuſes committed in muſters, returns, hoſpital bills, boats, and other articles, we may affirm with confidence, that the charges of your whole eſtabliſhment, civil and military, including your fortifications, will fall ſhort of the amount expended during the courſe of the late war on your army alone; and yet it is propoſed, if you ſupply us duly with recruits, to maintain the complete eſtabliſhment projected by Lord Clive, and the moſt formidable army that ever took the field in Bengal. From what cauſes your military expences ſwelled to ſuch immeaſurable bounds, requires no explanation. Certain it is, they far exceeded the ſupplies ſo liberally voted by the Britiſh parliament, for an army of auxiliaries employed to oppoſe the combined forces of the moſt powerful princes in Chriſtendom.

7. To theſe ſchemes of œconomy, permit us to add the late reſolution of this Committee, regarding the new works erecting for the ſecurity of your ſervants and property. Thoſe works have, for ſeveral years paſt, been a perpetual drain for treaſures, which might have been more uſefully applied; yet ſhould we ever meet with the misfortune of being driven off the field, and cooped up within the walls of this fort, your affairs may then be conſidered as deſperate and irrecoverable. It is therefore the unanimous opinion of this Committee, confirmed by the ſentiments of the chief engineer, that we ought to regard the new works as a temporary ſecurity only; for which purpoſe the ditch, ramparts, baſtions, and ravelin already finiſhed, are ſufficient to withſtand the greateſt force which the powers of this country are ever likely to aſſemble.

Captain Martin farther delivers it as his opinion, that enlarging the fortifications conformably to the plan of the intended outworks, would add nothing to the ſtrength of the place, unleſs we could at the ſame time maintain a garriſon proportioned to their extent; we reſolved therefore not to proceed on the plan beyond what is now completed, but to uſe all poſſible means to check the incroachments of the river, which hath advanced within a few yards of the covert way, and threatens to ſweep away one intire ſide of the fort.

We ſhall alſo make all the diſpatch we are able in completing the barracks, ſome of which we have converted into very commodious apartments for the writers, lately arrived; and we are convinced it would be much for the benefit of the ſervice, if all the younger ſervants, and the public offices, were collected within ſo narrow a com-

paſs, as might ſubject them to cloſer inſpection than is poſſible in their preſent ſituation.

8. Mahomed [illegible] Cawn, and the miniſters we aſſociated with him to conduct the buſineſs of the country government, proceed with alacrity and unanimity, under direction of Mr. Sykes, the reſident. They, as well as the people in general, expreſs great ſatisfaction at the orders we lately iſſued and enforced, for recalling to the Preſidency all free merchants, and other Europeans, who are not in your covenanted ſervice, many of whom had, by interfering with public affairs, by acts of oppreſſion and violence, and by aſſuming and exerting a judicial authority, totally perverted the ordinary courſe of juſtice, and given great interruption to the buſineſs of the adminiſtration; yet we muſt lament that the juſt and neceſſary puniſhment inflicted upon thoſe who had committed abuſes, ſhould unavoidably extend to others who always acted with integrity and honour.

9. The more effectually to remove every cauſe of complaint, and render the miniſters reſponſible for the collections of the ſtated revenue, we have directed that none beſides thoſe who are employed in certain public ſtations, ſhall in future correſpond with officers of the government, hold lands, lend money to the Zemindars, or take any other means of improving their fortunes, or acquiring influence in the country, that may tend to diſturb, diſtreſs, or defraud either the adminiſtration or the people; and this prohibition we have extended to all your ſervants, civil and military, and their dependents. It was the earneſt requeſt of the miniſters, that we ſhould impoſe ſuch reſtrictions; and we thought compliance but reaſonable, as we were well aſſured that the revenue had ſuffered from the exceſs to which theſe practices were carried.

In one inſtance, however, we have taken the liberty of deviating from your orders for recalling the free merchants, &c. The plan for conducting the joint inland trade, in the articles of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, is in itſelf ſo extenſive, the capital required ſo very conſiderable, and the difficulty of procuring money at a moderate intereſt ſo great, that it becomes indiſpenſibly neceſſary the accounts of the ſociety ſhould be cloſed, and their books ballanced with more diſpatch than can be expected, ſhould black Gomaſtahs and agents be employed. For this reaſon, and becauſe we are willing to promote to the utmoſt of our power a ſcheme which appears well calculated for your intereſt and the general benefit, we have permitted the committee of trade to appoint European agents for diſpoſing of the ſociety's concerns at certain eſtabliſhed marts, in different parts of the country; and as for this purpoſe the Company's ſervants could not be ſpared from the Preſidency and Subordinates, thoſe agents are therefore choſen from the liſt of free merchants, with the utmoſt attention to their characters and former behaviour. Beſides which we have ſtrictly confined them to the buſineſs of the ſociety by ſuch ſevere penalties and reſtrictions, as we think muſt effectually prevent their giving hindrance or moleſtation. Should we find theſe limitations inſufficient to ſecure the peace of the country, and remove all cauſe of complaint, we are then determined to recall them, and commit the buſineſs to black agents.

11. Farther to aſſiſt this valuable branch of commerce, and promote the credit of the infant ſociety, the Governor and Council have, at the requeſt of the Committee of trade, ſigned and executed a deed for better ſecuring to the ſociety the free and excluſive purchaſe and ſale of the articles of ſalt, &c. from the 1ſt of September 1765, to the 30th of Auguſt 1766, allowing a ſufficient time to diſpoſe of ſuch ſtock as may be provided for the ſeaſon, in order to prevent the great loſs that muſt ariſe to the proprietors, ſhould any alteration take place by your order, after the concerns for the year are begun, and before the ſame are concluded. We therefore flat-

ter

ter ourſelves with your intire approbation of this meaſure, ſo eſſential to the due execution of the plan formed by your permiſſion, and with all poſſible regard to your intereſt.

12. Our proceedings point out clearly the increaſe of your rents, iſſuing from the Calcutta lands; and the ſeveral minutes entered upon that ſubject explain our ſentiments on the proſpect we have of rating the Pergunnahs ſtill higher, without exaction or oppreſſion. It evidently appears to us, that conſiderable frauds were formerly committed in theſe collections; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leaſes granted to the preſent farmers ſhall expire on the 1ſt day of November next. By that time we hope to find leiſure to aſcertain their value more exactly; at leaſt we ſhall then ſilence the clamour of the inhabitants againſt what they deem a monopoly, by univerſally diffuſing and extending the benefits ariſing from the poſſeſſion of lands among the moſt ſubſtantial and reputable Banyans and black merchants living under your protection.

13. Moſt earneſtly do we wiſh that ſuch ſhameful embezzlement of the public money were confined to thoſe lands ſituated more immediately under the eyes of the Governor and Council, ſince nothing beſides the greateſt inattention and miſconduct could then prevent the detection of abuſes; but ſhould a general depravity of manners prevail, and your ſervants, acting in the higheſt ſtations, be reſtrained neither by motives of conſcience, nor by principles of honour, the diſcovery of frauds at places remote from the Preſidency will then become difficult and merely accidental.

This evidently appears from the ſtate of the Midnapore revenues, which for three years paſt have yielded * 250,000 rupees more than were ever placed, as they ought, to the Company's credit. Our recalling the factory, and appointing Mr. Vereliſt ſupervifor, and Mr. Graham preſident, brought this unwarrantable tranſaction to light, which might otherwiſe have lain in profound obſcurity, until chance had produced a reſident, whoſe ſenſe of honour, and feelings of conſcience, were ſtronger than the impulſes of private intereſt.

Yet fortunate to the Company as this diſcovery will certainly be conſidered, we muſt confeſs it occaſions great embarraſſment to our proceedings, unleſs we would deviate on the one hand or the other from that duty which we owe to our Conſtituents. It was firſt our intention to avoid farther retroſpection of the conduct of an adminiſtration ſo notoriouſly corrupt, and meanly venal, throughout every department, in hopes the examples already made would ſufficiently deter others, and work a reformation. It was the correction of abuſes, and not the puniſhment of paſt miſconduct, that we propoſed, although we endeavoured to avoid expoſing ourſelves, either to the cenſure of partiality, or the heavier charge of unfaithfulneſs to our employers.

In this, as in many other inſtances, we conſidered that a ſcrutiny into the particulars of the embezzlement would be unprofitable to you, while it would at the ſame time occaſion great obſtruction to our conſultations, and might end in the neceſſity of diminiſhing the number of your Council, already much reduced by the death of one, the ſuſpenſion of another, and the reſignation of four members of that board.

We muſt farther beg leave to obſerve, that we cannot help regarding the late reſident as far leſs culpable than any of his immediate predeceſſors, who may be ſaid to have chalked out the path, and guided his ſteps by the falſe light that miſled him; certain it is, that ſhould you diſapprove our lenity, the ſame decree in law and equity which will oblige Mr. Watts to refund, will alſo oblige his predeceſſors to make reſtitution.

From theſe conſiderations, therefore, we reſolve to leave it in the option of your Honourable Board, to proſecute or relinquiſh your claim to ſuch ballances as ought to have been applied to your credit, contenting ourſelves with giving you the neceſſary

 information

* 31,250 l.

information of facts, and taking the moſt effectual means to prevent ſuch practices in future.

14. For reaſons of a ſimilar nature, we decline reſuming any farther conſideration of the conduct of the Board and deputation during the late negociations at Murſhedabad. Already our conſultations have been too much interrupted with cavilling, debate and faction. We are heartily ſick of the fruitleſs labour of raking in the jakes of corruption; and ſhould we enter upon cloſe inquiries, we muſt again wholly ſuſpend the courſe of current buſineſs. You have before you ſufficient proofs, whether thoſe gentlemen diſtinguiſhed more zeal for your ſervice, or attachment to their own intereſt; and ſhould you be diſpoſed, for the ſake of example, to attempt the recovering of thoſe ſums, obtained ſo unwarrantably from the Nabob and his miniſters, we apprehend the evidences tranſmitted are ſtrong and explicit enough to ground an action upon in any court of judicature.

15. It remains with us to offer a few remarks upon that letter which Mr. Johnſtone ſent into the Board, juſt as the Admiral Stevens was under ſail, as if he apprehended leſt ſome bold aſſertions he advanced might be refuted before he was out of reach of the ſhame conſequent on detection. Many of theſe aſſertions are ſo mean, ſo contrary to truth, and to Mr. Johnſtone's own knowledge, that we read them with equal ſurprize and contempt; ſenſible that he muſt be hard preſſed indeed to ſupport a ſinking reputation, who has recourſe to falſhood to juſtify miſconduct.

16. This gentleman thinks it neceſſary, after three months preparation, to apologize for a lame and unſeaſonable defence, by affirming, that he was denied all acceſs to the papers relative to himſelf, until a few days before his departure. Mr. Johnſtone forgot that he acknowledges the receipt of thoſe very papers, in a note he wrote [illegible] our Secretary, in the month of June, before we came to any determination, which [illegible] is now in the Secretary's poſſeſſion. He alſo forgot that the letters of Meſſrs. [illegible]or and Middleton, inſerted in our proceedings of the 21ſt of June, prove that all [illegible]vidences and proceedings upon that occaſion, were regularly tranſmitted to thoſe [illegible]lemen who were not preſent at the Board. He ought, therefore, to avail himſelf of the firſt plea, and refuſe rather to acknowledge the authority of the Committee, [illegible]n thus to ſkulk behind a pitiful untruth.

From the deep fund of critical learning which Mr. Johnſtone diſplays in the country language, we might reaſonably expect a more perfect knowledge of the power and idiom of his mother tongue; for after torturing the phraſe *Cooch booligaw*, to make our proceedings appear unfair and partial, he is at length forced to conſtrue it into a ſignification that implies a ſtronger menace than can poſſibly be conveyed in the words of our tranſlation. The leaſt acquaintance with the Engliſh language will enable any man to determine whether, in the circumſtances there repreſented, Mr. Johnſtone's expreſſion, "I will be ſilent," doth not imply a more emphatic menace than the words which we aſcribe to him, "Your buſineſs will meet with no countenance;" inaſmuch as the one declares all that is meant; whereas the other intimates a harſher meaning than he would chuſe to expreſs.

Mr. Johnſtone inſinuates, by way of reflection on the management of the Committee, that we were under the neceſſity of applying to the Seats for the loan of a lack and a half of * rupees; the fact is true, but it reſts with Mr. Johnſtone and his aſſociates at the Board to explain how the Company's treaſury came to be at ſo low an ebb, as to want ſo poor a ſupply. It alſo reſts with them to explain how the Nabob (for our firſt application was to the Nabob) came to be ſo impoveriſhed by preſents made to the Deputation, that he could not furniſh even this ſmall relief to the neceſſities of the Company; and it reſts particularly with Mr. Johnſtone to aſſign the reaſon, why a ballance of † ſix lacks was due from Burdwan to your exhauſted treaſury, whilſt he was

* 18,750 *l.* † 75,000 *l.*

was filling his own pockets at the Durbar, which ballance was afterwards collected by Mr. Verelſt.

What he remarks on our opinion of Mr. Leyceſter, delivered in our Proceedings of the 21ſt of June, is alſo very true. That gentleman had joined with Mr. Johnſtone, received bills from Mahomed Reza Cawn; but as he declared upon oath, that he had no intention of benefiting by them, it was ſurely incumbent on the Committee to acquit him in a public opinion. We ſhould have acquitted Mr. Johnſtone, likewiſe, if he had made the ſame ſolemn declaration; but our private ſentiments of that oath we ſhould have reſerved, as in Mr. Leyceſter's caſe, to our letter to the Court of Directors, for an oath may ſilence an accuſation of crimes, but it doth not neceſſarily produce conviction of innocence.

Mr. Johnſtone has tacked to this extraordinary defence, certain letters written to him by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and his own agent Mooteram, as vouchers for his good behaviour during the negociation. With reſpect to theſe letters, we obſerve, they were obtained at a period when it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that ſuch teſtimonies durſt not not be refuſed, on account of the extraordinary authority which Mr. Johnſtone had juſt before aſſumed at the Durbar. It may alſo be obſerved, from Mahomed Reza Cawn's letter, that great apprehenſions were conceived, leſt the Nabob ſhould come to Calcutta, to lay his complaints before the Committee; and Mr. Johnſtone knows that intereſt was made with the then Reſident, to prevail on him to exert his utmoſt influence in preventing a viſit, which it was thought would not bring much honour to the Deputation. We leave it therefore to your Honourable Board, to determine, whether thoſe teſtimonies, at the beſt, will juſtify Mr. Johnſtone from the charge of extortion, and weigh down againſt the moſt poſitive evidence that can be given upon any matter of fact. Be this as it will, we think it neceſſary to correct Mr. Johnſtone's miſtake, when he affirms, that Mahomed Reza Cawn's firſt depoſition takes no notice of any demand made in the name of the deputations. A reference to that depoſition will ſatisfy you that Mr. Johnſtone either reads without attention, or that he quotes without candour.

It would be endleſs to purſue Mr. Johnſtone through the tedious maze of error and miſrepreſentation, ſo evident in every page of his letter; permit us, therefore, to refer you for more particular reply to the Proceedings themſelves, to Lord Clive's minute, and thoſe of the members of the Select Committee, entered in the Appendix, already tranſmitted by the Admiral Stevens.

As to Mr. Johnſtone's management in the Burdwan province, we could wiſh he had ſuffered us to cover with the veil of ſilence tranſactions that will not bear examination. He hath now, by his ill-judged ſtrictures on Mr. Verelſt's memorial, obliged that gentleman to mention what, out of tenderneſs to Mr. Johnſtone, he was unwilling to reveal.

You will obſerve, from the Conſultations, that Mr. Leyceſter ſtands ſuſpended, and that Mr. Gray reſigned the ſervice, while his conduct, during his reſidence at Maulda, was under conſideration of the Board. You will alſo perceive the obſtruction given to all public buſineſs, by cavilling, debate, and unſeaſonable minutes, while theſe two gentlemen remained at the Board. Thoſe minutes are themſelves ſufficient teſtimony of the ſpirit which actuated ſo extraordinary a behaviour; they are indecent, violent, and factious, beyond any thing ever before tolerated in this government in the moſt licentious of times.

Meſſrs. Leyceſter and Gray no ſooner perceive the laſh of correction removed, than they, unmindful of the lenity of the Committee, when we might with propriety, and indeed ought to have ſuſpended them the ſervice, ſet up a determined oppoſition, and dared to ridicule and inſult the government upon all occaſions; yet we bore this uſage with patience,

patience, out of regard to your ſituation, and replied to their minutes with temper, until Mr. Leyceſter proceeded to ſuch lengths of licentiouſneſs, as tended to involve the ſettlement in anarchy and civil diſſention. He publiſhed an expreſſion haſtily dropt at the Board by General Carnac, with ſuch additional aggravating circumſtances, as were beſt calculated to raiſe a ferment in the minds of the people, and excite the inhabitants to open ſedition. The alarm that we were about to introduce a military government became ſo general, we thought it incumbent on us to trace the author of ſuch dangerous calumny; and, upon conviction, that Mr. Leyceſter had forged and publiſhed it with a deſign of weakening the hands of the adminiſtration, we judged it neceſſary to ſuſpend him as unworthy of his ſtation in your ſervice.

18. We need not take up your time in juſtifying a meaſure that became indiſpenſibly neceſſary, unleſs we meant to relinquiſh all attempts to effect that general reformation ſo eſſential to the ſtability and permanency of your poſſeſſions. Mr. Leyceſter had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed every meaſure which tended to the correction of abuſes; and, even whilſt he was acting in the capacity of a magiſtrate and judge, moſt ſhamefully endeavoured to ſuppreſs, pervert, and ſtifle evidence relative to Mr. Gray's conduct. His own minute on the occaſion that produced his ſuſpenſion, ſo thoroughly points out the violent deſigns he entertained, that we could ſit no longer at the ſame Board with any regard to our own characters, or proſpect of advantage to your ſervice. From the loud cry raiſed by Mr. Gray and him againſt military force and arbitrary power, one would naturally conceive the Preſident had deprived half the Britiſh ſubjects in the ſettlement of their birth-right. The fact, however, was nothing more than that Lord Clive had ordered a guard of Sepoys over Ramnaut, a man of infamous character, ſaid to be employed by Mr. Gray, in the moſt iniquitous acts of extortion, and a native of Maulda, who himſelf refuſed to claim the protection of our laws, becauſe he ſhould thereby become ſubject to the puniſhment to which thoſe laws condemn his offences; whereas, numberleſs inſtances occur in former governments in Bengal of native inhabitants of Calcutta being confined by military guards, upon accuſations of infinitely leſs conſequence to the public weal. In ſhort, thoſe two gentlemen themſelves were ſo diſſatisfied, ſo diſcontented and induſtrious in propagating the ſeeds of their ill humour, that we are firmly convinced the ſuſpenſion of the one was neceſſary, and that the reſignation of the other is conducive to the benefit of your ſervice. Yet theſe are the gentlemen who, we are told, flatter themſelves with the hopes of juſtifying their conduct to your ſatisfaction, and of returning again to the management of your concerns in Bengal: ſhould this event ever happen, we have only to wiſh, and we fervently do wiſh, although contrary to all human probability, that your affairs may proſper.

19. The Board being now reduced far beneath the eſtabliſhment we propoſed, and to a number inſufficient to conduct the neceſſary buſineſs of the government, filling the vacant ſeats became an immediate object of conſideration. By the Admiral Stevens we freely delivered our ſentiments of the unfitneſs for that ſtation of thoſe gentlemen who ſtand next in ſucceſſion. We alſo recommended with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that in compoſing your Council, you would admit of no claim but that of merit and approved ſervices. We muſt now again beg leave to repeat, that from a liſt of fourteen junior merchants, we are not able to ſelect a number ſufficient to make up the deficiency of members at the Board, unleſs we abandon all hopes of curbing licentiouſneſs, reforming abuſes, and ſubduing that univerſal paſſion which prevails among your ſervants of accumulating riches in a manner inconſiſtent with the good of the country and with your intereſt. The factious ſpirit which lately blazed out ſo violently in Council, has reached the lower claſſes; ſo that we can entertain no reaſonable hope from their cordial ſervices, until they have felt the weight of correction, and experienced

rienced the influence of example. Still, however, we ſhould be ſorry to deprive them of all proſpect of riſing, by promoting their juniors on this eſtabliſhment, ſince time and the certain aſſurance, that merit and not ſtanding will entitle them to your favours, may produce the deſired effect upon their conduct.

20. For theſe reaſons we applied to the Preſidency of Fort St. George, requeſting that Meſſrs. Ruſſel, Alderſey, Kelſal, and Floyer, might be permitted to aſſiſt us in the preſent exigency, until your pleaſure ſhould be known; being fully perſuaded that this preference of the ſervants of another Preſidency, will operate more effectually than if we had recourſe to the more irkſome and mortifying indignity of ſuperſeding them from this eſtabliſhment.

We are ſorry to find that our endeavours to ſerve the Company in a manner the leaſt injurious to your ſervants here, ſhould be miſconſtrued. As ſoon as this meaſure became known, by reports from Madraſs, and previous to our laying any proceedings before the Board, the young gentlemen of the ſettlement had ſet themſelves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit: each would think himſelf qualified to tranſact your weighty affairs in Council, at an age when the laws of his country adjudge him unfit to manage his own concerns to the extent of forty ſhillings. They have not only ſet their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into aſſociations unbecoming at their years, and deſtructive of that ſubordination without which no government can ſtand—All viſits to the Preſident are forbidden—All invitations from him and the members of the Select Committee are to be ſlighted—The gentlemen called down by our authority from Madraſs are to be treated with neglect and contempt—Every man who deviates from this confederacy is to be ſtigmatized and avoided—In a word, the members are totally to ſeparate themſelves from the head, decorum and union are to be ſet at defiance, and it becomes a fair ſtruggle whether we or the young gentlemen ſhall in future guide the helm of government. Look at their names, examine their ſtanding, inquire into their ſervices, and reflect upon the age of four-fifths of the ſubſcribers to this bill of grievances, who now ſupport the aſſociation, and you will be equally ſurpriſed with us at the preſumptuous intemperance of youth, and convinced that a ſtop of three or four years in the courſe of promotion is indiſpenſibly neceſſary, if you would have your Council compoſed of men of experience and diſcretion.

21. From this ſketch of the behaviour of your ſervants, you will perceive the dangerous pitch to which the independent and licentious ſpirit of this ſettlement hath riſen; you will then determine on the neceſſity and propriety of the ſtep we have taken: in the mean time we are reſolved to ſupport it, or we muſt ſubmit to the anarchy and confuſion conſequent on ſubjecting the decrees of your Select Committee to the reviſal and repeal of young gentlemen juſt broke looſe from the hands of their ſchoolmaſters. Earneſtly do we wiſh that every member of this Board had ardently joined in the ſame ſentiments, ſince diſſents only ſerve to break the force of reſolutions, to weaken authority, and give vigour and courage to faction and diſobedience.

As to the point of indignity, of which your petitioners complain, nothing can be more evident than that the Committee regarded the preſent ſuperceſſion as leſs injurious than a ſelection would be from this eſtabliſhment, ſince we even declined promoting, upon this occaſion, the very perſons whom we particularly recommended to the moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of your favour. In this light it is conſidered in every other ſervice, and we doubt not but it would have been ſo conſidered in this ſervice, had ſuch promotion been the choice of the Committee.

22. Our proceedings explain the motives of our conduct, and alſo the meaſures we enforced to bring the ſettlement to order and obedience. Mr. Majendie, the

Secretary,

Secretary to the Council, is diſmiſſed from his office, and ſuſpended the ſervice for having eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in forming a combination ſo unwarrantable in itſelf, ſo dangerous at the preſent conjuncture, and ſo peculiarly unbecoming to his age, his ſtation, and his employment. Should this example ſuffice, we ſhall avoid proceeding to the extremity of puniſhing with the loſs of bread, young men who have been artfully and unwarily ſpirited up to faction, to gratify the reſentment, the ſelfiſh views of ſome, in whom you have repoſed unmerited and much abuſed confidence.

You will be aſtoniſhed to obſerve at the head of this liſt divers members of your Council, who ſubſcribe their names in teſtimony of their ſenſe of the injuſtice done to the younger ſervants. Poſſibly this teſtimony might have weight with your Honourable Board had thoſe gentlemen firſt cleared up their own conduct from certain imputations which intimate how little their intereſt diſpoſes them to co-operate in a reformation for the public benefit. At all events, whether the proceeding of the Committee be in itſelf right or wrong, it is moſt certainly their duty to repreſs every factious combination, to temper the heat and vehemence of youth, to maintain the authority of the Board, and avoid giving countenance to a ſeditious and rebellious humour, which might have produced the ſubverſion of government, and the moſt fatal conſequences to the Company's affairs, before your deciſion could arrive.

23. This incident occurring four days only before the diſpatch of the ſhips, you will not expect that our letter from the public department ſhould enter ſo minutely into the tranſactions of the Board as we propoſed. The buſineſs is now ſuddenly taken up by Mr. Campbell, our Secretary, who we are aſſured will exert his utmoſt abilities; but he requeſts you will pleaſe to make an allowance for the ſhortneſs of time, and his total unacquaintance with all that has been tranſacted in that department.

24. We have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that Sujah al Dowlah appears well diſpoſed to cultivate our friendſhip, and adhere ſtrictly to the conditions of the late treaty.

Colonel Smith's brigade is now ſtationed at Illahabad and Benâres, to ſecure the King and Vizier againſt the invaſions of the Maharattas, until they have fully re-eſtabliſhed themſelves, and payment of the ſtipulated indemnification to the Company is completed. His Majeſty's viſionary projects of ſeating himſelf with our aſſiſtance on the throne of his anceſtors, and proceeding to Dehly his capital, ſeem to have vaniſhed before the Committe's remonſtrances. We hope he is at length convinced, that without us the ſcheme is impracticable, and we are certain it can never be your intereſt to extend the influence of your arms to ſo great a diſtance from your preſent poſſeſſions, and the ſeat of your government.

25. Opening a communication between the Northern Sircar and Bengal muſt prove mutually advantageous to your preſidency at Fort Saint George, and to us. We have therefore determined to embrace the favourable opportunity which the preſent feeble condition of the Maharattas affords, to carry this meaſure into execution, and have for that purpoſe ſet on foot a negociation with their chief, whereby we propoſe he ſhall cede to us the northern parts of Oriſſa, now in his poſſeſſion, upon our conſenting to pay a certain ſtipulated annual revenue: whatever his determination may be, it is our reſolution not to attempt gaining this advantage by violence or force of arms.

Peace is at length happily reſtored to theſe provinces, and it will be the ſtudy of this Committee to preſerve and prolong thoſe advantages which you already begin to experience.

We have the Honour to remain, &c.

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, J. CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

POSTSCRIPT.

Mr. Sumner conceiving that the following paragraph of the 21ſt Article is particularly pointed againſt himſelf, begs leave to enter his diſſent to that and ſuch other parts of the letter and proceedings as he hath already objected to: "Heartily do we wiſh "that every member of this Board had ardently joined in the ſame ſentiments, ſince "diſſents ſerve only to break the force of reſolutions, to weaken authority, and give "vigour and courage to faction and diſobedience."

W. B. SUMNER.

No. III.

To the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, March 24, 1766.

A few incidents only which merit your attention have occurred at this Preſidency, ſince our laſt advices, of the 31ſt of January, by the Grenville and Kent.

The extraordinary behaviour of your junior ſervants was then explained to you, as a point in which your intereſt is deeply concerned: they were at that time turbulent and factious; but we have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the conduct of the more inconſiderate ſeems now to be diſapproved by thoſe arrived at greater diſcretion, who begin to ſee the neceſſity of our determined reſolution to reduce your ſervants in general within the ſphere pointed out by their years, ſtanding, and abilities. We muſt however obſerve, that your ſervice here has always been carried on rather from a dread of puniſhment than a ſenſe of duty; and that at preſent no branch of your affairs is conducted with that alacrity and zeal neceſſary and eſſential to your intereſt, to which, we ſhould conceive, all your ſervants would be naturally excited, by the uncommon advantages they enjoy.

This decline of public ſpirit we muſt, in great meaſure, aſcribe to a practice which hath prevailed at this ſettlement more than at any other, of intruſting ſome of the moſt weighty employments in your ſervice to gentlemen ſcarce arrived at years of maturity. The buſineſs of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years ſtanding in your ſervice; the employment of Accomptant is now diſcharged by a Writer ſtill lower in the liſt of your ſervants; the important truſts of Military Storekeeper, Naval Storekeeper, and Storekeeper of the Works, were beſtowed, when laſt vacant, upon Writers; and a Writer held the poſt of Paymaſter to the Army, at a period when near * 20 lacks of rupees had been depoſited for months together in his hands.

We will not enquire how far theſe employments have been duly diſcharged: youth cannot argue diſhoneſty; but it certainly doth in general imply the want of ſufficient diſcretion and experience. We will only obſerve, that repoſing truſts of ſo important and lucrative a nature in the hands of young men, hath rendered them too ſoon independent, and given birth to that ſpirit of diſſipation and luxury, of which you were very juſtly informed before the appointment of this Committee. From this ſource likewiſe flows a grievance of the utmoſt conſequence to your ſervice, which demands an immediate remedy. The younger ſervants, being incapable themſelves to diſcharge the functions of their ſeveral offices, were forced to have recourſe to

 their

* 250,000 *l.*

their Baniâns and black Writers; and thus their employments fell into the hands of their aſſiſtants; Baniâns became principals in the ſeveral departments; the affairs of the Company flowed through a new and unnatural channel; and your moſt ſecret concerns were publicly known in the Bazâr. Such truſts, repoſed in thoſe Baniâns, encouraged them to advance large ſums of money to their maſters, which ſerved no other purpoſe than to ſupport their extravagance, and render them dependent on their ſervants, inſtead of being obedient to the Governor and Council. It would be unneceſſary to ſet forth the conſequences to a ſettlement circumſtanced as this is, of placing too much confidence in the aſſiſtance of the natives. The frequent and imminent dangers which you have lately experienced are evident proofs, unleſs your more important affairs can be tranſacted by your own ſervants, there never will be that diſpatch and ſecrecy upon emergencies, which are neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs.

For this reaſon, we have reſumed to the ſenior ſervants ſome of thoſe employments which we think require the knowledge and ſteadineſs of more advanced years; and alſo appointed a Committee to inveſtigate the management and inſpect the conduct of the ſeveral offices, civil and military, with expreſs authority to eſtabliſh ſuch regulations as may appear the moſt conducive to the public ſervice. By theſe means, we hope to ſee the principal branches of the Company's buſineſs wholly tranſacted by your own ſervants, without the aid of men, who ought, as much as poſſible, to be excluded from all knowledge of your private concerns.

In the letter, which we had the honour to addreſs to you by the Admiral Stevens, we took notice, that too ſtrict a regard to promoting ſeniority will ever prove injurious to the ſervice, notwithſtanding the rule is convenient and equitable, under certain exceptions and limitations. An inſtance, in confirmation of our opinion, now occurs. Upon examining your liſt of covenanted ſervants, it now appears, that not more than four gentlemen above the ſtation of Writers, and below the rank of Council, have reſided in Calcutta for ſeveral months, we may ſay years paſt, to carry on the buſineſs of the Preſidency; the reſt have gone to Subordinates; for the right of ſucceeding as firſt, ſecond, or third in Council, to vacancies at the out-ſettlements, hath ever been conſidered as veſted in ſeniority, whilſt the buſineſs of the Preſidency was neglected, and nothing remained with the Governor and Council whereby to reward and encourage merit, without appearing to treſpaſs upon juſtice.

It will therefore be neceſſary to recall ſome of the ſenior ſervants below the rank of Council, to fill thoſe offices which are at preſent held by their juniors, in order that your affairs may proceed in a more regular train, and the younger ſervants be rendered more tractable and obedient, by confining them longer to a ſtate of greater dependence. Indeed, we could wiſh, that ſome methods of taming the ſpirit, without ruining the fortunes of the more incorrigible, were thought of. Perhaps the moſt effectual would be the depriving them of the advantages ariſing from ſalt and Duſtucks for two years longer, after the term of their Writers covenants is expired. This, and confining them to the Preſidency, would operate powerfully; but we chuſe, if poſſible, to avoid proceeding to extremities.

You are already adviſed, that your orders, reſpecting the reduction of Batta allowed to the army, took place on the firſt day of the preſent year. This meaſure hath produced ſome murmurings and complaints among the ſubalterns, and even a memorial to the Council, from the officers of the firſt brigade. Conſcious, however, of the neceſſity of reducing your military expences, we are determined to ſee the orders ſtrictly obeyed. At the ſame time, we muſt confeſs, that until the charges incurred on account of ſervants, horſes, and the neceſſary equipage of the field in this climate are diminiſhed, by ſome public regulations, the allowance of a ſubaltern will ſcarcely maintain him in the ſtation of a gentleman.

Not-

Notwithſtanding our late expectations, that the King had, in conſequence of our remonſtrances, broke off his negociations with the Maharattas, and dropped his airy ſcheme of proceeding to his capital, we find by Colonel Smith's letters, that he is ſtill intriguing with thoſe free-booters, and ſtipulating for their aſſiſtance by the grant of territories in the very heart of his empire. This we conſider as a project of ſuch dangerous tendency to the tranquility of Sujah al Dowlah's country, and even of theſe provinces, that we have diſpatched the moſt peremptory orders to Colonel Smith, to avoid giving his Majeſty the leaſt encouragement of aſſiſtance from the Company, without which, we apprehend, he will ſcarce venture to proceed; and likewiſe to throw every obſtacle he can in the way of his propoſed treaty with the Maharattas.

The Preſident and General Carnac propoſing to viſit the army, and the ſeveral diſtricts of the Bengal and Bahar provinces, with a view to enforce the regulations in the army and revenues made by this Committee, we have recommended to his Lordſhip to form an alliance with the frontier powers, for the ſecurity and protection of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions. The Jauts and Rohilla chiefs appear well diſpoſed to cultivate our friendſhip; and their own ſafety naturally leads them to oppoſe every encroachment of the Maharattas, whence we hope to maintain our engagements with the Vizier, without incurring the riſk and expence of ſtationing a brigade in his country.

We have alſo recommended to his Lordſhip the expendiency of eſtabliſhing a gold currency, in order to obviate the bad conſequences of impoveriſhing the country by the large annual exports of treaſure to China. This expedient, you are already informed, we only conſider as a palliative; but, as it will moſt undoubtedly, for the preſent, increaſe the current ſpecie, and give encouragement to the importation of gold bullion, without producing a ſingle inconvenience which we can foreſee, we have adopted it without ſcruple, until ſome more effectual remedy be deviſed. For further reaſons, and alſo the means propoſed for carrying this meaſure into execution, we beg leave to refer to our proceedings.

The ſame proceedings will alſo point out the ſeveral objects of his Lordſhip's progreſs up the country, in the courſe of which he will find many opportunities of aſcertaining more accurately the revenues of the ſeveral Zemindaries and diſtricts than can be done by orders from the Preſidency, and likewiſe of urging payment of the large out-ſtanding ballances to the public treaſury.

Perceiving that very conſiderable frauds were daily committing on the revenues by means of forged Duſtucks, we directed a general Duſtuck-ſeal to been graved for the uſe of the Preſidency and ſubordinate ſettlements, with an impreſſion the moſt difficult to be counterfeited, and ſubject to ſuch regulations as cannot well be eluded.

The application of this ſeal is alſo confined to the Preſident and the Chiefs of out-ſettlements.

Sir Robert Barker, who was lately diſpatched from Patna to the Bettea country, in the Bahar province, to demoliſh the forts, and reduce to obedience ſome of the turbulent Zemindars, deeply in arrear to the revenues, hath ſucceeded in the principal objects of his expedition, without encountering any conſiderable reſiſtance. We beg leave to tranſmit the following extract of a letter from him, juſt received by the Preſident, rather as an article of curious intelligence, than a ſure proſpect of advantage to the Company, dated from the camp of Rampore, March 5th, 1766.

"Bettea will, I think, be of conſiderable conſequence to the Company. Its "firs will afford maſts for all the ſhips in India, which muſt produce a new and "conſiderable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our

" own ſhipping. Gold and cinnamon are alſo here (the latter we gather in the " Jungles); timbers as large as any I have ſeen; muſk and elephants teeth; beſides " many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of."

Should theſe advices meet with confirmation, you may be aſſured we ſhall endeavour to puſh the diſcovery to the utmoſt advantage. In the mean time Lord Clive has directed Sir Robert to ſend down ſpecimens of every article he thinks may tend to the extention of your commerce, and the exports of the country.

Before we cloſe this letter, juſtice to his peculiar merit requires we ſhould recommend this officer to your particular regard and diſtinction. His prudence, moderation, and military accompliſhments, as well as the general eſteem of the army which he hath acquired, render him highly deſerving of any favour you can beſtow, and of the moſt confidential truſts in your ſervice.

It is with ſatisfaction we alſo acquaint you, that Mahomed Reza Cawn continues to diſcharge the duties of his appointment with great aſſiduity. Any diſtinguiſhing mark of your favour will probably be a ſpur to his endeavours; but in ordering a preſent for him, we would beg leave to recommend, that one of a ſuperior value may be ſent to the Nabob, to prevent his regarding that uſeful miniſter with an eye of jealouſy.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

CLIVE, JOHN CARNAC, HARRY VERELST.

No. IV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 8, 1766.

At the time our laſt advices, dated the 24 March, were diſpatched, the attention of this Committee was wholly directed to the means of ſecuring the benefits of your preſent immenſe poſſeſſions. The Company's influence in the empire we conſidered as ſufficiently extended, provided the power of maintaining that influence could be confirmed. To conciliate the minds of the natives to our government, and diffuſe the bleſſings of a mild adminiſtration, wherever our authority extended, as collectors of the revenues for the King, appeared to us the moſt effectual method of accompliſhing that deſireable end.

2. We had laid the foundation of this plan in the treaty concluded with Sujah al Dowlah, the conditions of which ſo far exceeded his expectations, in point of advantage to himſelf, that we are well aſſured the Company, in granting thoſe terms, have ſacrificed a mere ſhadow of power only, to the ſubſtantial benefit of ſecurity. The chearfulneſs with which he met the Right Honourable Preſident, at a late congreſs, held in the Bahar province, the ready compliance he ſhewed in paying the remainder of the indemnification to the Company, ſtipulated by treaty, even before the time limited for payment was expired; and the engagements which he has renewed for our mutual defence and ſecurity, afford the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of the ſincerity of his gratitude and friendſhip.

3. It was in the proſecution of our plan, of giving permanency to your influence, that we obtained from the King a grant of the Dewanny; and with the ſame view we entered into an agreement with the Nabob, the conſequences of which are, that the

the revenues of the three provinces being now entirely under our own direction, we no longer depend for the ſupport of our military eſtabliſhment, on the bounty of the Subah.

4. But to impart real ſtability to the ſyſtem we had adopted, it became neceſſary we ſhould look ſtrictly into the internal conduct of this government, and exert our utmoſt endeavours to reſtore to a ſyſtem of duty and integrity, a ſettlement deeply immerſed in the moſt profligate diſſipation and avowed corruption. For this purpoſe we entered upon the odious taſk of an enquiry into the conduct of divers members of the Council, with the reſult of which, and the oppoſition we encountered, you are already acquainted.

5. The ſeats vacated at the Board by this and other occurring circumſtances, proved unexpectedly fortunate to our deſign, as it opened to us a fair opportunity of making ſome advances towards that ſelection of the members of the Council, which we before recommended to your attention, by introducing to the Board four gentlemen of unqueſtionable merit and reputation, who having been tutored in notions of rigid ſubordination and œconomy, were the moſt likely to co-operate in our views, with all the weight of their example and authority. We would not remind you of what the behaviour was, on that occaſion, of the ſervants of this eſtabliſhment, it being itſelf the ſtrongeſt evidence of the expediency of the meaſure we purſued, and of the juſt ſentiments which we entertained of their principles, had not the violence of their conduct extended beyond what we then foreſaw, or could even imagine.

6. Whether any endeavours were exerted by the civil ſervants to propagate their diſcontent among the military officers, is what we cannot directly affirm; but from ſeveral of their intercepted letters it appears, they were much elated at ſeeing the army tainted with the malignity of their own infection. We had, agreeable to the advices already tranſmitted home, reduced the double Batta allowed to the military officers as early as the month of January, yet not a murmur or complaint tranſpired, further than was expreſſed in a moderate repreſentation to the Board, from the captains and ſubalterns of each of the three brigades. All was calm and ſerence in camp, as if they reſted ſatisfied with the orders iſſued by the Select Committe, until a proper ſtate of their circumſtances could be laid before the Court of Directors.

7. In this deceitful tranquility, the ſpace of four months elaſped, when, during the receſs of the Committee, and Lord Clive's reſidence at Murſhed-abad, the alarming advices arrived, that almoſt all the officers of the army had combined, under articles of the moſt ſolemn agreement, to reſign their commiſſions by a certain day, unleſs their Batta was reſtored, and the orders of the Company were abrogated. To ſecure their meaſures, without incurring the penalties of deſertion, they fixed on a period when they had no pay in advance, and it was every moment expected our frontier would be invaded by a large body of Maharatta horſe; flattering themſelves that the neceſſity for their ſervices, at ſo critical a juncture, muſt infallibly reduce the Board to ſubmiſſion.

8. It was immediately recommended by Lord Clive to the Board, when he tranſmitted the advices, rather to put all to the riſque, than ſuffer the authority of Council to be inſulted. The ſaving which aroſe to the Company, from the reduction of Batta, was now of trifling conſideration, when compared with the danger of yielding to the menaces of ſo unprecedented and mutinous an aſſociation. To preſerve the authority of the Preſident and Council, and cruſh an attempt that indicated the total ſubverſion of government, became now the object; in which ſentiments the whole Board, with one voice, concurred with his Lordſhip. He proceeded, accompanied by General Carnac, to Mongheer, where the firſt brigade lay in cantonments, and happily arrived at the inſtant when the whole body of Europeans was ripe for a revolt.

volt. Their officers, the lieutenant-colonel and two or three ſubalterns excepted, had to a man, withdrawn themſelves; and the ſoldiers, fired with the contagious ſpirit of mutiny, were on the point of following the example of their ſuperiors, when his Lordſhip's preſence and authority awaked them to a ſenſe of their duty, and probably ſaved theſe provinces from all the horrors of rapine, deſolation, and military anarchy. The ſame violence of conduct prevailed among the officers of the ſecond and third brigade ſtationed at Allahabad and Patna; inſomuch that Colonel Smith, who was poſted on the confines of Korah, remote from all aſſiſtance, and in the very face of a formidable enemy, was totally deſerted by his officers in thoſe lines he had drawn to oppoſe the irruption of the Maharattas.

9. For the further particulars of this extraordinary and very intereſting event, we beg leave to refer you to the letter and Conſultations of the public department, ſince the whole correſpondence paſſed through that channel, during the receſs of the Committee. Here we touched on it with a view only to impreſs you with more lively ideas of the preſent ſtate of this ſettlement, and to evince more ſtrongly the neceſſity of what we have before repeatedly recommended; a conſtant attention to the good ſenſe, honour, and ſteadineſs of thoſe gentlemen whom you in future admit into Council.

10. We have a particular ſatisfaction in obſerving to you the ſpirited zeal and unanimity with which the Board aſſiſted, in every meaſure propoſed by the Preſident, to break this dangerous combination. A juſt ſenſe of the indignity offered to their own authority, as well as of danger to the community, ſeemed to unite them heart and hand in puniſhing, to the extreme extent of their power, an act of diſobedience, that includes in its effects the being and fate of your invaluable poſſeſſions in Bengal. But ſtill it remains to determine how far the delinquents are ſubject to the utmoſt rigour of the martial law, and whether ſuch proofs can clearly be exhibited againſt them, as, admitting the authority of the court, will render the priſoners liable to the puniſhment of mutiny and deſertion.

11. The preſent ſituation of your affairs requiring ſo numerous a military eſtabliſhment, at ſuch a diſtance from the fountain of juſtice, as not to admit of elucidation in difficult caſes, before it is too late for deciſion; it becomes an object of the moſt ſerious attention, to bind down your officers and ſoldiers by the ſtrongeſt ties of duty, of allegiance, and of martial diſcipline. Of late years it has been cuſtomary to grant commiſſions without exacting thoſe covenants, whereby the party agrees to ſerve for a certain period of time; yet, upon the ſuppoſition that ſuch contract actually exiſts, the King and Parliament have graciouſly been pleaſed to extend the benefits of the Mutiny Bill to the Honourable Eaſt-India Company. To this neglect it is owing, that any officer, or number of officers, has it in his option, without conſulting the Governor and Council, to throw up your ſervice in times of the moſt imminent danger, without incurring the penalty of any law, civil or military; for by refuſing your pay, he is no longer ſubject to your authority.

12. To guard therefore, in future, againſt an event which may poſſibly terminate in a manner leſs fortunate to the Company, we beg leave earneſtly to recommend, that no commiſſions may be hereafter beſtowed, or officers ſent out, but under reſtriction of the above covenants, a power of diſpenſing with the ſame, by granting permiſſion to reſign, to be veſted ſolely in the Governor and Council. So many inſtances have occurred both here and upon the Coaſt, of an independent and incroaching ſpirit in the military, that we imagine further arguments will be unneceſſary, to convince you of the neceſſity there is to ſupport the civil authority with all the power that law admits, and neceſſity urges.

13. Before

13. Before this mutiny broke out, Lord Clive had for ſome time aſſiſted at the Poonah, held at Murſhed-abad, for ſtating the revenues of Bengal for the preſent year, 1766. We have now the pleaſure to inform you, that the neat collections of the year ariſing from Bengal only amount to one crore, ſixty one lacks, ſeven hundred and eight rupees * (16,100,708) which is an increaſe of eleven lacks, thirty one thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-eight rupees † (1,131,978) on the collections of the preceding year, flowing chiefly from a reduction of charges, without levying any additional tax on the Zemindars.

14. The ſtatement of the revenues of Bahar is likewiſe juſt come to our hands; and we perceive with great ſatisfaction that they amount this year to ſixty-one lacks, eighty thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-ſix rupees ‡ (6,180,276), being an increaſe of neat revenue of five lacks, ſixty-two thouſand two hundred and ſixty-one rupees § (562,261). This increaſe we, in a great meaſure, owe to the diligence and abilities of Mahomed Reza Cawn, who is now employed on the ſpot in regulating the collections of that province; whence we hope the revenues will be reduced to more order, and raiſed to a greater amount than have for ſome years been known, on account of the ſcandalous embezzlement of the public money, and miſconduct of the collectors.

15. It is by means of œconomy and frugality only, that we wiſh to ſee your revenues increaſed; ſince they are always ſufficiently great to anſwer every purpoſe of the Company; for without the greateſt care be taken to prevent Zemindars from carrying on long balances, and defrauding the government under various pretences, your collections would ſoon dwindle to a ſum inſufficient to defray their own charges; the authority of the adminiſtration would be deſpiſed, and the ſeveral Rajahs and Zemindars would aſſume to themſelves an independent power, after they had fleeced the people, and fattened upon the ſpoils of the public.

16. During Lord Clive's reſidence in the Bahar province, a congreſs was held at Chuprah, at which his lordſhip, General Carnac, Sujah al Dowlah, and the King's miniſter, aſſiſted. Here was laid the foundation of a treaty between the Company, the Vizier, and the Jaut and Rohilla chiefs, for their mutual defence and ſecurity againſt all attempts of the Maharattas to invade their ſeveral dominions. But his Lordſhip and General Carnac, from conſideration of the little advantage the Company would deduce from ſuch diſtant allies in caſe of an invaſion, choſe to leave this matter unfiniſhed, and to entruſt Sujah al Dowlah with the management of ſuch treaties as he might think convenient for his own and the Company's welfare; but he is not to conclude any thing, nor enter into any abſolute agreement, without having previouſly acquainted the Preſident with every propoſal, and obtained his approbation.

17. At Chuprah likewiſe attended deputies from the Maharatta chiefs, from whom, and alſo from the letters they brought, it evidently appears, the Maharatta forces are aſſembled at the King's requiſition, and upon the poſitive aſſurances he gave that an Engliſh army would join them to eſcort him to his capital. His Majeſty has indeed laboured hard by every artifice of perſuaſion, intrigue, and negotiation, to ſucceed in his favourite ſcheme, which we are convinced would terminate in accompliſhing his own ruin, and deſtroying the peace of the whole empire. In a word, his conduct has been ſuch, that we are at a loſs whether more to condemn his policy, deſpiſe his underſtanding, or abhor his principles.

18. With a view to watch the motion of the Maharattas upon our own frontier, Lord Clive has directed Colonel Smith's brigade to canton at Doudnagur, or Saſſeram, where the Colonel will be advantageouſly poſted to oppoſe any hoſtile intentions, and

* 2,012,588 *l.*
† 141,497 *l.*
‡ 772,534 *l.*
§ 70,282 *l.*

and to cover the Bahar province. This brigade is recalled in conſequence of Sujah al Dowlah's having fully diſcharged all the engagements into which he entered by the treaty; and for this reaſon likewiſe we ſhall immediately recall the reſident at Benâres, and every other European reſiding in the Vizier's dominions, that no diſputes may ariſe from private commerce, to diſturb the amity now ſubſiſting.

19. We have frequently mentioned to you the inconvenience of exporting money and bullion from this country for the ſupply of your China inveſtment; yet we would not take upon ourſelves to with-hold this aſſiſtance, until we received your inſtructions. Accordingly the Council have iſſued orders to the mint maſter to purchaſe all the bullion that may be imported this ſeaſon, for the uſe of the China market; to which we propoſe remitting to the amount of twenty-four lacks *.

20. To obviate the immediate bad effects to the commerce and revenues of this country of ſuch an annual drain of treaſure, Lord Clive carried into execution, during his ſtay at Murſhed-abad, the regulations of the Select Committee relative to a gold coinage, which we hope ſoon fully to eſtabliſh, notwithſtanding the prejudices of theſe people againſt every innovation. Having already preſented you with a general view of the above regulations, we muſt now requeſt your excuſe for not tranſmitting the particulars by this conveyance, as our ſecretary has not been able to get up the proceedings, on account of the death and ſickneſs of ſeveral of the aſſiſtants in his office.

21. Already we have gone through the enquiry you direct into the ſeveral ſums granted by the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the purpoſes of reſtitution to the merchants, and donations to the army and navy. All the principal agents for thoſe diſburſements have been ſeparately examined upon oath before the Committee, and their depoſitions taken viva voce, and recorded on the face of our Proceedings.

22. Sorry we are to obſerve, that from thoſe depoſitions it will appear how little the Nabob was himſelf inclined to impoveriſh his treaſury by free gifts, and voluntary donations. The preſent to the ſquadron in particular ſeems to have been obtained by very unjuſtifiable acts and meaſures, which we conceive will reflect very little honour upon a ſervant of his Majeſty's acting in ſo high a ſtation. But we would chuſe to avoid making further remarks, ſince the next diſpatches will afford you an opportunity of forming your own judgment of tranſactions ſo deeply intereſting to the national character. It appears, however, upon the moſt poſitive teſtimony, that the donation to the army was a free and unſolicited preſent from the Nabob, beſtowed on Major Adams and the army, as a pledge of their faithful ſervices at the moſt critical juncture; and a ranſom of the money and effects in ſuch cities and towns as might fall into their hands, and be ſubject to the violence of the ſoldiers. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that this donation ſhould have been voluntary, while the ſum granted for reſtitution to the merchants, and a preſent to the navy, flowed with ſo ill a grace from his excellency, who could not poſſibly expect any equivalent ſervices.

23. When we have diſpatched the Lord Camden we ſhall proceed to enforce ſuch of your orders as we have not already anticipated; and you may reſt aſſured that neither prejudice nor favour to individuals ſhall warp us from that duty which we owe to you, our conſtituents, and to our own honour.

24. We are ſorry to acquaint you, that on the 8th day of May, his excellency the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah breathed his laſt, after a ſhort illneſs, incurred by ſome intemperance in eating, and increaſed by a groſs habit, and unſound conſtitution. As he was a prince of mean capacity, bred up in total ignorance of public affairs, this event, which formerly might have produced important conſequences in the provinces, can at preſent have no other effect than that of exhibiting to the eyes of the people

* 300,000 *l.*

people a mere change of perſons in the Nizamut. Nudjum al Dowlah dying without iſſue, his brother Syef al Dowlah ſucceeded to his dignities; and promiſes, from the mildneſs and pliancy of his diſpoſition, to anſwer all the purpoſes of a Nabob to the people and to the Company. At preſent he is a youth not exceeding the age of ſixteen, which more immediately and naturally brings the adminiſtration into the hands of perſons in whom we can repoſe confidence.

25. Before this time you have probably determined the fate of the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; whether it may be continued under the regulations we have eſtabliſhed, or is totally to be relinquiſhed by your ſervants. We ſhall therefore only obſerve on this occaſion, that certain amendments are now propoſed by the Preſident, and adopted by the Select Committee, which we think will remove every inconvenience obſerved in the preſent eſtabliſhment of that trade, and ſecure to the Company the power of rewarding or puniſhing their ſervants, according to the degree of their merit or miſconduct.

26. We are further to inform you, that the Committee nominated by us to inſpect into the conduct of the ſeveral departments at the Preſidency, have entered upon the duty of their appointment. They have in conſequence framed divers regulations, which we think well calculated to promote your intereſt, as they are conducive to the order and diſpatch of buſineſs; for which reaſon we propoſe carrying them into execution with all convenient expedition.

27. From obſerving the great increaſe in the expences of living in Calcutta, the Committee of Inſpection have puſhed their regulations to a reformation of the police of the ſettlement. From the general inattention of late years to this object, the articles of diet, wages, houſe-rent, &c. have riſen ſo exorbitantly, that your allowance to junior ſervants is very inadequate to their neceſſary and unavoidable expences; and this we conſider as the reaſon why they have hitherto been indulged with larger ſalaries than you approve, annexed to their ſeveral employments. In the preſent flouriſhing ſituation of your affairs, we ſhould apprehend their appointments ought to afford them a decent and ſufficient maintenance, enough to preſerve them againſt every attempt to meanneſs and diſhoneſty, but too little to ſupport them in profuſion and extravagance.

We have the honour to be, &c.

CLIVE, J. CARNAC, H. VERELST.

No. V.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Dec. 9. 1766.

1. In the Letter which we had the honour to addreſs to you by the Lord Camden, we deſcribed every material occurrence that paſſed at this Preſidency, from the departure of the Ponſborne, to the date of the above diſpatch. We now tranſmit in the packet a duplicate of that Letter, and alſo the proceedings of the Select Committee, to which we beg leave to refer for a more particular detail of facts.

2. The depoſitions recorded on the face of our proceedings, reſpecting reſtitution to the merchants, and donations to the army and navy, are themſelves ſo explicit and clear, as to render any further lights to guide your judgment almoſt unneceſſary. The means exerciſed to obtain thoſe large diſburſements from the Nabob's treaſury are fully declared upon oath, by the principal agents on either ſide. A Committee expreſsly appointed for examining the ſeveral claims of the ſufferers, hath already paſſed their accounts; we ſhould therefore apprehend, that the queſtion now to be determined is not, whether the loſſes of individuals have been fairly ſtated, but whether the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, could juſtly be made accountable for loſſes conſequent on a war, of which he was not the author; and alſo whether you ought to be conſidered as bound in honour to diſcharge ſuch debts of his excellency, as he could never be willingly brought to acknowledge.

August 19, 26, 27, 29, & 30.

Theſe are points which we ſubmit to your conſideration, while we content ourſelves with obſerving, that whatever opinion we may entertain of the decrees of the Committee of Reſtitution, it would, at this diſtance of time, be impoſſible to enter upon a ſatisfactory review of their proceedings, after ſo many of the parties chiefly concerned, are either gone home or dead.

Such a ſcrutiny would, in the preſent circumſtances, be attended with many difficulties; it would be productive of injuſtice, and bear hard upon the fortunes of ſuch individuals as had adjuſted their claims with a ſcrupulous nicety, to the amount of their loſſes. At all events, it would furniſh a topic for clamour, and a handle for miſconſtruction, to have thoſe accounts now diſputed, which were paſſed by your Governor and Council, acting here as your repreſentatives, after three-fourths of the whole had been actually diſcharged.

3. With reſpect to his excellency's grant of a donation to Mr. Tinker, and the ſquadron under his command, it reſts entirely with you to determine, from the evidences ſet forth, whether the ſervices performed by his Majeſty's ſhips of war in Bengal, merit a reward ſo diſproportionate to the then exhauſted condition of the Nabob's treaſury. A court of equity will aſcertain the diſtinctions to be made betwixt a free gift flowing from a ſenſe of obligations received, and a grant obtained by the unwarrantable methods deſcribed in the depoſitions of the witneſſes examined on this occaſion.

4. As ſoon as we had cloſed the enquiry into reſtitution and donations, the Committee took into conſideration the ſeveral other orders iſſued by your Honourable Board, during the courſe of the laſt ſeaſon. Your remarks on the inland trade were ſo peculiarly ſtriking, and ſo perfectly agreeable to our own ſentiments, reſpecting that perpetual ſource of oppreſſion and complaint, that we determined immediately to apply the moſt efficacious remedies to a diſeaſe which muſt in time have ſubverted the conſtitution, and endangered the being of the Eaſt India Company. By the Admiral Stevens you were informed of the plan we had concerted for carrying on the trade in ſalt, tobacco, and beetle-nut, for the benefit of the Company and their ſervants, without injury to the Nabob, and without moleſtation or oppreſſion of the natives. It was the beſt and moſt equitable ſyſtem we could then deviſe, yet experience hath ſhewn the neceſſity of laying the trade under further reſtrictions, the reaſons for which, together with the particular mode of conducting this valuable branch of commerce in future, are fully explained in Lord Clive's minute*, entered on our Proceedings. In thoſe emendations of the plan on which the ſociety of trade was founded, all due regard has been paid to the ſovereign prerogative of the Company, acting as collectors for the King, and more eſpecially to the ſcrupulous diſtribution of natural right to the native inhabitants; whence we flatter ourſelves, that the inland trade will henceforward prove to you a commodious fund for rewarding the different degrees of merit amongſt

* September 3, 1766.

amongſt your ſervants, and a fruitful ſource of encouragement to the induſtry of the country people, who are now, without diſtinction, admitted to a participation of its benefits, upon the moſt reaſonable and moderate terms.

5. To the regulations formed for conducting the buſineſs of the ſociety of trade, we have added a total prohibition of another ſpecies of inland traffick, in a variety of articles, uſually tranſported from one diſtrict of the interior country to another, whereby an extenſive field was open for the abuſe of power, and the moſt notorious acts of fraud and injuſtice. All Europeans in your ſervice, or under your protection, are now indiſcriminately confined to trade in certain ſtated articles of import and export; the returns are to be made from the places where the goods were ſold, directly to the Preſidency, or the ſubordinate factory from whence they were diſpatched; and no circular traffick, by way of barter, or otherwiſe, is in future to be allowed from one Aurung to another, on pain of confiſcation of the goods, and loſs of your ſervice and protection.

6. The complaints which we received of repeated loſſes ſuſtained in the revenue, and of violence offered to the country people by the Gomaſtahs, or black agents, employed by your ſervants, and ſkreened from juſtice by their influence, afforded us an opportunity of impoſing further reſtrictions upon the inland trade, by obliging thoſe Gomaſtahs to regiſter their licences at the head court of the diſtrict where they reſide; a monthly return of which is to be made to the Miniſters aud the Preſident at the Durbar, and to be compared by them with the liſt of licences ſent from hence by the cuſtom-maſter. This, with other limitations ſpecified in our proceedings, will, we doubt not, conduce greatly to the peace and good order of the country.

7. We have alſo recalled from the Aurungs, all your ſervants who were ſent to ſuperintend the inveſtments in cloth, being well aſſured that theſe branches of the Company's buſineſs, may as conveniently be carried on without their aſſiſtance; and that the reſidence of young gentlemen at places remote from the inſpection of their ſuperiors, hath furniſhed the means of aſſuming to themſelves an authority prejudicial to the people, detrimental to the revenue, and productive of diſputes with the other Europeans Companies, with whom it is our inclination to live in the moſt amicable manner. Sept. 10.

8. Further to enforce the ſpirit of your inſtructions contained in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12, of your ſeparate letter, under date the 24th December 1765, we deliberated on the propereſt meaſures for reſtraining that pernicious influence which enables a commercial Governor of this ſettlement in a manner to engroſs in his own hands the whole trade of this country. The Preſident's minute, entered in our proceedings the 19 September, very clearly and forcibly expreſſes the many ſalutary effects that muſt ariſe to the Company and the public, from placing the Governor in ſo affluent and reſpectable a ſituation, that his attention ſhall no longer be diſtracted with the perplexing care of an extenſive trade, nor diverted from the duty of his ſtation by too cloſe an application to ways and means of promoting his own private intereſt. He is now to renounce all concerns in every branch of commerce, by a ſolemn oath and penal bond for 150,000 l. executed in the preſence of the Mayor's Court, the Company's ſervants, and the other inhabitants of the Preſidency. He is reſtricted from every poſſible method of accumulating wealth, and even from the lending out money at more than the common rate of intereſt, or otherwiſe enlarging his fortune, except by the regular and ſtated appointments of his office. We have not only bound him down by the ſtrongeſt ties of law, honour, and conſcience, but we have endeavoured to remove every temptation to exceed the limits preſcribed, by rendering the emoluments of his appointment ſuitable to the rank he holds in the ſettlement, the dignity he muſt neceſſarily maintain in the eyes Sept. 19.

of the natives, and the proſpect of independence which he ought to enjoy at the cloſe of a long courſe of faithful ſervices.

For theſe purpoſes we have aſſigned to your Governor a commiſſion of $1\frac{1}{8}$ per Centum, upon all the revenues, of which the Company are collectors for the King; the conſulage on coral, the duties on coinage, and ſuch other emoluments and perquiſites as the Court of Directors uſually have annexed to his ſtation and office.

As the Preſident's own words are moſt expreſſive of the meaning of the Committee, we beg leave to quote the following paragraph of his Lordſhip's Minute, in which he enumerates the happy conſequences that muſt reſult from diveſting the Preſident of all other cares than thoſe of his ſtation.

"Although by theſe means a governor will not be able to amaſs a million, or half "a million, in the ſpace of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handſome "independency, and be in that very ſituation which a man of nice honour and true "zeal for the ſervice would wiſh to poſſeſs. Thus ſituated, he may defy all oppoſition "in Council; he will have nothing to aſk, nothing to propoſe, but what he means for "the advantage of his employers; he may defy the law, becauſe there can be no foun-"dation for a bill of diſcovery; and he may defy the obloquy of the world, becauſe "there can be nothing cenſurable in his conduct. In ſhort, if ſtability can be inſured to "ſuch a government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance in a "ſhort ſpace of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capa-"cities, it muſt be effected by a Governor thus reſtricted."

We are to obſerve, that our Preſident, Lord Clive, has himſelf ſet the firſt example of that moderation which he requires in future governors of this ſettlement, his Lordſhip having, on the 1ſt day of October, taken the reſtrictive oath, and executed the penalty-bond, in the manner preſcribed.

9. As we have never preſumed to deviate from your expreſs orders, excepting when circumſtances were ſo altered as would render our obedience criminal, we entered with great reluctance upon the execution of your inſtructions contained in the general letter of the 24th December, 1765, and 13th February, 1766.

Mr. Hugh Watts was, purſuant to theſe orders, called upon to refund the amount of commiſſion he had drawn, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Centum, upon the revenues of Midnapore; but as this commiſſion had firſt been eſtabliſhed by a Committee of Lands, and was afterwards confirmed by your Preſident and Council, we accepted in lieu of money, of his bond, made payable in caſe you ſhould think proper to repeat your injunctions after we had repreſented the circumſtances of the affair.

10. In the ſame manner we called upon Meſſrs. Marriott, Lawrell, Goodwin, and Graham, to refund the whole amount of the monthly allowance received from the Rajah during their reſidence in Burdwan; yet, in favour of theſe gentlemen, it muſt be obſerved, that the above allowance was conſtantly inſerted in the monthly caſh account tranſmitted to the Preſidency, whence it became an abſolute act of the Board, for which your ſervants are no longer reſponſible.

We likewiſe imagine that the commiſſion drawn upon the revenues of Midnapore, as well as the allowance granted by the Burdwan Rajah, muſt have been known by the general books for more than twelve months before your orders for refunding were iſſued. Theſe emoluments were therefore, if not abſolutely confirmed, yet tacitly allowed by the Court of Directors themſelves. The ſilence of your Honourable Board, and of the Governor and Council, upon a point ſo immediately ſtriking, may very naturally be conſtrued into a ſufficient ſanction for their conduct; and the alter-native, either to refund ſums of money actually expended in ſupporting the unavoid-able charges of their ſtations, or of loſing the benefit of your ſervice, muſt therefore be regarded as a very particular hardſhip upon theſe gentlemen.

For

For theſe reaſons we alſo accepted bonds for reſtitution of the Rajah's allowance, in the ſame terms as that from Mr. Watts; and it is our requeſt, that you will pleaſe to revoke theſe orders, which muſt prove ſo injurious to the fortunes of your junior ſervants, acting under the immediate orders and inſpection of the Board.

The bonds are as follows:

Mr. Watts	11,000	0	0
Mr. James Lawrell	32,822	0	0
Mr. Henry Goodwin	24,000	0	0
Mr. J. Graham	7,400	0	0
Rupees	75,222	0	0

12. Mr. Marriott, intending to reſign the ſervice, has intimated, in reply to our demands, that he is ready to anſwer every legal claim upon his fortune in the courts of juſtice in England. Nov. 4 & 17.

13. Your orders for refunding the preſents received by the gentlemen who compoſed the Council and Deputation, at the acceſſion of the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, were duly conveyed to Meſſrs. Playdell and Middleton, the only remaining members of the Board who acted upon that occaſion. The former has applied to the Board for permiſſion to reſign the ſervice, and the latter has acquainted the Preſident of his intention to return this ſeaſon to England; ſo that enforcing your inſtructions any further appears unneceſſary.

14. In conſequence of your ſeveral remarks on the management, revenues, and accounts of Burdwan province, in the General letter the 24th December, we directed Mr. Verelſt, the Superviſor, to draw out an exact ſtatement of the revenues, and an explicit anſwer to the difficulties you have pointed out in the former ſtatements tranſmitted to England. That gentleman has accordingly, with great pains and attention drawn out a very full account of the receipts and diſburſements of the province for the laſt year. He hath likewiſe deduced, from the beſt authorities he could procure, a minute detail, in the ſame form, of all receipts and diſburſements of money, from the period when that province was firſt aſſigned over to the Company; and theſe accounts he has accompanied with a letter addreſſed to the Select Committee, which, we hope, will explain every inconſiſtency, account for every deficiency, and ſolve every material difficulty repreſented by your Honourable Board. Oct. 28.

15. From the Reſident at Midnapore's letter to the Superviſor, and the accompanying accounts, you will perceive the great increaſe of the revenues of that province ſince Mr. Verelſt's appointment; you will alſo obſerve from the reſolution of the Committee when Mr. Graham's letter was under conſideration, the method in which we propoſe conducting the buſineſs of that province and Jellaſore in future, in order the Company may receive the full value of the lands, without oppreſſing the Zemindars or diſtreſſing the landholders, whoſe eaſe and happineſs muſt ever be inſeparable from the true intereſt of their maſters. Oct. 14.

16. The King's revenues, of which we are now the collectors, we have reaſon to believe, will fall very little ſhort of the ſums ſpecified in our letter by the Lord Camden. In the liſt of packet we tranſmit general ſtatements, for the preſent year, of the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, the large increaſe upon which muſt in great meaſure be aſcribed to Mr. Sykes's aſſiduity, and to Mahomed Reza Cawn's profound knowledge in the finances. Without this diligence and ſkill in the executive officers, all the attention of the Committee to ſupport the influence of government, to enforce obedience of the Zemindars, and to prevent frauds, embezzlements, and depredations committed on the revenue, would fail to produce the required effect.

17. The

17. The large inveſtments, which we are now enabled to ſend home, by means of the ſupplies we remit to China, and the cargoes from hence, render the revenues of this country an object of the utmoſt importance, not only to the Company, but to the Britiſh nation. As theſe are the only means we can at preſent deviſe, whereby you can enjoy the full fruits of his Majeſty's royal grant of the Dewanny, we ſhall continue to exert our utmoſt endeavours to extend the inveſtment every year; and we propoſe continuing to ſupply the China market with money, until your prohibition to the contrary ſhall arrive, or advice from the Supercargoes, that they have a ſuperfluity in their hands. Inconveniencies will undoubtedly attend this annual exportation of treaſure; but when we reflect on the great addition already made to the current ſpecie of the country by the gold coinage, and likewiſe that even ſhould your ſales fall, yet will every increaſe of your inveſtment prove ſo much actual money remitted to your coffers, we are inclined to think this the moſt eligible ſyſtem that can be purſued at preſent. We are further to conſider, that while foreign nations are providing their inveſtments with money borrowed at a high premium, you are only ſending home in goods the ſurplus of an immenſe revenue, which may truly be regarded as ſo much clear gain to the Company and to the nation.

18. But this great and national object is not to be ſecured and perpetuated without your unremitting attention to our military eſtabliſhment, and maintaining a force proportioned to the riſk incurred by the extenſion of your influence and poſſeſſions. The diſmiſſion of the Nabob's uſeleſs military rabble, and of thoſe troops kept up by the Rajahs and the Fouzdars, in their ſeveral diſtricts, for the purpoſe of enforcing the collections, hath obliged us to raiſe eight battalions of independent Sepoys; ſo that notwithſtanding the great number of recruits ſent out this year from England, notwithſtanding the liberal ſupply of troops granted by your Preſidency at Fort St. George, ſo general was the mortality on board the tranſports, ſo great the loſs from the Falmouth's misfortune, and ſo fatal the effects of the late unhealthy ſeaſon, that we cannot avoid being alarmed at the extraordinary diſproportion of numbers between your European and black infantry. The very ſignal inſtance of fidelity and attachment exhibited by the ſepoys, during the late mutiny of the officers, might indeed be ſufficient to quiet our apprehenſions, and remove all ſuſpicion of their conduct, if experience the preceding year, of their dangerous inſolence and turbulent ſpirit had not evinced the neceſſity of keeping the black troops in awe and ſubjection.

19. We therefore moſt earneſtly requeſt that you will try, by every poſſible means, to complete the European infantry to the number ſpecified in our addreſs by the Admiral Stevens; and that effectual meaſures may be taken to prevent crouded ſhips, to diſpatch your recruits at an early ſeaſon, and to guard againſt the infamous practices of owners, huſbands, and officers of ſhips, whereby the lives of hundreds of men are ſacrificed, whoſe ſervices would be valuable to the nation, and altogether invaluable to the Company.

20. In the letters from the public department, your Council have frequently expreſſed their wiſhes that you would comply with the military ſtore-keeper's indents for hats and ſhoes. We now make it the requeſt of this Committee, that the brigades may in future be fully ſupplied with articles ſo eſſential to a ſoldier's cloathing, and which are not to be procured here in a ſufficient quantity at any price.

21. At the ſame time we beg leave, once more, to repeat the neceſſity of your purſuing the moſt vigorous ſteps to prevent the exportation of fire-arms and ammunition to any part of India. It is not ſufficient that we guard againſt this illicit, and perhaps fatal trade, at your Preſidencies of Fort St. George, and Fort William, unleſs the ſame care be taken at Bombay, Bencoolen, and your factories on the Malabar coaſt;

ſince

ſince the arms imported at thoſe places are ſoon conveyed by country veſſels, and other means, to the moſt remote parts of Hindoſtan.

22. The accompanying duplicate of our letter by the Lord Camden, will adviſe you of the proſpect we then enjoyed of uninterrupted peace and tranquility in Bengal. Nor is this proſpect more viſionary or remote at preſent, notwithſtanding the King has plied every engine of ſtate artifice and deceit to diſturb the repoſe of the empire, by arming for the purpoſes of his wild ambition, a power who, in a ſhort time, would ſhake the foundation of his throne, and deprive him of that independent and comfortable revenue which he now poſſeſſes for the ſupport of his dignity. Diſappointed in the King's promiſes of aſſiſtance from us, the Maharattas have ever ſince remained ſeemingly irreſolute how they ſhall act, at ſome diſtance from the frontiers of the Korah province, which was ceded to his Majeſty laſt year by treaty. They have not yet attempted to moleſt the King, our ally Sujah al Dowlah, or us; yet for the greater ſecurity we have directed the ſecond and third brigades to march towards the Caramnaſſa, to ſupport Sujah al Dowlah, if he ſhould require our aſſiſtance, and to confirm that terror of our arms with which the Maharattas ſeem already to be ſtrongly impreſſed. This motion we expect will produce the full effect, without ſtriking a blow.

23. We learn with great ſatisfaction by the lateſt advices from the coaſt, that all differences with Nizam Allee are likely to be removed. Should this deſireable event take place, we hope to concert a plan of operations with the Preſidencies of Madraſs and Bombay, which will effectually prevent our being moleſted in future by the Maharattas, by obliging them to confine their whole attention to the preſervation of what they now poſſeſs. At preſent they are the only power who can excite diſturbances in Bengal; nor have we any thing further than a mere temporary interruption to our collections to apprehend even from the Maharattas; ſince with our well-diſciplined and numerous army, we may bid defiance to the moſt powerful country army that can be brought in the field.

24. Having maturely conſidered your orders, conveyed in paragraph 39 of your general letter by the Lord Camden, we entirely agree in opinion that the government hath undoubted right to oblige the inhabitants to contribute their proportion of expences neceſſary to the ſecurity of the ſettlement. But as not only the propriety of ſuch an aſſeſſment, but even our power of levying taxes hath been queſtioned, and this propoſal already rejected in the conſultation of the Board in the year 1762, we chuſe to avoid renewing it at a juncture when the affluence of the Company renders it leſs neceſſary, and when ſuch an exertion of authority might poſſibly revive diſcontent, and re-kindle thoſe ſparks of ſedition, which have been too recently ſuppreſſed to admit of a certainty that they are thoroughly extinguiſhed. However, leſt it ſhould hereafter be thought expedient to aſſeſs the inhabitants for the purpoſe mentioned, or for any other meaſure of government, we could wiſh to recommend that you would pleaſe to conſult the learned in the law, how far the authority of your Governor and Council, acting here as your repreſentatives, extends over the property of the inhabitants living under their protection.

25. You will obſerve from our proceedings, that Mr. Rumbold's appointment to a ſeat at the Board, with the ſtanding he held at your Preſidency of Fort St. George, was conſidered by Meſſrs. Alderſey, Kelſall, and Floyer, as an injury to themſelves, and a ſuperceſſion, which their conduct at the Board no way juſtified. At the ſame time we confeſs the merit of theſe gentlemen, we muſt obſerve, that the injury would have been ſtill greater to Mr. Rumbold, had he been denied that rank in Council, to which he was intitled by faithful ſervices. Our objection was not to him, but to a ſelection from this eſtabliſhment, Sep. 10, 15, and 19.

which

which we conceived would ſerve only to aggravate the general diſcontent; and we therefore gave him aſſurances at the time, that his ſuperceſſion would be temporary.

With the Committee's declaration that ſuch aſſurances had been given, we are of opinion the Madraſs gentlemen might have remained ſatisfied, until the ſentiments of the Court of Directors could be received; ſince it is evident we were reduced by neceſſity only to this meaſure, without intention of injuring, or in any degree ſuperſeding Mr. Rumbold, whoſe ſervices to the Company, both in a civil and military capacity, deſervedly entitle him to an exemption from every indignity.

26. The public department will adviſe you of Mr. Sumner's reſignation, and of his having taken his paſſage in this ſhip; we ſhall not proceed to fill up the vacancy his departure has occaſioned in the Committee, until his Lordſhip is able to attend the buſineſs.

We have the honour to be, &c.

CLIVE, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST.

No. VI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. At the time we were honoured with your commands by the Mercury packet, Lord Clive's ſevere indiſpoſition obliged us to defer making any particular reply; we therefore contented ourſelves with general expreſſions of thanks for the approbation you are pleaſed to beſtow on our conduct, and the confidence you repoſe in the zeal and attachment of the Select Committee.

2. Having ſince his Lordſhip's recovery more maturely conſidered your letter, we beg leave to repeat our acknowledgments with the livelieſt ſenſe of duty and gratitude; and to aſſure you, that finding ourſelves more completely armed with the ſanction of your authority, we ſhall proceed with boldneſs and vigour upon the ſame principles that have hitherto guided our ſteps, and produced thoſe events which you do us the honour to conſider as important and fortunate to the Company.

3. When firſt we embraced the political ſyſtem now eſtabliſhed, it was with diffidence; when we entered upon the correction of abuſes, and the puniſhment of miſconduct, it was with reluctance: but ſenſible that the one and the other were eſſentially neceſſary to the ſtability of government, and even to your exiſtence in this country, we purſued our meaſures with that diſintereſted zeal which we hoped would merit your applauſe; and we now receive in your approbation, the moſt acceptable reward of our labours.

4. It is with extreme ſatisfaction we perceive, that you agree with us in opinion, reſpecting the expediency of the royal grant of the Dewanny. The neceſſity and utility of this grant become every day more evident. All cauſe of contention with the government is now removed; ſecurity to the property, freedom to the trade, and protection to the perſons of the native inhabitants are inſured. Funds for the proviſion of your inveſtments, for the maintenance of your troops, and for the neceſſities of war, are eſtabliſhed. Influence to command reſpect is acquired; and we may, in our preſent circumſtances, be regarded as the ſpring which, concealed under the ſha-

dow

dow of the Nabob's name, ſecretly gives motion to this vaſt machine of government, without offering violence to the original conſtitution. The increaſe of our own, and diminution of his power, are effected without encroachment on his prerogative. The Nabob holds in his hands, as he always did, the whole civil adminiſtration, the diſtribution of juſtice, the diſpoſal of offices, and all thoſe ſovereign rights which conſtitute the eſſence of his dignity, and form the moſt convenient barrier between us and the jealouſy of the other European ſettlements.

5. As to the functions of this office of Dewanny, they have, ſince we came into poſſeſſion, been exerciſed as you direct by the reſident at the Durbar who acts as collector of the King's revenue, under the inſpection and controul of the Select Committee. In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn, he ſuperintends the whole collections, receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars, diſburſes the ſtated revenues appropriated to the King and the Nabob, enquires into the cauſes of deficiencies, redreſſes injuries ſuſtained or committed by the officers of the revenue and tranſmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of treaſure, and the monthly account of the treaſury, with every other occurrence of importance to the Preſident and Select Committee.

6. The collections of the province of Bahar we have thought proper to place under the immediate direction of the Chief at Patna, who acts jointly with Shetabroy, and ſubordinate to the reſident at the Durbar, to whom he makes his conſignments of treaſure, and tranſmits monthly accounts of his office, which the reſident forwards to us. The diary you recommend would certainly conduce much to the regularity and method of office; but as we are afraid of diſtracting his attention, by preſenting too great a variety of different objects to his mind, we muſt at preſent leave the particular mode of carrying on buſineſs to the reſident's own diſcretion. His correſpondence, however, with the natives, and copies of all letters he may ſend or receive in his public ſtation, we ſhall direct him to forward to us, with duplicates and triplicates to be tranſmitted in our general packet.

7. For the greater preciſion in the management of your affairs, we have conſidered the whole buſineſs of the Dewanny as purely political; it is therefore kept ſeparate and apart from that of your former poſſeſſions, the direction of which will, in future, be left to the Governor and Council, in the manner explained in the next paragraph.

8. To avoid confuſion and delay in tranſacting the multiplicity of affairs, now dependent on this Preſidency, we have drawn a line, whereby their diſtinct and reſpective provinces are marked out and aſſigned to the Council and Select Committee. To the former we have allotted the diſburſement of money, ordering, preparing, and directing your inveſtments, managing your Calcutta lands, and Pergunnahs, collecting your revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, together with the current buſineſs of the Preſidency, ſubordinate Factories, and Aurungs, with whatever may any way relate to the trade and navigation of India. Theſe were the proper objects of the attention of your Preſident and Council, before the Company's influence and power became ſo enlarged, before the armies they maintained, the alliances they formed, and the revenues they poſſeſſed, procured them a conſideration as a ſovereign and politic, as well as a commercial body. Dec. 21.

9. To the Select Committee is reſerved the power of making treaties, conducting negotiations, and contracting alliances; of ordering and directing every thing relative to the operations of war, the defence of the country, and to military affairs; of ſettling the amount of the annual revenues, and collecting them in quality of Dewan for the King; of iſſuing orders to the reſident at the Durbar, and correſponding with the country powers; in a word, of carrying on whatever buſineſs may affect the govern- Dec. 21.

ment, or the political and military intereſt, of our honourable employers, with this farther reſervation of the powers delegated to the Committee, of interfering upon ſuch occaſions as they may judge neceſſary to the good of the Company, and general welfare of the country.

10. Such are the regulations under which we propoſe to conduct the buſineſs of this Preſidency in future, and which we hope will meet with your approbation. In marking the limits aſſigned to each department, we have obſerved all poſſible regard to the honour of the Board, and to the natural boundaries of what your poſſeſſions were, and what they now are; with this view eſpecially, that if, upon any future emergency, or reverſe of fortune, we ſhould be forced to relinquiſh our late acquiſitions, and return to our former condition, we may do it with the leaſt injury to your affairs.

11. In the liſt of packet by the Cruttenden, we ſent you a general eſtimate of revenue for the preſent year, to be collected in the province of Bengal and Bahar, in the manner fixed and adjuſted at the laſt Poonahs. For your farther ſatisfaction, we now tranſmit an explicit account of the receipts and diſburſements of the Dewanny treaſury, from the above period; whence you will obſerve, that the monthly payments have been ſtrictly kept up, and that the annual collections are likely to anſwer our moſt ſanguine expectations. Should any deficiency ariſe upon the preſent ſtatement, it muſt proceed from the regulations we have made for the increaſe of your own inveſtment, which neceſſarily reſtrain many articles of private trade, that always paid duties to the government; and alſo from the impoſſibility of our enforcing the collections in the remote frontier provinces, where many independent Rajahs reſide, with the ſame degree of authority exerted under the immediate eye of your reſident at the Durbar.

12. Senſible of the importance of theſe revenues to the Company, and convinced by experience that it requires the moſt unremitting diligence to prevent the natives from eluding payment of the ſtated collections, your Select Committee will ever be attentive to ſupport, with all their influence, the authority of the reſident at the Durbar, and to ſee their orders for reſtraining the pernicious interpoſition of your ſervants in the affairs of government rigorouſly enforced. As early as the month of November, 1765, we ſtrictly prohibited all your ſervants, civil and military, from lending money to the Zemindars, without firſt obtaining the conſent and approbation of the Miniſters.

Dec. 31. But obſerving this order might be evaded, under various pretences, we have now, agreeable to your directions, enjoined, on pain of immediate diſmiſſion from your ſervice, that no perſon whatever, living under protection of the Company, ſhall lend money at a higher rate of intereſt than 12 per Cent. per annum, except on Reſpondentia only. As the ſucceſs of the Durbar reſident's endeavours to complete the annual collections depends in a great meaſure upon the punctual obſervance of this highly neceſſary regulation, you may reſt aſſured, that nothing in our power ſhall be wanting to exact implicit obedience; and that we ſhall, without regard to perſons, puniſh the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity.

13. When firſt we received from his Majeſty the grant of the Dewanny, and entered upon the collection of the Royal revenue, we committed this important charge to the management of Mahomed Reza Cawn, under the immediate inſpection of the reſident at the Durbar. We could not conveniently, before we received your approbation of the ſteps we had taken, aſſign ſtated ſalaries to the miniſters, and we were therefore obliged to connive at their receiving, for the maintenance and ſupport of their dignity, certain emoluments and perquiſites which have always, by the cuſtom of the country, been annexed to their ſtation and offices.

14. Mahomed Reza Cawn has now of himſelf, with great delicacy of honour, repreſented to us the evil conſequences that muſt enſue from the continuance of this practice; ſince, by ſuffering the principal officers of the government to depend, for the

the ſupport of their dignity, on the precarious fund of perquiſites, we in a manner oblige them to purſue oppreſſive and corrupt meaſures, equally injurious to the country and to the Company. We are likewiſe of opinion, that it is more becoming the dignity of your government, more conſiſtent with your true intereſt, and more conformable to the plan we have adopted of conciliating to us the minds of the natives, that a ſtop ſhould, in future, be put to the neceſſity of thoſe exactions, which, though cuſtomary, muſt nevertheleſs be grievous to the people; and we have therefore, upon due conſideration of the neceſſary expences conſequent on their rank, ſtation, and offices, aſſigned twelve lacks of * rupees a year for the maintenance and ſupport of Mahommed Reza Cawn, Roy Dullub, and Shetabroy, who hold in their hands the moſt important employments of the government. Dec. 31.

15. In eſtabliſhing this fund for the maintenance of the principal officers of ſtate, we have had a particular regard to the amount of their perquiſites, which will henceforward be annexed to the revenues, to their elevated ſtations, and to the expediency of ſupporting them in all the ſhew and parade requiſite to keep up the authority and influence of their reſpective offices. As they are all men of weight and conſideration in the country, who held places of great truſt and profit under the former government, we farther propoſed, by this act of generoſity, to engage their cordial ſervices, and confirm them ſteady in our intereſt, ſince they cannot hope, from the moſt ſucceſsful ambition, to riſe to greater advantages by any change or revolution of affairs. At the ſame time it was reaſonable we ſhould not loſe ſight of Mahomed Reza Cawn's paſt ſervices; he has purſued the Company's intereſt with ſteadineſs and diligence; his abilities qualify him to perform the moſt important ſervices. The unavoidable charges of his particular ſituation are great; in dignity he ſtands ſecond to the Nabob only; and as he engages to increaſe the revenues, without injuſtice or oppreſſion, to more than the amount of his ſalary, and to relinquiſh thoſe advantages to the amount of eight lacks of † rupees per annum, which he heretofore enjoyed, we thought it proper, in the diſtribution of ſalaries, to conſider Mahomed Reza Cawn in a light ſuperior to the other Miniſters. This we have recommended to the Preſident, who will adjuſt, with their approbation, the ſeveral proportions to be drawn from the above appointment. We have only to obſerve farther upon this ſubject, that great and enormous as the ſum muſt appear which we have allotted for the ſupport of the miniſters of the government, we will not heſitate to pronounce that it is neceſſary and reaſonable, and will appear ſo on conſideration of the power which men employed on thoſe important ſervices have either to obſtruct or promote the public good, unleſs their integrity be confirmed by the ties of gratitude and intereſt.

16. Previous to the arrangement made of public buſineſs, whereby all your former poſſeſſions are delivered over in charge to the Governor and Council, we had under conſideration the letting the Calcutta lands to new tenants, upon freſh leaſes. Such was the reſolution of the Committee, on the 2d of December, 1765, to which purpoſe, advertiſements were then publiſhed. A liſt of farmers were ſelected from the great number of candidates who offered themſelves, in framing which we had a particular regard to the character and ſervices of thoſe perſons admitted to the benefit of lands. Nov. 4.

17. If you will pleaſe to refer to the Preſident's Minutes at the time we granted the former leaſes, you will find that his Lordſhip then entertained ſuſpicions of fraud in the management of the Pergunnahs. In conſequence, we had ſet on foot an inquiry, the effects of which appeared, as we were on the point of cloſing our agreement with the new farmers; and this determined us to poſtpone the Dec. 2. 1765.

intended

* 150,000 l. † 100,000 l.

intended grants until the 11th day of April next, that our researches into this dark affair might not be obstructed by the collusion and artifice of the new tenants. The fresh leases will then be made out by the President and Council, we doubt not with a very considerable increase of rent, arising from an equal assessment, according to the real value of the lands; for we would avoid every act of violence and oppression, as well as of favour and partiality, to individuals.

18. Immediately upon receipt of your orders for commencing suits against your servants who had received presents at the accession of the late Nabob, we formally demanded, by a letter from our Secretary, full restitution of Messrs. Playdell and Middleton, now in Bengal, and of the attorneys of those gentlemen who are returned to England. Mr. Playdell's answer we have not yet received; Mr. Middleton's is annexed to our proceedings, and we beg leave to recommend it to your consideration, as we are well assured that gentleman was entirely ignorant of your orders for signing covenants at the time he accepted the presents. The reputation of strict honour and integrity which Mr. Middleton always maintained in your service, obliges us to wish that you would please to distinguish him from those other servants who have incurred your displeasure, by dropping a prosecution that must be attended with ruin to his fortune and family. For these reasons, and as he has agreed to give us security that he will answer to you, or us, every legal demand upon his fortune, we have thought proper to avoid filing the bill of discovery, &c. which you direct. Jan. 16.

19. Agreeable to your orders, and to the directions contained in the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney and Sollicitor General, we are preparing to file bills against the other gentlemen, upon the refusal of their attorneys, to answer our demand without authority from their constituents. Upon inquiry, we find that none of their effects are in possession of the Company; and we apprehend that scruples will arise in the Mayor's Court as to the power of attaching such effects as may be deposited in the hands of their agents, or of the natives. We shall, however, literally follow your instructions as far as circumstances will admit, and we can act consistently with your security, in a place where the profession of the law is exercised by men who seem to derive all their knowledge by inheritance, or to possess it from intuition, without previous study or application.

20. We come now to speak to your instructions relative to the inland trade, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion, which have happened of late years in Bengal. Your orders are positive, and therefore our obedience shall be implicit. Accordingly you will observe in our proceedings, that the society for conducting this branch of traffick stands absolutely abolished on the first day of September next. The contracts for the present year being formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin to individuals, and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the execution of your orders. Jan. 16.

21. But although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade to which you express so strong an aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our sentiments upon a subject in which we think your immediate interest, the good of the service, and the public welfare, are deeply concerned. The Honourable Court of Directors, and indeed the whole body of Proprietors, found it necessary to restrain by covenants their civil and military servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for many years been accustomed. It is likewise proposed, in order that you may enjoy the real fruits of your late acquisitions, to make such an increase of investment, particularly in silk, as will effectually deprive your servants of the usual benefit arising from private trade. Farther, that the revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from lending money at a higher rate than 12 per Cent. per annum;

annum; and a trade by ſea, in the manufactures of the country, being the only remaining channel for the exertion of induſtry, that likewiſe is choaked up by thoſe ſhoals of free merchants annually imported, who being incumbered with no public buſineſs, nor confined to reſidence in Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India, to much greater advantage than your ſervants.

22. Taking all theſe circumſtances into conſideration; reflecting alſo upon the great increaſe of luxury of late years, in conſequence of the ſudden influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce the charges of living to the preſent means of ſupporting thoſe charges, we adopted, in conſequence of your permiſſion, the plan of a regulated and reſtricted inland trade, as the beſt method of rewarding faithful ſervices, the ſureſt means to excite zeal, and the faireſt mode of carrying on a beneficial trade, without relinquiſhing all the advantages we have hitherto received, or ſubjecting the natives to thoſe encroachments on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reaſon complained.

23. Our letter by the Camden, and proceedings by the Cruttenden, will explain to you the regulations of the original plan of the ſociety, which took place in the month of September laſt. Under theſe regulations the trade can ſcarce be conſidered in the odious light of a monopoly, ſince we are rather the agents for manufacturing the ſalt, than the proprietors of the trade. It is ſold in Calcutta to the natives only, and to the utter excluſion of all Europeans, at an eaſier rate than it ever could be procured when under the management of the government, before we were admitted to any participation. The natives tranſport it to all the different parts of the country, under ſuch limitations that it muſt reach the hands of the conſumer at a ſtated and moderate price. Hereby the people ſenſibly feel the juſtice and lenity of your government; and your ſervants, who have attained the higheſt ſtations, after a courſe of many years ſpent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their ſervices, and enjoy the means of ſecuring that independence to which they have ſo equitable a claim.

24. We are now directed totally to renounce all ſhare and benefit ariſing from this trade; it muſt be made over to the natives. The government muſt of courſe come into poſſeſſion; nor can it be carried on otherwiſe than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to the miniſters, officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear immenſe fortunes upon the oppreſſion and ruin of the public, in deſpite of our utmoſt influence and endeavours. Theſe are at preſent our ſuſpicions; time alone can verify our conjectures. You, no doubt, will maturely conſider how far it is probable men will continue honeſt againſt all the ſeductions of private intereſt; and whether it may not be neceſſary to ſtrengthen the ties of that duty expected from your ſervants, by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy during the time of their ſervitude, and the independency they ought to ſecure before the cloſe of their labours.

25. By the Admiral Stevens we earneſtly recommended that the Select Committee might be continued. You are pleaſed to approve our ſentiments, which experience has rather confirmed than altered. You have entruſted Lord Clive with the powers of aboliſhing it entirely, or of continuing it under ſuch regulations as he ſhall think moſt conducive to your ſervice. His Lordſhip, who joins with us in opinion that this government, upon its preſent eſtabliſhment, cannot properly be conducted except by a Select Committee, compoſed of your ſervants, of the greateſt zeal, integrity, and abilities, has delivered in, as the laſt act of his adminiſtration, a propoſal for continuing the Committee after his departure, in the manner expreſſed in his letter, entered in our proceedings. The gentlemen propoſed to fill up the vacancies, are ſuch as we could not but approve; and the plan laid down by his Lordſhip, for the Jan. 16.

guidance

guidance and direction of the Committee, ſo clearly chalks out the path which we ought to purſue, and the only path which can lead to your honour and intereſts, that if we deviate from it, it muſt proceed not from ignorance, but inclination; and we become in all reſpects accountable for the conſequence of ſuch deviation.

26. It is with the deepeſt concern we muſt obſerve to you, that, after due conſideration of the preſent ſtate of your ſervice in Bengal, and of the unfitneſs of ſome, and the youth of others, who ſtand next in ſucceſſion to Council, we thought it eſſentially neceſſary to ſtop the courſe of promotion, and to paſs an act of this Board, that no vacancies which might happen in Council, ſhould be filled up, until your further pleaſure could be known. The importance of this ſtation being now greatly raiſed, by the increaſe of your revenues and influence, it is of the laſt conſequence that the management of ſuch weighty concerns ſhould only paſs through the hands of men of the greateſt experience and abilities you can ſelect.

Jan. 16.

27. The Preſident and Council, we are ſorry to remark, have incurred your cenſure, for purchaſing the Admiral Stevens, at our recommendation. We conſidered her advices were of too much importance to the Company to be retarded, on account of a trifling difference of expence. Your acquiſitions, of which you had then the firſt notice, could only be ſecured by an early reinforcement of troops. To alter the deſtination of your China ſhip, would have proved injurious to your valuable inveſtment, as ſhe carried a large ſupply of treaſure. The Kent we knew to be a bad ſailer; and the expedient we fell upon appeared to be the only reſource. We are further to obſerve, that in the ſurvey made of the Admiral Stevens we were deceived, as ſhe afterwards proved to be in a worſe condition than was reported by the maſter-attendant and officers.

28. The Perſian tranſlator having for ſome time paſt been too much indiſpoſed to attend to buſineſs, we are under the neceſſity to poſtpone, till the diſpatch of the latter ſhips, the complete ſet of country correſpondence which we propoſed tranſmitting by the Britannia.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Fort William, Jan. 24, 1767.

CLIVE, H. VERELST, J. CARNAC, F. SYKES.

POSTSCRIPT.

We have juſt received from the Council at Canton, a narrative of the loſs of the Earl Temple, in the China ſeas. This account was taken from the declaration of three of the crew, who arrived at Canton, one of whom the Supercargoes have ſent to Bengal, to aſſiſt in navigating a veſſel we propoſe ſending, in hopes to ſave the lives of ſeveral of our countrymen, who are now confined, in a wretched condition, to the ſmall boundaries of a deſolate iſland. We tranſmit the narrative a number in the packet.

CLIVE, H. VERELST, JOHN CARNAC, F. SYKES.

No. VII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, February 19, 1767.

1. After accompliſhing your earneſt wiſhes for the reſtoration of peace and tranquility in Bengal, your late Preſident, Lord Clive, embarked for England in the Britannia, leaving the government in charge to Mr. Verelſt.

2. A duplicate of our diſpatches upon that occaſion, containing a recital of the moſt conſiderable occurrences ſince the departure of the Cruttenden, we have the honour to tranſmit a number in the packet; together with the proceedings of that date of the Select Committee.

3. We ſhould be wanting in the juſt praiſes of ſuperior merit, and in gratitude for the eſſential ſervices performed by Lord Clive, if we failed to acknowledge that, to the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration you are chiefly to aſcribe the preſent flouriſhing condition of your affairs. Firm and indefatigable in his purſuits, he joined to the weight of perſonal character, a zeal for your ſervice, and a knowledge of your intereſts, which could not but enſure ſucceſs.

4. It would be unneceſſary to remind you of the deplorable ſituation in which his Lordſhip and the Committee found this ſettlement. We beheld a Preſidency divided, headſtrong and licentious; a government without nerves, a treaſury without money, and a ſervice without ſubordination, diſcipline, or public ſpirit. We may add, that amidſt a general ſtagnation of uſeful induſtry, and of licenſed commerce, individuals were accumulating immenſe riches, which they had raviſhed from the inſulted Prince and his helpleſs people, who groaned under the united preſſure of diſcontent, poverty, and oppreſſion.

5. Such was the condition of this Preſidency and of theſe provinces, at the time his Lordſhip and the Committee entered upon the arduous taſk of reformation. Your preſent ſituation need not be deſcribed. The liberal ſupplies to China, the ſtate of your treaſury, of your inveſtment, of the ſervice, and of the whole country, declare it to be the ſtrongeſt contraſt to what it was, and the moſt pleaſing aſſemblage of fortunate circumſtances, and of proſperous events, that has occurred at any period.

6. As the meaſures purſued are ſo fortunate as to meet with your approbation, and as they preciſely correſpond with our own ſentiments, you may be aſſured of our conſtant endeavours to preſerve your affairs in the ſame channel through which they have flowed with ſuch variety of ſucceſs: we therefore beg leave to repeat to you, what we have already declared to Lord Clive, that no motive, no conſideration, ſhall ever induce us to depart from that ſyſtem of politics, which he has recommended to us by precept and example, unleſs ſome very extraordinary event and unforeſeen change ſhould occur in the poſture of your affairs.

7. A few days after his Lordſhip's departure, the Select Committee aſſembled in purſuance of your orders, and of the reſolution taken the 16th ultimo, to fill up the vacancies occaſioned by the reſignation of Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, and General Carnac. Senſible of the good effects which muſt reſult from our unanimity, it is with pleaſure we obſerve, that all the members appearing to be actuated by the ſame principles, we have before us the chearful proſpect of proceeding with harmony and mutual confidence.

8. It

8. It was with much regret we entered upon the exerciſe of thoſe powers which you have been pleaſed to confer on the Committee, by an act of neceſſary ſeverity towards lieutenant Butler, whom we diſmiſſed the ſervice for inſolent behaviour, and obſtinate diſobedience to the orders of the acting Chief at Coſſimbazar.

9. With the ſame view of aſſerting the authority of your Council, and extirpating every ſeed of ſedition from the army, the Committee came to a reſolution of diſmiſſing Mr. Rider, one of your covenanted ſervants, and all thoſe officers who had ſubſcribed to an addreſs preſented to Sir Robert Fletcher, after that gentleman had been caſhiered by a court martial of field officers, and their ſentence ratified by the whole Board. So avowed a ſpirit of oppoſition to the ſentiments of their ſuperiors, expreſſed ſo immediately after a general and dangerous combination, demanded the moſt rigorous puniſhment.

10. We are happy in the opportunity of remarking the favourable change which ſo evidently appears in the conduct and diſpoſition of your civil ſervants, who ſeem to have profited by your wholeſome and ſeaſonable correction. At the ſame time that it may be neceſſary to hold in your hand the rod of chaſtiſement, we cannot but offer it as our opinion, that very ſalutary effects may alſo be expected from the occaſional exerciſe of your lenity and indulgence. When you have duly conſidered the many reſtrictions now impoſed on your junior ſervants, when you reflect upon the exorbitant price to which almoſt every article of living is riſen, we hope it will appear to you, as it evidently does to us, that their allowance is no way proportioned to the unavoidable expences of the moſt rigid œconomy.

11. They are now deprived the benefit of all trade; they are reſtrained from receiving the ſalaries annexed to double employments, which were advantages that ought to be appropriated in reward for diligence and ability. The greateſt number is indeed reduced to your bare monthly allowance, which, it muſt be owned, is too ſcanty a fund to ſecure them againſt the neceſſity of incurring debts that have a bad influence upon their morals, by entangling them in difficulties, from which every means will naturally be tried to extricate themſelves.

12. For theſe reaſons we exhort you, that a competent ſubſiſtence may be eſtabliſhed for your junior ſervants, and more eſpecially the writers, who have no claim to Duſtucks; that amidſt the preſent opulence of the Company, their ſervants may not be ſuffered to live, for ſome years at leaſt, in penury and want. As to the freedom of this repreſentation of facts, we are aſſured it will meet with your excuſe, ſince it proceeds from our duty, which obliges us to conceal nothing that ſo immediately affects your ſervice and your intereſt.

13. The ſtate of the army is likewiſe an object worthy of your conſideration. In times of profound peace, when the troops loſe the advantages they enjoyed in the field, and are reduced in cantonments to half Batta, and in garriſon to their mere pay; it is ſcarce poſſible that ſubaltern officers can ſubſiſt and maintain the appearance which they ought, of gentlemen. We ſhall try every poſſible means to reduce their expences, and to lower the wages and number of ſervants; but abuſes have prevailed ſo long, and eſtabliſhed themſelves ſo firmly, that to remove them will require time and rigour. Colonel Smith has already made great progreſs in the reformation of your military eſtabliſhment; and we are perſuaded that the ſame activity which has been exerted in reducing the army to order and obedience, will be continued to influence the officers to prudence and œconomy.

14. In conſequence of ſome very juſt and pathetic remonſtrances, offered to the Governor, we have agreed to make a farther proviſion than is allowed by charter-party for thoſe officers who are diſmiſſed, as well as for thoſe who, having reſigned your ſervice, are thought unworthy of being reſtored, and are therefore ordered home

by

by the Board. The circumſtances of many of thoſe unhappy perſons cannot but excite compaſſion. Without money, without cloathing, and without friends, they are, for the preſervation of order and police in the ſettlement, ordered on board ſhip, where they can only be received on the footing of the meaneſt ſeamen or ſoldiers, after coming abroad and ſupporting in the ſervice the character of officers and of gentlemen. We have acted as we think becomes the dignity of your ſituation, and as humanity dictates. An allowance of 30 l. for each paſſenger is made to the captain, that being the ſum which you direct to be paid on account of officers who come abroad; and we are to obſerve, that whether you ſhould chuſe or not to continue the allowance, it could not be avoided on this particular occaſion, without incurring the cenſure of barbarity, or ſuffering the Preſidency to be over-run with idle and diſcontented people.

15. In the ſhort ſpace of time which intervenes ſince our laſt diſpatches, no change has occurred in the politics of this country, excepting that the army of Abdalla ſtill continues advancing towards Dehly. We ſhall take into our moſt mature conſideration, what conſequences may reſult from the arrival of this northern invader at the capital, reſpecting the peace and tranquility of our allies, or of theſe provinces. Sujah al Dowlah continues in the ſame diſpoſition; and the Maharattas diſcover no intentions of diſturbing our repoſe. The third brigade, however, ſtill remains ſtationed in Sujah al Dowlah's country; for which reaſon we thought proper to decline his requeſt to Sir Robert Barker, that we would intirely evacuate Chunargur; ſince we conſider that fortreſs as a neceſſary pledge of his fidelity, and a proper ſecurity to our troops while they are acting at his own requiſition in defence of his dominions.

16. We now beg leave to tranſmit the complete ſet of country correſpondence from the 1ſt of January 1766, to the cloſe of the year, which from a variety of accidents could not be ſooner prepared. The Preſident has laid before us his country correſpondence, from the time he entered upon the government, the broken ſett of which we ſhall forward by the Nottingham; and as thoſe letters are conſidered as the moſt authentic records of the true ſtate of the country, we ſhall take all poſſible care to have them regularly ſent home for your information.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, RICHARD SMITH, CLAUD RUSSEL, A. CAMPBELL.

No. VIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, April 10, 1767.

1. By the Nottingham we had the honour of tranſmitting to you the proceedings of this Committee to the 10th of March, a duplicate of our addreſs by the Duke of Albany the 19th February, and the Preſident's country correſpondence to the date of the diſpatch.

2. The report of Abdalla's intended invaſion, was the only circumſtance which occurred to engage your particular attention during the ſhort ſpace of time that intervened between the diſpatch of thoſe two ſhips. We could add nothing with certainty to the intelligence we received, and the plan of operations we adopted, both which ſtood fully expreſſed on the proceedings and correſpondence. It was, there-

fore, thought adviſeable to avoid giving you the trouble to peruſe ſentiments that could only be founded upon conjecture.

3. At the time Lord Clive reſigned the adminiſtration of your affairs, ſome diſtant rumors were heard of Abdalla's ambitious projects; and you will accordingly perceive that his Lordſhip has touched upon this ſubject, in the ſketch of your ſituation in Bengal, which he delivered to the Committee before his departure. Circumſtances would not admit he ſhould enter upon particulars; and it would ſeem, indeed, as if his Lordſhip were of opinion the project of ſo diſtant an invaſion was attended with too many difficulties to be purſued with ſucceſs, or even ſeriouſly propoſed.

4. In theſe ſentiments we alſo joined, from a perſuaſion that Abdalla was too politic to embark his kingdom, his honour, and life, upon the very doubtful iſſue of an expedition, from which he could not expect advantages proportioned to the dangers, the fatigues he muſt encounter, and the expence of blood he muſt neceſſarily incur.

5. We conſidered that he was divided from us by an immenſe tract of country, almoſt equally impervious during the heats of ſummer and the rains of autumn; that this country was inhabited by a variety of different and independent Princes and nations, whoſe natural intereſts would prompt them to oppoſe the progreſs of the uſurper; that he was actually engaged in war, and had met with an obſtinate reſiſtance from the Seiks, his ancient and irreconcileable foes; that the Maharattas, a power equally formidable with himſelf, were aſpiriug at the ſame ſuperiority, and would therefore incline, from views of policy as well as motives of jealouſy and former enmity, to ſet themſelves in oppoſition; that the Jauts and Rohillas, potent nations, who form a kind of barrier to the dominions of his Majeſty and of Sujah al Dowlah, and who hold their poſſeſſions now in perfect independency, would therefore be averſe to changes which could not operate to their advantage; that the Engliſh could not be equally the objects of their jealouſy with Abdalla, ſince, in ceding his conquered country to Sujah al Dowlah, they had given ſo recent and unexpected a proof of their moderation; and laſtly, that if, to the evident intereſts and prejudices of thoſe ſeveral powers, we joined our firm and declared reſolution of oppoſing the Shaw with forces who have acquired ſo high a military reputation, the uſurper would either be deterred from the proſecution of his arduous attempt, or ſuch a confederacy would be united, as might probably keep the danger remote from your poſſeſſions, and ſecure thoſe of your allies.

6. Theſe were the conceptions we formed, upon the firſt intelligence received that Abdalla was advancing to Dehly. The advices ſoon became more certain of his ſucceſs againſt the Seiks, and progreſs towards the capital. We had alſo farther advices of his declared intentions againſt Sujah al Dowlah and theſe provinces, to which he was inſtigated by the intrigues of Coſſim Ally Cawn. Under theſe circumſtances it was thought expedient to concert a plan of defence, and reduce to a regular ſyſtem the meaſures we thought neceſſary for checking his progreſs, for animating our allies, and raiſing the country powers to a ſenſe of their own danger, ſo that the outlines of our operations ſhould be clearly marked out before Colonel Smith repaired to the army.

7. Experience of the diſpoſition of the natives of this country has taught, that vigorous meaſures will ever produce powerful effects on the minds of a cautious dilatory people, who heſitate about forming reſolutions until they are compelled by neceſſity, or ſtrongly influenced by the paſſions of fear and hope. To remain inactive ſpectators of an invaſion which threatened to overwhelm the political ſyſtem of all India, would have diſpirited the King and Sujah al Dowlah, whoſe dependence was on our ſupport. It would have given courage to the invaders, and it might induce the country powers,

from

from motives of fear, to join his ſtandard, and to act contrary to their intereſts and inclinations in a general confederacy, which a timely declaration of our reſolutions would probably prevent, or even convert to our own purpoſes. In proof that theſe ſentiments were not merely ſpeculative, you are requeſted to conſult the letters from the King and Sujah al Dowlah, whereby it will appear how earneſt they were for a compoſition with the Shaw. It is beyond doubt, the King was ſtrongly actuated by fear to make unbecoming ſubmiſſions; and that nothing but our influence with him could prevent his ſending Menêer al Dowlah with acknowledgments, unworthy of his royal dignity, and highly impolitic, at a juncture when firmneſs and ſpirit became eſſentially neceſſary.

8. With theſe views, and with the farther intention of demonſtrating to the powers of India our religious obſervance of treaties and engagements, as well as that we were under no apprehenſions from Abdalla's boaſted ſuperiority of numbers, we determined upon the plan entered upon our proceedings. Immediate advice of this our reſolution was diſpatched to the King and Sujah al Dowlah; the Rohillas were informed of our intentions, by a letter from the Preſident; the ſame intimations were given to the Maharattas; the report was ſpread over the whole country, and probably it hath already reached Abdalla's camp, that the Engliſh are making preparations to preſerve the freedom and tranquility of the empire.

9. This conjecture is rendered the more probable, as we are juſt adviſed by Sir Robert Barker, in a letter from Allahabad, that Abdalla is returning back to Lahôre, having compromiſed, for the ſum of *25 lacks, his demands on the Indian powers. Whether we are really to aſcribe this ſudden motion to the ideas he may have conceived of the difficulties he is likely to encounter; or whether he means again to reſume his deſigns, we cannot affirm with certainty: moſt likely it is, that he would have advanced to Dehly, and remained there during the rainy ſeaſon, inſtead of returning back ſo many days march to Lahôre, if he had not entirely relinquiſhed the thoughts of invading Hindoſtan.

10. At all events, this retreat will greatly retard his project. It will encourage the Seiks to raiſe up freſh obſtructions to his progreſs, and it will afford us ſufficient leiſure for every neceſſary preparation; ſince, for this ſeaſon at leaſt, we have nothing to apprehend. We are indeed of opinion, that all danger is in future removed from that quarter, as we learn, from good authority, that the valour, the diſcipline, and the number of our troops, have been reported to Abdalla, with ſuch exaggerations, as ſeemed then to ſtagger his reſolution; and there being no other power from whom we need conceive any great apprehenſions, we flatter ourſelves that we may venture to congratulate you on the proſpect there is of laſting tranquility in Bengal.

11. Policy, however, requires we ſhould hold ourſelves in conſtant readineſs to oppoſe every attempt to deſtroy that equality and balance of power among the Princes of the empire, in which conſiſts our greateſt ſecurity. It is of little conſequence to us who ſhall be the ſuperior; it is the gaining a ſuperiority, and the aggrandizement of any Prince or nation, which would prove dangerous to your poſſeſſions. We are ſenſible, however, this maxim is to be reſtrained within bounds; and that the Honourable Company's intereſts require we ſhould guard againſt the dangerous conſequences of extending our military operations, and enlarging our frontier beyond the circle of the Nabob's dominions. Hence we conſidered it the more neceſſary we ſhould be explicit in aſſigning the reaſons which induced us to reſolve that our troops ſhould croſs the Caramnaſſa to the ſupport of our allies. The inſtructions of this Committee to Colonel Smith, will further explain our ſentiments, and convince you of our firſt determination to act defenſively only, and to proceed no farther than

 good

* 312,500 l.

good faith required, and the preſent circumſtances rendered expedient. For this reaſon it was, that we made no propoſition to the Jauts, Rohillas, or Maharattas, leſt we ſhould encumber ourſelves with fruitleſs and troubleſome engagements. The latter might probably have demanded the ceſſion of countries, which in time would render them more formidable to us than the power of Abdalla; and it was impoſſible to ſuggeſt to the former any expedient, whereby our alliance ſhould become uſeful to them, except that of advancing an army to their aſſiſtance, which would neceſſarily carry our military operations to a great diſtance beyond our own frontier.

12. Upon the whole, the Committee joined in opinion, that vigorous meaſures, altho' more confined, would ſufficiently influence the ſeveral powers to declare againſt Abdalla; and that if they failed of the propoſed effect, we ought not to proceed farther. You may, therefore, reſt aſſured we ſhall ſteadily purſue this conduct, and never be induced by any conſiderations to form connections that may lead us to diſtant expeditions.

13. When, however, we conſider the many unforeſeen dangers, and ſudden irruptions, to which your poſſeſſions in Bengal are perpetually expoſed, our duty obliges us to requeſt, in the moſt earneſt manner, that you will not ſuffer your attention to be diverted from completing your military eſtabliſhment in the manner propoſed by Lord Clive. We now tranſmit a duplicate of the general return, which went a number in the Nottingham's packet, whence you will perceive, that owing to a variety of accidents, the regiments are now leſs complete in effective men than when we repreſented their condition by the Admiral Stevens.

14. We alſo beg leave to obſerve, that, with reſpect to fire-arms, we ſhould find the troops very much diſtreſſed were they under the immediate neceſſity of entering upon action. The Pergunnah battalions are ſcarce half armed, notwithſtanding we detained twenty-two cheſts of arms deſtined for your Preſidency at Bombay. It therefore becomes of the moſt ſerious conſequence, that the Military Storekeepers indents be fully complied with, and that we ſhould in future receive the annual ſupply of muſquetry required in the former letters from this Committee.

15. In order to remove the repeated complaints from the army of the deficiency of draught-bullocks, we have come to a reſolution of ſupplying the artillery by a method which, we hope, will anſwer better than by contract. Colonel Smith has propoſed, that the government ſhall engage to provide twelve hundred large draught-cattle in the Purnea province; that theſe ſhall be fed by contract; and that the contract ſhall be given, in the uſual manner, to the loweſt bidder. This propoſal appearing to us well calculated to remove complaints, to obviate the evil conſequences that may ariſe from a deficiency of draught-bullocks, and to eaſe the natives from many unavoidable acts of oppreſſion, without incurring an extraordinary charge, we have accordingly recommended to the Preſident to enter upon the neceſſary ſteps for providing the number of cattle propoſed, at the expiration of our engagements with the preſent contractors.

16. To complete the regiments, and to put our army upon the moſt reſpectable footing, we applied to the Preſidency at Madraſs for a ſupply of four hundred Europeans rank and file, which they are requeſted to replace from the firſt of our recruits that ſhall arrive on the coaſt. They were alſo appriſed of the plan we had formed for oppoſing Abdalla, with the view that the two Preſidencies acting in perfect conſonance, may accommodate their operations to each others neceſſities. The ſame advices were ſent to Bombay.

17. You will obſerve in our proceedings a letter from Janajee, the chief of the Cuttack Maharattas, with whom we propoſed treating for the ceſſion of that country, in order to open an immediate communication, and connect Bengal with your poſ-

poſſeſſions on the Coromandel Coaſt. His Vackeel is ſoon expected in Calcutta to negociate this buſineſs; and nothing ſhall be wanting on our parts to carry into execution a meaſure which, we think, will conduce to the mutual convenience and ſecurity of the two eſtabliſhments, if it can be effected without ſuch conceſſions as will prove injurious to our reputation.

18. We have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the buſineſs of the collections of Bengal and Bahar is drawing towards a concluſion; and that we ſhall very nearly complete the revenue ſtated in the general eſtimate. The particulars are not yet received; but we have the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from Meſſrs. Sykes and Rumbold, and alſo from Mahomed Reza Cawn and Shetabroy, that the ballances will be very inconſiderable at the next Poonah.

19. You are already adviſed, that the Committee have recommended to the Preſident his making an annual tour of the provinces, at the time for adjuſting the collections of the enſuing year. Mr. Verelſt will accordingly begin his progreſs before the cloſe of this month, and as ſoon as the buſineſs of the Preſidency will admit of his abſence, leaving the government in charge with Mr. Cartier.

20. The Select Committee met the 9th, when, at the inſtance of Sujah al Dowlah, we countermanded the march of the ſecond brigade, and the detachment ordered to take poſt at Serajapore. As the Nabob was lately very urgent and ſolicitous for our aſſiſtance, it is evident, from his preſent requeſt, that he gives entire credit to the intelligence of Abdalla's return, and is eaſed of all apprehenſions for this ſeaſon. This proceeding we have not been able to get up, without detaining the diſpatch, which we have done ſo long to inform you of Abdalla's reſolutions.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, CLAUD RUSSELL, A. CAMPBELL.

SUPPLEMENT.

In reply to your enquiry regarding the farms held in Burdwan by Meſſrs. Johnſtone, Hay, and Boſts, we are to obſerve, that in the account of ſales of thoſe lands, it appears the farms rented by thoſe gentlemen were put up in lots conſiderably larger than any of the others. It has alſo been confidently reported to Mr. Verelſt, our Preſident, by the late Mr. Aſhburner, the officers of the government, and others, who were preſent at the ſales, that few or no bidders appeared, becauſe it was known that Mr. Johnſtone intended thoſe farms for himſelf, and it was therefore apprehended their offers might incur his diſpleaſure. We muſt leave you to judge, from this inſtance, how neceſſary it is become to exclude from the renting your lands all Europeans whatever, and more particularly gentlemen who acquire weight and influence from the ſhare they have in the adminiſtration of your affairs.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, CLAUDE RUSSELL, A. CAMPBELL.

No. IX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 26, 1767.

1. By the Mercury packet, under date the 10th April, we ventured to offer, as our opinion, that Achmet Shaw Abdalla had relinquiſhed all thoughts of proſecuting the ambitious deſigns formed againſt us and our allies, under colour of regulating the affairs of the empire. Theſe our conjectures, we have the pleaſure to acquaint you, are now fully confirmed by the moſt authentic advices. The Shaw has not only evacuated his conqueſts in the country of the Seiks, but he has retreated towards his own frontier with ſo much precipitation as juſtifies us in ſuppoſing his reſolutions were influenced by the report of the preparations we ſet on foot to oppoſe his intended invaſion. Whatever might be the motives for ſo ſudden a change in his councils, we will not heſitate to declare it as our firm perſuaſion, that he will never again reſume a project which muſt be attended with ſo much difficulty and danger in the execution, and with ſuch dubious advantage and ſucceſs in the event.

2. When we reflect upon the number and diſcipline of our troops, the reputation which the Engliſh arms have acquired, as well as the knowledge of late years obtained of the frontier paſſes and inlets, by which theſe provinces may be guarded againſt irruptions, it cannot be doubted, whilſt you maintain your military eſtabliſhment, but we ſhall be able to defend your poſſeſſions againſt the moſt conſiderable powers of this country. Such, however, is the extent of your territorial poſſeſſions, and the amount of your revenues, that we muſt not flatter ourſelves with the hopes of retaining your acquiſitions without ſome attempts from the jealouſy of thoſe who formerly bore the greateſt ſway in the affairs of the empire.

3. In this number we would reckon the Maharattas, a reſtleſs and ambitious people, who may be tempted, by the reputed opulence of Bengal, to renew their incurſions. They have already revived their claim to the uſual tribute paid to the Subahs of theſe provinces, and the Preſident has received letters from Rige-naut Row and Janajee, demanding the arrears of the annual Chout, in a more imperative ſtyle than we imagine they will preſume to juſtify, when we come to an open explanation.

4. From the above letters, and other advices, we underſtand, that at a conference held on the banks of the Narbudda, all their differences have been adjuſted between Rige-naut Row and Janejee, Chiefs who have been long at variance. This event, if confirmed, would ſeem to preſage a fruitleſs iſſue to the negotiations we have for ſome months carried on for the ceſſion of Cuttack. It will even give colour for ſuſpicion that a plan has been concerted between the Subah of the Decan, the Maharattas, and Hyder Naick, to act with united forces againſt the Engliſh; a disjointed unnatural confederacy, which, ſhould it really exiſt, can neither be permanent in itſelf, nor formidable to your poſſeſſions in Bengal. The utmoſt we need apprehend will proceed from a temporary interruption to your collections, from the ſudden incurſions of ſmall parties; and this inconvenience we will endeavour to obviate by a proper diſtribution of your forces.

5. We have been induced, by theſe conſiderations, to co-operate with the views of your Preſidency at Fort St. George, purſuant to a plan laid down by Lord Clive, and now in part adopted by the gentlemen at Madraſs. At their requiſition we have embarked in the Hector, Earl of Elgin, Northington, and Savage, a country ſhip, three battalions

battalions of Sepoys, to enable them, by a vigorous effort, to reduce the Subah to terms of accommodation, or to eſtabliſh ſuch a ſyſtem of policy in the Deccan, as circumſtances may render neceſſary. We have alſo engaged, ſhould the ſituation of their affairs require a further ſupply, to reinforce them with a complete brigade, when the ſeaſon will admit of tranſporting troops, and a ſufficient amount of tonnage can be provided.

6. Although we are fully of opinion the Honourable Company's intereſt demands our utmoſt attention to avoid differences with the country powers, yet the preſent circumſtances of your affairs are ſuch as abſolutely to require that your influence ſhould be maintained with vigour, and all encroachments repelled with ſpirit. The harmony ſubſiſting among the Preſidencies, and the ready and mutual aſſiſtance they afford upon all occaſions of neceſſity, will not fail to impreſs the minds of the natives with juſt ſentiments of our policy and ſtrength. For this reaſon chiefly we are reſolved to enter chearfully into the meaſures adopted on the coaſt, that our enemies may ſee our dependence is not alone on the forces maintained at either of the Preſidencies, but on the armies kept up in the different parts of India, which, though ſeparated at a great diſtance, can ſo eaſily and expeditiouſly be united. Neither are we without hopes, that the unuſual ſpectacle of black troops, pouring into his country from Bengal, may ſtagger the Subah's courage, and induce him to grant thoſe conditions before, which he cannot expect after the ſword is once unſheathed.

7. The King and Sujah al Dowlah appear every day more cloſely united to us by inclination and intereſt. Senſible the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, as well as the degree of conſideration they hold in the empire, muſt depend on our friendſhip, they ſeem deſirous to govern their conduct by principles the moſt likely to cement and promote our amity. The third brigade being ſtationed with them at their requeſt, and a detachment from the ſecond brigade having croſſed the Caramnaſſa with views of ſupporting the baſis of our alliance with his Majeſty and the Nabob, they have readily conſented to defray all the extra charges incurred, agreeably to the terms of the treaty ſubſiſting; ſo that the Company are put to no extraordinary expence by the motion of the troops beyond the limits of the provinces. It is, nevertheleſs, our intention to recall all your forces, and punctually to obſerve your directions, whenever the advices we receive from Col. Smith ſhall put it beyond a doubt that the diſturbances which now prevail among the neighbouring powers will not endanger our own ſafety.

8. By letters lately received from the Colonel you will obſerve, that Juwhar Sing, Chief of the Jauts, is at the head of an army, endeavouring to recover thoſe countries of which he was laſt year diſpoſſeſſed by the Maharattas. In the progreſs of his conqueſts he has entered the Rohilla country, and advanced within a few miles of the King's dominions; nor is it yet certain how far he may have extended his views, nor what are his ultimate deſigns. We have therefore directed Colonel Smith to remain in his preſent ſtation with the brigade, until it ſhall appear what farther deſigns the Jaut may entertain, or whether the meaſures in which he is now engaged have not drawn upon him the reſentment of the Maharattas, and by inducing thoſe freebooters to return, kindled a dangerous war in our neighbourhood, the flames of which may extend to the King's, the Nabob's, and to our dominions.

9. At the repeated and preſſing inſtance of the Napaul Rajah, we determined to hazard an expedition to his country, the reaſons for which ſtand fully explained on the face of our proceedings. As ſuch military enterprizes ſeem foreign to the ſpirit of that ſyſtem of politics whereby we propoſe regulating our conduct, it was neceſſary the Committee ſhould weigh very maturely all the riſk and advantage conſequent on the undertaking. Accordingly, you will obſerve, from our inſtructions to

the

the Chief of Patna, that we have uſed every human precaution to guard againſt the poſſibility of any diſaſter or diſappointment.

10. We need not inform you, that for many years an advantageous trade has been carried on between the Province of Bahar, and the rich country of Napaul, by which a conſiderable quantity of gold, and many other valuable commodities, were imported. The Rajah being now diſpoſſeſſed of his country, and ſhut up in his capital by the Rajah of Goercullah, the uſual channel of commerce has in conſequence been obſtructed; and theſe provinces are deprived of the benefits ariſing from a former intercourſe, at a period when the decline of trade, and ſcarcity of ſpecie, render it of the greateſt importance, that every ſpring of induſtry ſhould flow freely, and without interruption. The vicinity of Napaul to the Betteä country, of which the Subah is now in quiet poſſeſſion, will bring additional advantages to this traffick, by rendering it more eaſy and ſecure than in former times; ſo that we entertain very flattering proſpects from the iſſue of an expedition, of which we hope to ſend you an account by the laſt diſpatches of the ſeaſon.

11. It is with the greateſt pleaſure we obſerve, that your ſentiments correſpond with thoſe of your Select Committee, reſpecting the utility of the Governor's annual tour of the provinces. Agreeable to what you were adviſed by the Mercury Packet, Mr. Verelſt proceeded early in the month of May to the city, with intention to continue his journey to Patna, and even to viſit the King and Sujah al Dowla. In this, however, he was prevented by a variety of buſineſs with the miniſters, as well as by indiſpoſition, and the very uncommon heat and inclemency of the ſeaſon, which proved fatal to ſuch numbers of your civil and military ſervants.

12. Soon after his arrival at Murſhed-abad, the Poonah was held with the uſual ſolemnities, the Nabob being ſeated on the Muſnud, as Subahdar of Bengal, and the Governor placed on his right hand, as repreſentative of the Honourable Company, in quality of King's Dewan. The eſtimate then formed of revenues to be collected for the preſent year we have the honout to tranſmit in our proceedings; and we beg leave to refer to a joint letter from the Preſident and Mr. Sykes, for a particular explanation of the manner in which the ſtatement is drawn out.

13. On the collections of the laſt year, we muſt obſerve, that the ballances due are much leſs conſiderable than could reaſonably be expected, the actual receipts amounting to one crore, forty three lacks, fifteen thouſand three hundred and ten rupees*. Yet from the diligent ſcrutiny made in the courſe of our experience into the real value of the lands, an encreaſe is inſured for the preſent year, of near ſixteen lacks of rupees†, ariſing from a more equal aſſeſſment only. The new arrangement made of the ſeveral articles contained in the eſtimate, we preſume will meet with your approbation, as it points out in the cleareſt and moſt conciſe manner we can ſuggeſt, the general amount of the ſtatements for the laſt and preſent years, the actual receipts of the preceding year, the diſburſements and deficiencies of each ſeparate diſtrict, the amount at which ſome diſtricts have been over-rated, and the increaſe made of the revenues charged upon others.

14. This method of comprizing the whole eſtimate into ſo narrow a compaſs as to exhibit a general view of your revenues at a ſingle glance of the eye, we humbly apprehend will convey to you more diſtinct ideas of whatever may deſerve notice, than if we tranſmitted a monthly account of the deficiency of each perſons Kiſtbundee. Your revenues ſpring from ſuch a variety of fluctuating circumſtances, and are charged and collected by ways ſo different from each other, that explaining the particular cauſe, period, and amount of each increaſe or deficiency, would be to compoſe a hiſtory of minute events, which would employ a greater number of your ſervants than are now maintained

* 1,789,415 *l.* † 200,000 *l.*

maintained for the buſineſs of the whole eſtabliſhment. All perſons holding lands of the government, enter into an agreement for monthly payments to a certain amount. The agreement for each diſtrict ſpecifies, that the collections ſhall be made at the expiration of ten, fifteen, or thirty days, according to the particular cuſtoms of the reſpective diſtricts. This Kiſtbundee, as well as the collections themſelves, is regulated by the crops, and a number of other contingent circumſtances, which compoſe the value of lands; and all theſe being in a ſtate of continual change and alteration, we imagine a particular account of each Kiſtbundee would prove a fallacious guide to your judgment reſpecting future periods; however, ſhould you in future inſiſt upon it, your orders ſhall be obeyed.

15. Senſible of the confuſion which changing the names of the diſtricts muſt introduce into your accounts, as well as the frauds concealed under ſuch practices, the Preſident, when he attended the Poonah, ſtrongly recommended to the miniſters, that one particular name ſhould always be uſed to ſpecify the ſame diſtrict. They have accordingly given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the names now inſerted in the eſtimate, ſhall, in future, remain unaltered; and we will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to put a ſtop to ſo pernicious a cuſtom.

16. As to bringing on the ballances of former years to the rents of the preſent eſtimate, in the manner you propoſe, we humbly conceive it would be productive of many inconveniencies. The frequent removals which the miniſters find it neceſſary to make among the collectors, either on account of inability or miſbehaviour, would render outſtanding balances ſo heavy a load on the ſhoulders of the preſent collector, that none would be found to accept the office under ſuch conditions. Hitherto, the practice has been to keep apart from the collections the account of ballances, and to enter into a ſeparate agreement with the collector, whereby he becomes reſponſible for ſuch ballances as upon enquiry ſhall appear equitable, or may be pointed out to him by the government, or by his predeceſſor in office. By theſe means the inconvenience of mingling the accounts of different years is avoided, and a door is ſhut againſt the ſpecious pretext for haraſſing and oppreſſing the landholders for the recovery of outſtanding debts.

17. In the eſtimate now tranſmitted, you will perceive how the general cuſtoms upon trade are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe ſmaller duties, which are included in the valuation of the lands. By general cuſtoms we mean thoſe duties levied at public and eſtabliſhed Chokies, upon all the greater branches of foreign and inland trade, not included in Duſtuck privileges. Beſides theſe are collected leſſer duties, upon the articles of life and luxury, ſold at the ſeveral markets and Bazârs, which being comprehended in the rents, it would be unneceſſary, and almoſt impoſſible to inſert under particular and ſeparate heads.

18. Our concern at the enormous charges attending the collections of your revenue, has been repeatedly expreſſed in our former letters. To this circumſtance the Preſident gave ſuch particular attention at the late Poonah, that we flatter ourſelves you will agree with us in opinion, the expences cannot reaſonably be reduced lower than the rate they now ſtand ſpecified in the eſtimate. Diſmiſſing the numerous rabble of troops kept up by the Fouzdars, and other officers of the government, hath not only proved a very extraordinary ſaving to the revenue, but a great ſecurity to the permanency of our authority; therefore, to remove every ſhadow of pretence for retaining a cuſtom ſo inconſiſtent with, and injurious to well regulated government, we have been induced to raiſe another battalion of Sepoys, for the ſervice of the Bahar collections, whereby we have increaſed our military ſtrength againſt ſuch occaſions of danger as ſhall happen, without incurring any additional expence.

19. The eſtimate of revenues to be collected this year in the Bahar province, will be ſettled next month, when the Poonah takes place. With reſpect to the collections of laſt year, we have the ſatisfaction to aſſure you they have been very cloſely kept up, and that very inconſiderable ballances will remain outſtanding, moſt of which ariſe from lands, which had been overcharged in the former eſtimate. When the Bahar ſtatement ſhall come to our hands, we propoſe drawing out, for yout inſpection, a general ſtatement of all your receipts and diſburſements, on whatever account ariſing, during the ſpace of one complete year.

20. We are ſenſible of the inconveniencies which frequently attended the entruſting favourites with too great a ſhare of executive authority. The inactivity and injudicious partiality of the ſovereigns to their dependents, have certainly given birth to the moſt dangerous convulſions in the ſtate. But, on the preſent ſyſtem of your political and military affairs, we think it impoſſible that danger can enſue from the degree of confidence and truſt repoſed in any officer of the government. On the the contrary, whilſt the ſword and revenues are held by us, it will be found abſolutely neceſſary to ſtrengthen, with all our authority, the hands of thoſe officers employed in the collections, to enable them to diſcharge the duties of their office, and counteract the numberleſs frauds and contrivances to elude payment of the revenues. It was from a ſenſe of this neceſſity, of his attachment to us, and of his extenſive acquaintance with the whole buſineſs of the finances, that we devolved on Mahomed Reza Cawn, ſo large a proportion of the weight of government, and particularly of the collections; being convinced by experience of the truth of your remark, "That "an Engliſhman will ever be unfit to follow the ſubtle native through all his arts, "to conceal the real value of his country, to perplex and to elude the payments."

21. The cultivation of the mulberry-ſhrub, and increaſe of the article of ſilk, being of the utmoſt conſequence to the extenſion of your inveſtment, the Preſident, when he attended the Poonah, recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner to the miniſters, Zemindars, and landholders, this object of giving all poſſible encouragement for clearing and cultivating ſuch lands as will beſt anſwer the intention. The ſame endeavours will be uſed by the Collector-General to induce your own farmers in Burdwan and the Calcutta lands to purſue a branch of huſbandry that muſt tend equally to their advantage and to yours.

22. Although ſound policy may require we ſhould not be too ſolicitous to augment your revenues abroad, which, ſhould they be here unappropriated, would ſerve only to embarraſs your affairs; yet the ſame policy dictates the neceſſity of reſuming to the government all lands and revenues alienated from it by fraud or force, or through inattention in the adminiſtration. Of this nature are Jagheer rents and lands, many of which are held by individuals, upon no other tenure than poſſeſſion acquired under a weak prince, a corrupt miniſtry, or the diſtracted ſituation of public affairs. Where ſuch poſſeſſions appear of a recent date, where they are founded upon no public grant, where the poſſeſſors are men neither of family, influence, nor character, in ſuch caſes our acquieſcence would denote a ſupineneſs or weakneſs injurious to the authority of government. We have therefore iſſued directions to Mr. Rumbold, in quality of collector of Bahar, to cauſe all perſons holding Jagheers to regiſter their Sunnuds in the head Cutcherry at Patna, giving, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of our intentions to continue to ancient and reſpectable families, and to thoſe who have juſt claims, every reaſonable indulgence, which may ſerve to convince them of the juſtice and moderation of our government.

23. We have frequently expreſſed to you our apprehenſions leſt the annual exportation of treaſure to China would produce a ſcarcity of money in the country. This ſubject becomes every day more ſerious, as we already feel, in a very ſenſible manner, the

the effects of the conſiderable drain made from the ſilver currency. Experience will ever yield ſtronger conviction than the moſt abſtract and refined reaſoning.

24. Whatever ſums had formerly been remitted to Dehly were amply reimburſed by the retnrns made to the immenſe commerce of Bengal, which might be conſidered as the central point to which all the riches of India were attracted. Its manufactures found their way to the remoteſt part of Hindoſtan, and ſpecie flowed in by a thouſand channels that are at preſent loſt and obſtructed. All the European companies formed their inveſtments with money brought into the country; the (1) Gulphs poured in their treaſures into this river; and acroſs the continent, an inland trade was driven to the weſtward to the extremity of the kingdom of Guzzerat.

25. How widely different from theſe are the preſent circumſtances of the Nabob's dominions! Immenſe treaſures have lately been carried out of the provinces by Coſſim Ally Cawn, which may poſſibly be reſerved as a fund to excite future troubles. Each of the European companies, by means of money taken up in the country, have greatly enlarged their annual inveſtments, without adding a rupee to the riches of the province. On the contrary, the increaſe of exports to Europe has proved ſo great a reſtraint upon the induſtry of private merchants, that we will venture to affirm the ballance from Europe, in favour of Bengal, amounts to a very trifling ſum in ſpecie. We know of no foreign trade exiſting at preſent, which produces a clear ballance in money, except that carried on with the ports of Judda, Mocha, and Baſſora, from whence not fifteen lacks * in bullion have been returned in the courſe of four years.

This year the Dutch have imported nine lacks §; the two preceding years, their inveſtment, as well as that of the French company, was provided by money paid into their treaſury for aſſignments by bills on their conſtituents in France and Holland; whereas, by an eſtimate obtained from Chinſura, it appears that formerly the Dutch imported annually from thirty-ſix to forty lacks †, taking the amount at a medium for ten years. Your own exports in bullion from England did not, one year with another, fall ſhort of twelve or fourteen lacks ‖, while the country was at the ſame time gaining an increaſe of money from the inveſtments made by the Danes, Auſtrians, and Pruſſians. Upon the whole, ſpecie was then brought in to the amount of ninety or an hundred lacks ‡ yearly; it now goes out to the amount of twenty-ſix lacks ** every year in public money, if we include our remittances to the other Preſidencies as well as thoſe to China, beſides very conſiderable ſums carried on private account; and this loſs is ballanced by a trade with the Gulphs, which, at the higheſt eſtimation, cannot exceed five or ſix lacks †† a-year. In fact, were no money iſſued upon account of your China trade, the current ſpecie muſt annually decreaſe, unleſs foreign trade ſhall revive and flouriſh, ſo as to produce a more conſiderable ballance in treaſure.

27. Such, permit us to aſſure you, is the preſent ſtate of the trade and currency of theſe provinces. What the iſſue may be of ſuch untoward ſymptoms of decline we will not preſume to determine. This only we will remark, that unleſs we had palliated the evil by introducing a gold currency, and thereby increaſed the circulating riches of the country, every individual muſt have been deeply affected with the ſcarcity of money. In proof of this aſſertion, we need only appeal to the quantity of gold mohurs received and given in payment by every merchant, who formerly tranſacted all buſineſs in ſilver rupees; nor does this proceed from choice or convenience, but from neceſſity and the actual decreaſe of ſilver money; neither can it proceed from the exportation of ſilver for the purchaſe of gold, ſince the profits ariſing from that exchange would barely pay the intereſt of money, a point which was thoroughly conſidered when the par between ſilver and gold was calculated, on our adopting the preſent ſcheme of gold coinage.

28. The

(1) The two Gulphs of Mocha and Perſia.

* 187,500 *l.* § 112,500 *l.* † From 450,000 *l.* to 500,000 *l.* ‖ 150,000 *l.* or 175,000 *l.*
‡ 1,125,000 *l.* or 1,250,000 *l.* ** 325,000 *l.* †† 62,500 *l.* or 75,000 *l.*

28. The circumſtances of your affairs require we ſhould explain ourſelves with freedom, and point out wherein we conceive your own orders have ſerved to encreaſe this growing diſeaſe, for which a ſpeedy and effectual remedy is required. It is true, you have been pleaſed to indulge your ſervants with a larger remittance than you allowed the preceding year; but by lowering the exchange, and cutting off intereſt for a complete year after bills are preſented, you throw every advantage on the ſide of foreign remittances, and in a manner oblige all who are not poſſeſſed of very opulent fortunes to have recourſe to the French and Dutch. To free merchants, and your ſervants who have been more than a year out of your employment, the terms are ſo very diſadvantageous, and the proportion they can be allowed ſo ſmall, that we much fear leſt many will be tempted, and find means, in deſpite of our utmoſt endeavours, to remit the whole or a part of their fortunes in ſpecie, which would ſtill prove more injurious to the country than even remitting by foreign funds.

29. All theſe particulars being fully weighed and conſidered, we imagine you will be of opinion with us, that the balance, whatever it may be, of trade in favour of the country, will very inadequately compenſate for the loſs of thoſe ſums, which have iſſued at all quarters from this province. It is indeed difficult to aſcertain exactly what this ballance really is, ſince it can neither be determined by the arbitration of exchange, where no exchange with foreign countries exiſts; nor be computed from the cuſtoms, where the whole trade doth not paſs through one regular channel. We can only judge by the bullion imported; and that is much too inconſiderable to eaſe the apprehenſions we entertain of the moſt alarming conſequences.

30. Thoſe diſputes, in which we find ourſelves unavoidably engaged with the agents of the other European companies, become alſo a ſubject of the moſt ſerious attention. We have, by every reaſonable indulgence and conceſſion, endeavoured to ſilence their clamours, but without effect. While the manufactures of the country are inſufficient to anſwer the demands of each company, there muſt ariſe differences. The French and Dutch ſeem equally deſirous with us to enlarge their inveſtments beyond the former amount; inſomuch, that were the natives utterly excluded from thoſe privileges to which they have a natural and unqueſtionable right, it is matter of doubt whether there would be a ſufficiency for the companies. Your ſervants too, who are denied every other means of improving their fortunes, cannot with any degree of juſtice be ſhut out from all participation of a trade in which they have ever been indulged. Neither is it poſſible, nor may it be thought reaſonable, that free merchants permitted by you to reſide and trade at the Preſidency, ſhould be deprived the uſual advantages, whereby only they are enabled to carry on any commerce by ſea.

31. Under theſe difficulties you muſt expect the complaints of natives and of foreigners will grow louder every day, unleſs you ſhould determine to ſacrifice that eſſential point to your intereſt; the remitting home by large inveſtments the benefits of your acquiſitions. In the preſent ſtate of things we ſee no remedy except one, which may be thought ideal, namely, the entering into an agreement with foreign companies for providing their inveſtments to a certain annual amount. This we mention rather as a hint, upon which you may poſſibly improve, than as a meaſure we ſhall preſume to adopt, until a certain plan ſhall be adjuſted between the companies at home, and recommended to their agents abroad. Moſt certain it is, that ſome conciliating ſteps taken in Europe can alone prevent the jealouſies and differences ſubſiſting in this country, from terminating in an open rupture, as ſoon as the French ſhall find themſelves ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the * Coaſt, and powerful at the † Iſlands, to enter upon ſuch enterprizes.

32. By

* The Coaſt of Coromandel. † The Iſland of Mauritius, Bourbon, &c.

32. By advices lately received from the Coaſt, they have already reſumed their former practices of ſecretly exciting diſturbances, by a clandeſtine underhand correſpondence with our enemies. A letter to us from the Secret Department at Fort St. George, intimates ſuſpicions that the French on the iſland of Mauritius are actually correſponding with Hyder Naick; and private letters of a later date affirm, that ſeveral French officers are gone over to Hyder Naick and the * Subah; which, if true, leaves not the leaſt room for doubt of their being countenanced by their ſuperiors. The letter referred to from Madraſs being long, we have not been able to get it tranſcribed in the book of letters, without detaining the diſpatches.

33. Upon Mr. Becher's arrival he took his ſeat in Committee, agreeably to your appointment. During the time Mr. Ruſſel held his ſeat, we muſt, in juſtice to that gentleman, acquaint you, that he purſued the buſineſs of the Committee, and your intereſts, with great zeal and capacity.

34. As moſt of the tranſactions of this Board ſtand fully expreſſed on the face of our proceedings, we ſhall decline entering upon a review of particulars, and beg leave to refer to the proceedings themſelves, which are now under diſpatch. We have the honour to forward the Preſident's country correſpondence; a duplicate of our Letter by the Mercury Packet was tranſmitting by the Hector, lately diſpatched.

35. The Secretary requeſts your excuſe, that ſeveral of the public papers go home written in different hands, which could not be avoided, on account of the death and ſickneſs of ſome of the gentlemen employed in the office.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. X.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Oct. 6, 1767.

The detention of the Lord Holland, owing to the ſickneſs that prevails among her people, affords us an opportunity of acquainting you with ſuch particulars of the ſituation of your affairs on the Coaſt as are come to our knowledge ſince cloſing our diſpatches under date the 25th ultimo.

The Subah of the Deccan having joined his forces to thoſe of Hyder Ally, the united army was moving towards thoſe paſſes which open into the Carnatic, in the neighbourhood of Trinamalley and Changama, and to the weſtward of Pondicherry and Fort St. David's. In the letters from the Coaſt the numbers of the enemy are not ſpecified; but from the beſt accounts we have obtained, thoſe of the Subah are no way formidable, and the troops under Hyder Ally do not exceed ten or twelve thouſand men.

To this enemy the Preſidency have oppoſed an army conſiſting of eight hundred Europeans, five thouſand of the Company's ſepoys, and a train of ſixteen field pieces, under command of Colonel Joſeph Smith. Colonel Wood has under him another body of troops compoſed of five hundred Europeans, and five thouſand of the Company's and Nabob's Sepoys, with ten or twelve pieces of cannon.

It

* The Subah of the Deccan.

It was intended to effect a junction before they endeavoured to bring the confederates to a deciſive action. In the mean time Colonel Smith declined coming to an engagement, that nothing might unneceſſarily be put to the hazard; but as the Colonel had poſitive orders to fight, and could not be at a great diſtance from Colonel Wood's detachment, we are in daily expectation to hear of a battle. Nor are we very ſolicitous about the event, if the officers perform their duty; ſince a finer army in numbers and diſcipline was never at any time ſent by the Honourable Company into the field.

The detachment of three battalions of ſepoys ſent from hence for the defence of the northern Sircars, muſt by this time, we flatter ourſelves, have reached Vizagapatam; and probably the report of ſo conſiderable a reinforcement will operate powerfully on the conduct of the Subah, who hath not for many years beheld ſo great a force tranſported from one Preſidency to another. With this detachment, joined to the troops already in the Sircars, we hope the gentlemen at Madraſs will be able to proſecute the propoſed expedition to the Subah's capital, which will not only oblige him to draw off great part of his army from the Carnatic, but cut off his reſources, and ſpread general conſternation over the face of his country.

Bengal being for the preſent in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, we have determined to lend the moſt vigorous ſupport to the meaſures they are purſuing on the Coaſt. For this purpoſe we are, at their requiſition, preparing with the utmoſt expedition all the ſhipping in the river, to tranſport to Mazulipatam, or Fort St. George, the whole of the firſt brigade, commanded by Colonel Joſeph Peach; but as the ſeaſon is far advanced, and it will require ſome time to clear out the Europe ſhips and embark the troops, we have directed three of your ſloops to be got in immediate readineſs to convey to Madraſs two hundred Europeans for the ſecurity of the Preſidency.

It is in conſequence of advices received that the garriſon is much weakened by detachments ſent off to Colonel Smith, that we entered upon the reſolution of embarking this detachment in veſſels which, from their ſize and conſtruction, are likely to make the quickeſt paſſages ſo late in the ſeaſon. Experience hath ſhewn us, that to ſecure your inveſtments and collections, it is neceſſary not only to keep off actual danger, but to guard againſt all apprehenſions for the ſafety of the Preſidency.

From theſe vigorous meaſures we doubt not but the Subah will have reaſon to repent his temerity, and be reduced to ſuch conceſſions as will leave the gentlemen at Madraſs to proſecute their ſchemes for the extirpation of Hyder Ally, whoſe growing power, ſooner or later, threatens danger to the Honourable Company's poſſeſſions in the Carnatic.

We are ſorry to acquaint you, that ſeveral parts of the country have been much expoſed to inundations from the overflowing of the river, whence Mr. Sykes is apprehenſive leſt the inveſtment and revenues may ſuffer. Yet as thoſe accidents are always the moſt alarming on their firſt appearance, we entertain great hopes the damage will prove leſs conſiderable than is imagined.

Mr. Sykes requeſts you will accept his moſt grateful acknowledgements for the favourable opinion you are pleaſed to entertain of his conduct, and his aſſurances that his utmoſt diligence ſhall be exerted to merit the continuance of your favour.

The diſpatches from the public department, by the Lord Holland, were cloſed and ready to proceed down the river, on the 26 ult. when Captain Nairne reported to the Board the ſickly condition of his ſhip, and that not three ſeamen were able to ſtand the deck. This unfortunate circumſtance has occaſioned a delay of ſeveral days, during which we have uſed our utmoſt endeavours to furniſh him with men, by taking

taking up all vagrants and ſtragglers from ſhips, who are in themſelves a nuiſance to the ſettlement. As the people are now recovering faſt, and the preſent appearance of the monſoon is extremely favourable, we flatter ourſelves the Lord Holland will ſtill clear the bay with eaſe, and ſuffer, in courſe of her paſſage, no conſiderable loſs of time from the paſt delays.

Since cloſing our diſpatches of the 25 ult. we received from Colonel Smith a report of ſome braſs cannon, which report was made a number in the public packet, and we hope will engage your ſerious conſideration. As the beſt teſtimony of the badneſs of the metal, and miſconduct of the founder, we ſhall direct the cannon to be ſent down, and will forward it to England by the firſt conveyance. All the ſmall arms we have this year received, appear to be of ſo good a quality, that although you have paid an advanced price, yet from the ſervice they will perform, it is to be preſumed the Company will in the end find themſelves gainers by changing their contracts.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. XI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, December 16, 1767.

Since our addreſs to you by the Lord Holland, a duplicate of which goes a number in the packet, ſcarce any material change of circumſtances in Bengal has occurred. Your affairs, civil, military, and political, continue to flow in the ſame proſperous channel, and have at preſent the appearance of much ſtability.

You will, however, obſerve from our proceedings, that Colonel Smith's letters to the ſelect Committee, repreſent as extremely ſuſpicious the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah's inclination towards the Engliſh Company. This judgment the Colonel founds upon the diligence which the Nabob exerts in forming his army, and eſtabliſhing his influence, as well as upon general rumour that he is preparing for a rupture.

Without ſuppoſing Sujah al Dowlah entertains deſigns, either contrary to the faith of treaties, or inconſiſtent with the moſt obvious dictates of common prudence and policy, we are of opinion theſe appearances, from which Colonel Smith draws his conjectures, may be as naturally explained upon the general principles adopted by all the powers of India. Like other Princes in his ſituation, he wiſhes to recover that degree of influence he once held in the empire, and by uniting with us in regulating the affairs of the Deccan, he propoſes to himſelf the ſureſt method he could ſuggeſt for obtaining his purpoſes. All his letters to the Preſident, ſince the war broke out upon the Coaſt, are filled with plans of operations, and ſchemes of alliance, which tend to his own aggrandizement, by means of our ſupport. The friendſhip of the Engliſh he conſiders as the foundation of ſucceſs; neither can we imagine, after the late experience he has had of our ſuperiority, that he will venture upon a freſh trial of our ſtrength, before he has fully recruited his army, repleniſhed his treaſures, eſtabliſhed himſelf in his country, and cemented a friendſhip with powers able and willing to ſupport his views.

Yet

Yet although we are induced by theſe reaſons to treat Sujah al Dowlah with great delicacy, and carefully to conceal every ſuſpicion of his fidelity, we think it requiſite to obſerve his conduct with circumſpection, and check in the beginning thoſe ſymptoms of ambition that may in time become dangerous. The Preſident has with this view tendered our acknowledgments for his offers of aſſiſtance; but at the ſame time aſſured him, that the war on the Coaſt was by no means an object of our united ſtrength, nor a ſufficient cauſe why he ſhould increaſe his forces at a great expence, which might ſerve only to produce conjectures to the prejudice of the friendſhip and harmony that ſubſiſt between him and the Company.

As the Nabob has himſelf recommended our keeping a brigade in his country, and continuing in poſſeſſion of Allahabad, we entertained no doubt but he would readily comply with the Preſident's requeſt to ſtop his levies and reduce his forces, ſince we conſidered a propoſition ſo incompatible with any views he might have to a rupture, as an earneſt of his ſincerity; and we have now the pleaſure to acquaint you, that he has already entered upon the meaſures recommended.

In order, however, that not the leaſt apprehenſion of danger ſhould remain, we directed Colonel Smith to keep the moſt watchful eye upon the Nabob's conduct; and have alſo determined that the firſt brigade ſhall remain in their preſent ſtation, until we have the moſt ſatisfactory aſſurances of ſecurity to theſe provinces.

Before this letter can reach your hands, you will probably receive by the Hector a detail, from the Preſidency of Fort St. George, of their operations againſt the Subah and Hyder Ally. Our advices from thence have not lately been explicit enough to convey a diſtinct idea of their preſent ſituation and future proſpects. We underſtand the advantage obtained over the enemy has proved leſs deciſive than was at firſt imagined; and that Hyder Ally is now acting in the field, while the heavy rains oblige the troops of the Preſidency to remain in cantonments. Such appearances of vigour in a country power are uncommon, and give reaſon to apprehend the war may be protracted to a much greater length than will prove convenient to your affairs; although, with reſpect to the iſſue, we cannot entertain a doubt. The detachments we have already ſent, joined to the forces of the Preſidency are, with any tolerable conduct, more than ſufficient to beat all the Indian powers from Cape Comorin to Dehly. For this reaſon we have ſuſpended the propoſed embarkation of the remainder of the firſt brigade, that we may not unneceſſarily incur an extraordinary expence, and expoſe the troops to fatigue and dangers that may be avoided: but they ſhall be held in readineſs to proceed at a day's notice, whenever circumſtances may require their ſervice.

Private advices from the coaſt intimate, that matters will ſoon be accommodated with the Subah; and from the ſilence upon this ſubject obſerved in the public letters, we imagine that means are deviſing to ſeparate him from his preſent alliance, in order they may be the more diſengaged to proſecute the war againſt Hyder Ally. Should theſe conjectures be well founded, we have only to wiſh the Subah had been rendered more ſenſible of the importance of our friendſhip before he had experienced our generoſity. It was always our opinion, expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms to the gentlemen at Madraſs, that no peace in which mutual ſtipulations were allowed, would be permanent; that * Nizam Ally ſhould firſt be reduced to abſolute dependence; that meaſures ſhould be taken to confine the ambition of our neighbours at Pondicherry to the preciſe limits of the treaty; and that the moſt exact knowledge of the Subah's character and connections ſhould be obtained, before he was reſtored to his dignity. What degree of influence theſe ſentiments may produce in the counſels of your Preſidency at Fort St. George, we cannot at preſent determine; but as we have hitherto acted in the moſt perfect harmony, it is probable our arguments will be allowed

* The Subah of the Deccan.

lowed their perfect weight. The letters which have paſſed between us, as they ſtand recorded on the face of our proceedings, will explain our ſentiments more particularly.

In conſequence of the demands upon us from the coaſt, we have been obliged to refuſe thoſe reinforcements to Captain Kinloch, for proſecuting the Napaul expedition, which he thinks neceſſary for ſucceeding in the attempt; and as the enterprize muſt now be deferred to a more convenient opportunity, Mr. Rumbold has orders to recall the detachment, keeping poſſeſſion, however, of certain lands bordering on the Betteä country, which belonged to the Gourcullah Rajah, ſo rich and fertile as amply to indemnify the charges incurred. We have reaſon to believe there has been ſome miſconduct in the officers employed, or forgery in the intelligence which gave birth to this expedition, elſe Captain Kinloch, with the force he commanded, muſt have ſucceeded in relieving the Rajah, and opening that communication with Bahar from which we expected very conſiderable advantages to the commerce of this country. The ſtricteſt enquiry ſhall be made into every circumſtance, and you will be made acquainted with the particulars, we hope, by one of the ſhips of this ſeaſon.

In our proceedings we have entered an account of the actual collections of the revenue in the province of Bahar, during the courſe of the laſt year, and alſo an eſtimate of revenues to be collected agreeably to the Kiſtbundee of the preſent year. Without any remarks from us, theſe accounts are themſelves ſufficient teſtimony that the collections have been regularly kept up, and every way anſwerable to the expectations we gave in our letter by the Lord Holland.

We ſend numbers in the packet, the broken ſett of our proceedings from the laſt diſpatch to this date, to which we beg leave to refer for ſuch points as demand your more attentive conſideration.

Before we cloſe this diſpatch, it is proper you ſhould be acquainted, that, at their requeſt, we furniſhed the Preſidency of Fort St. George with three lacks *; and will in a few days ſend them a farther ſupply of five lacks †. The ſcarcity of ſilver, which already prevails, obliges us to make this remittance in gold, notwithſtanding we are ſenſible that a very conſiderable loſs will ariſe, upon account of the high valuation of the gold mohurs. We foreſee the difficulties before us in making proviſion, agreeably to your orders, for ſupplying China with ſilver bullion even for this ſeaſon; and have therefore requeſted the gentlemen at Madraſs to purchaſe for that purpoſe all the ſilver they can procure: ſince, notwithſtanding the Mocha ſhips are arrived, the ſilver imported into the river, during the whole courſe of the year, ſcarce exceeds a lack of rupees ‡. We have before repeatedly requeſted your attention to the conſequences of this exportation of bullion; and we now beg leave to recommend the ſubject to your moſt ſerious conſideration, aſſuring you, that ſhould we find it at all practicable to make the uſual remittances next year to China, the meaſure will prove fatal to your inveſtment, and ruinous to the commerce of Bengal, by giving the entire command of the ſilver currency to foreign nations, who very politicly refuſe to receive gold into their treaſuries for bills.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

* 37,500 *l.* † 62,500 *l.* ‡ 12,500 *l.*

SUPPLEMENT.

To the above advices we beg leave to ſubjoin, that we have received authentic information the French Council at Chandernagore have reduced their exchange on bills granted on their conſtituents, to twenty-ſix pence for the current rupee, or one penny lower than the exchange allowed to your ſervants, ſtipulating, at the ſame time, that only bills for half the amount paid in ſhall be granted for this ſeaſon, and intereſt upon the remainder, at the rate of ſix per Cent. per annum, until bills are given the enſuing year.

This policy in them we muſt regard as a convincing proof of the truth of thoſe arguments urged in our letter by the Lord Holland, that lowering your exchange would throw the entire command of money into the hands of foreigners, and enable them to form large inveſtments, by means of early advances, in deſpite of all our endeavours. They have now in their treaſury, at a low intereſt, a ſufficient ſum for beginning the enſuing inveſtment ſome months ſooner than otherwiſe they could advance a rupee; and this additional advantage accrues to them from reducing their exchange, that where you gain one penny upon the exchange of the rupee, in the limited ſum allowed to be remitted from hence, they gain two pence in the exchange upon the much larger ſums employed in making their inveſtment. Every means in our power ſhall be exerted to convey to you the fruits of your late acquiſitions; but while all poſſible advantages reſt in the hands of our rivals in trade, we muſt expect to encounter many diſappointments and difficulties.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, RICHARD BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. XII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Jan. 5. 1768.

Our laſt addreſs, under date the 16th ultimo, waited on you per Norfolk, and a duplicate thereof we have the honour to tranſmit by this conveyance.

We have as yet no reaſon to deviate from our opinion with regard to Sujah al Dowlah's conduct. The expreſſions in his letters to the Preſident, of his attachment and fidelity to the engagements he has entered into with us are as warm as ever; and he declares, that the troops he lately levied were intended for the ſole purpoſe of acting in conjunction with your's in the Deccan, had his offers of ſervice been accepted. We expect, however, he will give us a more convincing proof of his aſſertions, by a ſpeedy reduction of his forces, which, the Preſident has been informed, he has begun.

In conſequence of advices received from the gentlemen at Madraſs, of Hyder Ally's having again taken the field, we immediately determined on ſending Colonel Joſeph Peach to Mazulipatam, with a complete company of grenadiers belonging to his regiment, fifty artillery-men, one twelve-pounder, two ſix-pounders, on howitz, and royal, with an ample ſupply of ſtores for immediate ſervice. This detachment, with the European troops before ſent, and thoſe of the Preſidency ſtationed in the Sircars, will form a corps of more than five hundred Europeans rank and file, excluſive of the artillery

artillery and Sepoys; a force, we doubt not, very ſufficient to reduce the whole province, if ſuch a plan ſhould be adopted. Colonel Peach accordingly embarked a few days after with his detachment in the ſhip Egmont, the commander whereof had orders to land them at Mazulipatam, and afterwards to proceed to Madraſs with gold to the amount of five lacks of rupees*, and other conſignments he had on board for that Preſidency.

As the detachments we have lately ſent from hence make a conſiderable reduction of our force, it is poſſible that ſome of the country powers may venture to make attempts on theſe provinces. This is a cicumſtance that has not eſcaped our mature conſideration; for, regardful of the danger which may threaten us at home, and conſidering the convenient ſituation of our troops employed in the Deccan between the two Preſidencies, we have acquainted the gentlemen at Madraſs, that we reſerve to ourſelves the power of recalling the troops under this eſtabliſhment whenever the moſt preſſing exigency of our affairs may require it; and the Preſident has, in his inſtructions to Colonel Peach, directed him to pay an implicit obedience, ſhould it be judged expedient to ſend him ſuch an order.

By private letters ſince received from Fort St. George, under date the 28th of November, we learn, Hyder Ally, ſo far from being intimidated by the victory lately obtained over him by your troops, breathes nothing but vengeance, and is reſolved to truſt his future hopes to the iſſue of a ſecond engagement; that your army, conſiſting of one thouſand Europeans, ſeven battalions of Sepoys, and ſixteen pieces of cannon, has taken the field under the command of Colonel Joſeph Smith, and is marched to the relief of Amboor, a ſtrong fortreſs, againſt which the enemy had erected ſeven batteries; that Colonel Wood had alſo marched from Trichinopoly with a detachment of five hundred Europeans, four battalions of Sepoys, and twelve field-pieces, to form a junction: and the ſame advices, which are indubitable, intimate, that the Preſident and Council there had accepted ſome propoſals made to them by the European officers of Hyder Ally's army, by which they engaged to revolt, with all his European cavalry and Japaſs regiments, or to turn his cannon againſt him on the day of action.

The remainder of the firſt brigade, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Pemble, is gone into cantonments at Ghyretty, where it is near at hand to reinforce the detachments already ſent to Mazulipatam, or even to proceed to Madraſs, ſhould the ſituation of their affairs there require our further aſſiſtance.

The Preſident has again received letters from Janoojee and Ragoo-naut Row, demanding payment of the Chout; and we are informed that the latter of thoſe chiefs has aſſembled an army at Berar, with which he purpoſes to enter Hindoſtan. Altho' we are not under the leaſt apprehenſions from that quarter, we communicated this intelligence to Colonel Smith, who ſtill remains with the third brigade at Allahabad, and have deſired him to keep a watchful eye over the actions of the Maharattas.

We have alſo received advice, that Rajah Narraindoo has compelled Mr. Lowe, the Reſident at Ganjam, to retire to Tezagapatam, and put a ſtop to the intercourſe between the two Preſidencies through his country.

We muſt requeſt, that you will be pleaſed to ſupply us with cannon for field-ſervice by every occaſion, the number we have now in ſtore being only ten, which is inſufficient to ſupply the demand made on us by Colonel Smith for the ſervice of the army. The utility of this article, and the fatal conſequences which may attend the want of it, are, we perſuade ourſelves, too obvious to need our enlarging on the ſubject.

A general ſtatement of our revenues, and account of the diſburſements for the laſt year, commencing on the 1ſt of January, 1767, ſhall be drawn out as ſoon as the different abſtracts can be collected, and, we hope, will be tranſmitted to you by the

* 62,500 *l.*

laſt ſhip of this ſeaſon. This, we flatter ourſelves, will be ſatisfactory, as you may thereby perceive, at one point of view, the ſtate of your receipts and iſſues for the whole year.

Mr. Campbell being neceſſitated to proceed to Europe in the ſhip now under diſpatch, has reſigned his employ of Secretary to our Board. We muſt here, in juſtice to that gentleman, aſſure you of the high ſenſe we entertain of the zeal, attention, and abilities, with which he has purſued your intereſts, during the courſe of his long ſervices in this branch of your affairs.

We have thought proper to nominate Mr. Ffloyer to ſucceed him, who has accordingly received the charge of his office, and has a ſeat and voice at our Board in the abſence of any one member.

We have the pleaſure to tranſmit you by this packet a complete ſet of books and papers for the year 1767, as per accompanying liſt.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, RICH. BECHER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort-William, Feb. 3, 1768.

The ſhort interval between the departure of the Europa, by which we had the honour to addreſs you, and the preſent diſpatch of the Earl of Elgin, affords us but little matter to communicate by this conveyance, more particularly as we have been explicit in our advices by the preceding ſhips of this ſeaſon.

After a long ſtate of ſuſpence we had been in for the iſſue of your military operations on the Coaſt of Coromandel, we were this day agreeably relieved by the receipt of a letter from the Secret Department at Madraſs, under date the 15th December, adviſing us that your army had, on the 7th of laſt month, defeated that of Hyder Ally a ſecond time, and had obliged him to retire with precipitation to Covrepatam. A copy of the letter, which is the only one we have received from that Preſidency ſince the 20th November laſt, we have the honour to tranſmit a number in the packet, for your farther information.

The overtures lately made to the Preſident of Fort St. George by Ruccum al Dowlah, for an accommodation between the Company and the Subah, we are glad to perceive were rejected with diſdain. They cannot be too cautious in re-admitting to an alliance with them a man whoſe perfidious conduct is ſtill ſo very recent. A perſon ſo unſteady in his conduct, and ambitious in his nature, can never be the real well-wiſher of a power he has ſo much injured.

We hope ere now the laſt diviſion of our reinforcement to the Deccan, under the command of Colonel Joſeph Peach, is ſafely arrived and entered upon the ſcene of action. A force ſo formidable in itſelf, and ſo little expected from a diſtant ſettlement, will, we doubt not, ſtrike a terror in the Subah's breaſt, and induce him to withdraw his forces from Hyder Ally, for the ſecurity of his own territories.

By letters ſome time ſince received from the gentlemen at Madraſs, (which being entered on the face of our proceedings tranſmitted by the Europa, we beg leave to refer

refer you to) it appeared, that they laboured under great difficulties in the nomination of a Subah to that province, in caſe Nizam Ally ſhould, by an obſtinate perſeverance in his unjuſt meaſures, oblige them to deprive him of his government; and they were even pleaſed to requeſt our opinion in a matter of ſo great importance. We expreſſed ourſelves with that unreſerved freedom which we wiſh may mutually ſubſiſt between the two Preſidencies; and judging it expedient to ſecure the King's Firmaun for the nomination of ſome other perſon, our Preſident was deſired to apply for the ſame to his Majeſty, who has been pleaſed to comply with his requeſt, and, in a letter lately received from him, he promiſed to diſpatch a blank Firmaun within five days of the date thereof, to be filled up with the name of any perſon we may judge moſt proper, for the ſecurity and laſting tranquility of your poſſeſſions on the coaſt. This is a power we ſhould be loath to avail ourſelves of, excepting in a caſe of the utmoſt neceſſity, and ſuch we fear this will prove, if we can form our judgment from the preſent ſituation of affairs.

When we behold one of the fineſt armies which had ever yet appeared in Hindoſtan, taking the field againſt a body of undiſciplined troops, we cannot entertain a doubt but your arms will be attended with every deſirable ſucceſs. Hyder Ally has already experienced the ſuperiority of your forces, and now that deſertion has taken place in his army, cannot but be apprehenſive of the dangers with which he is threatened; and we flatter ourſelves, that you will ſoon be compenſated by an honourable and laſting peace, for the war and devaſtations which have too much of late troubled the repoſe of the Carnatic. We conclude you will be fully adviſed, from the Preſident and Council at Fort St. George, of all their proceedings ſince the commencement of hoſtilities.

We have very fully repreſented in our letters of this ſeaſon, by the Lord Holland and Norfolk, our apprehenſions of the fatal conſequences which muſt unavoidably attend the vaſt exportation of ſilver out of this country: we now experienced them in a very alarming degree, for it is difficult to procure ſilver at the Preſidency, in exchange even for an hundred gold mohurs. If you will be pleaſed to examine your treaſury accounts, you will there find nearly to half the amount of your treaſure in gold; nor can we deviſe an effectual method for preventing an event which muſt prove ruinous to the commerce of this opulent kingdom. To have ſent to China in gold ſpecie the whole amount of our remittance of * 24 lacks, would have been incurring a heavy loſs, and probably embarraſſed your Council at Canton, in the proviſion of your China inveſtment. We were deſirous of embracing every opportunity to check this growing evil, without falling ſhort of the annual ſupply; and the gentlemen at Madraſs, in a letter to this committee, having recommended the ſupplies being ſent in gold, provided Arcot rupees were not procurable, ſilver being then cheap. The Board determined to ſend only one half in ſilver, and the remainder in gold. We have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that † ſixteen lacks have been already forwarded to that Preſidency for the China inveſtment, and the remaining ‖ eight lacks will follow in a few days.

Our Preſident has lately received ſome propoſals from the French Governor at Chandernagore, for carrying on the inveſtment of their Company in conjunction with your's, by receiving ſuch a proportion as we may mutually judge equitable, and the whole to be conducted by your Gomaſtahs. Should this propoſal, on mature deliberation, be found eligible, by preventing the frequent diſputes which will ever unavoidably ariſe while Gomaſtahs are employed on the part of both nations; and that the proviſion of your inveſtment will in no ſhape ſuffer, we ſhall, as a preliminary article, inſiſt upon their importing bullion for the providing of their inveſtment, which,

* 300,000 *l.* † 200,000 *l.* ‖ 100,000 *l.*

which, without ſuch a clauſe, they may not do for ſome years to come; for, notwithſtanding every precaution on our part, whilſt remittances ſtand as they now do, it will be out of our power to prevent their fully ſupplying themſelves with whatever ſums they may require for bills on Europe.

The country is at preſent in a perfect ſtate of tranquility; but as this is the ſeaſon for the Maharattas, and other country powers, to take the field, we cannot yet, with the leaſt degree of certainty, judge of the meaſures they may purſue; for which reaſon we conceive it is neceſſary to keep the third brigade ſtill at Allahabad; but ſo ſoon as this neceſſity ceaſes, you may be aſſured it ſhall be withdrawn.

By this conveyance we have the pleaſure to tranſmit to you the broken ſett of our proceedings, and other books and papers, as per accompanying liſt, and have the honour to be, with great reſpect, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECKER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIV.

To the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort-William, February 9, 1768.

We embrace the opportunity of the Northington's diſpatch, to acquaint you with ſuch material occurrences as have happened ſince our laſt advices, under date the 3d inſtant, duplicate whereof we have the honour to tranſmit a number in this packet.

The town of Chandernagore having laſt ſeaſon proved unhealthy, from the great quantity of water which ſettled therein, the gentlemen thought it neceſſary to have a ditch made round it, with drains to carry off the water into the Ganges. This gave riſe to a report which was communicated to the officers of the government, as the firſt ſtep towards erecting a fortification, and they accordingly complained of it as ſuch to the Preſident. Upon Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival in Calcutta, ſhortly after he, and Mr. Chevalier the French Director, requeſted that an engineer might be ſent from hence to ſurvey that work. Captain Martin was accordingly ſent to Chandernagore for that purpoſe, who has given it as his opinion, that it could not, in any degree, be deemed a fortification, or anſwer any other purpoſe than what Mr. Chevalier aſſured the Preſident it was intended for.

We ſhall ever encourage the Nabob's vigilance, and aſſiſt his authority in putting an early and effectual ſtop to the innovations of our European neighbours; and we think it very neceſſary to be circumſpect over all their actions; conſcious that the ſtability of your valuable poſſeſſions depends greatly on their inability to diſturb the happy ſtate of tranquility they now enjoy.

By the complete ſett of country correſpondence, tranſmitted by the Europa, you will obſerve that Janoojee, one of the Maharatta chiefs, is very ſolicitous in his demands for the Chout, which had regularly been paid during the latter part of Alliverdy Cawn's government. Notwithſtanding the imperious ſtyle of his letter, we could plainly perceive, from the knowledge we have acquired of the cuſtoms and manners of the Maharattas, that he was deſirous to treat with us for the ceſſion of Cuttack, and of which we have been lately aſſured by his Vackeel, a perſon of character and ſtation, and who ſtands high in the eſteem of his maſter.

The

The Preſident, ſince Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival in Calcutta, has, in conjunction with that miniſter, had ſeveral conferences with the Vackeel on the ſubject; who aſſured them that his maſter would not liſten to any accommodation for the ceſſion of Cuttack, and conſideration for the Chout, on any other terms than the annual payment of ſixteen lacks of rupees *, to be accounted for from the time the Company took charge of the Dewanny of theſe provinces; and the Select Committee on their behalf to be guarantees for the Nabob's faithful performance of the treaty. In ſupport of the propriety of theſe demands he recited the promiſe made to his maſter by Mr. Vanſittart in the year 1763, of paying him all the arrears of the Chout, on condition that he did not join his forces to the troops of Coſſim Ally Cawn, the then Nabob; and laid much ſtreſs upon the aſſurances given him by Lord Clive, that whenever this treaty ſhould be concluded, the annual ſum ſtipulated for, ſhould commence from the time the Company were inveſted with the Dewanny of theſe provinces. After many debates the Vackeel conſented, with aſſurances of his maſter's concurrence alſo, that the rents which have been collected in Oriſſa during the above period, ſhould be ſet againſt the annual arrears which he demanded.

By ſuch an agreement, and a proper examination of their accounts, the arrears will be conſiderably diminiſhed; and although we muſt expect, from the diſtracted ſtate of the Maharatta government, that they have not collected the whole amount of the revenues of that province; yet we have reaſon to believe, that under your government, and the immediate inſpection of your ſervants, they may in time amount to, if not exceed, the annual tribute demanded.

As this was a matter which we deemed of the higheſt importance, ſo it has engaged our moſt ſerious attention. When we conſidered the many benefits which muſt naturally reſult from thus uniting the Company's territories on the Coaſt with your valuable poſſeſſions in Bengal; a ſtep which will complete the chain of your influence and dominion from the banks of the Caramnaſſa to the fartheſt extremity of the coaſt of Coromandel; a meaſure that muſt tend ſo greatly to the preſervation of both ſettlements, by the mutual ſupport it will enable them at all times to give each other; the removing at once every pretence of the Maharattas for diſturbing the peace and tranquillity of theſe provinces, and the ſhock it will give to their ſtrength and power whenever it may be found neceſſary to ſeparate ſo principal a member as Janoojee, who, during the whole courſe of his negociations, has expreſſed an earneſt deſire to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with us: all theſe conſiderations having been attentively weighed and debated in Committee, we reſolved to acquieſce in the propoſals of the Vackeel, and to bring the treaty to as ſpeedy a concluſion as poſſible. Our Preſident has accordingly ſignified our aſſent in a letter to Janoojee, and has requeſted of the Nabob to agree to it on his part. Copies of the propoſed agreements on the part of the Nabob and us being entered after our proceedings, we beg leave to refer you to them; and we flatter ourſelves our conduct herein will meet with the honour of your ſanction and approbation.

In our addreſs by the Norfolk you were made acquainted with our reaſons for not reinforcing the detachment under the command of Captain Kinloch, in order to effect the firſt intention of the expedition to Napaul. We attributed the failure of that enterprize to a miſconduct in the commanding officer, and accordingly directed Mr. Rumbold, chief of Patna, to order Captain Kinloch to repair thither, that a court of enquiry might ſit on his conduct. But Mr. Rumbold, in his reply to our letter on that ſubject, having ſet forth the many unſurmountable and unavoidable accidents which that officer met with in the courſe of his march, which occaſioned the failure of the expedition, we countermanded our orders for recalling him; and directed

* 200,000 *l.*

directed him to ſecure the acquiſition of lands in that country, which we hope will fully indemnify the Company for the charge incurred on that enterprize; it being our determined reſolution not to make a ſecond attempt, while there is any probability of a further reinforcement being wanted from hence for the aſſiſtance of the Madraſs Preſidency.

Mahomed Reza Cawn, who frequently complained to the Preſidency of the declining ſtate of his health, occaſioned by a continual application to the buſineſs of the government, has lately requeſted our permiſſion for the nomination of ſome perſon to aſſiſt him, as he may be frequently rendered incapable of attending himſelf to the buſineſs of the Cutcherry, or any other accident ſhould befal him; and recommended Fatty Ally Cawn, who had for ſome time paſt been aſſiſting, and whom he ſhould as fully as in his power inſtruct in the buſineſs. We deemed his requeſt but reaſonable; and Mr. Sykes informing us that the perſon recommended was of integrity, attention, and abilities, we readily conſented to his appointment.

We muſt, in juſtice to Mahomed Reza Cawn, expreſs the high ſenſe we entertain of the abilities and indefatigable attention he has ſhewn in the execution of the important truſt repoſed in him; and we cannot but lament the proſpect of loſing his ſervices from the preſent declining ſtate of his health.

It is with pleaſure we obſerve, that ſo ſmall a ſum only as rupees * 46,205.14.3 was deemed irrecoverable, from the outſtanding balance of the Bahar revenues for the laſt year, amounting to rupees † 541,327.11.6. Mr. Rumbold's conduct in the collections has met with our entire approbation; and we do not doubt, but the tour he propoſes to make through the different parts of that province will afford him an opportunity of making a more minute adjuſtment of the revenues. Mr. Sykes's late journey to the Dinagepore and Purnea countries, affords us a proſpect of the good effects which are likely to enſue from a ſtrict examination into the ſtate of the collections. The frauds, embezzlements, and a variety of atrocious crimes committed by the Zemindars and officers of the government inveſted with the charge of thoſe collections appear in the moſt glaring light, the timely detection whereof may be productive of a conſiderable increaſe of your revenues. We have the accounts at preſent under examination; and in the mean time have recommended it to the miniſters to make very ſevere examples of the offenders, in order to deter others from the like practices in future.

We highly commend the zeal, attention, and aſſiduity with which Mr. Sykes has exerted himſelf for your intereſts on this and every other occaſion, which has fallen under his department.

Having reaſon to believe that ſome Europeans ſtill continue in different parts of the country, carrying on a trade there in defiance of the repeated orders of the Select Committee, we have again laid poſitive injunctions on the chiefs of Subordinates and commanders of the brigades, to apprehend and ſend down immediately to the Preſidency all ſuch perſons who may be found without a proper licence from the Select Committee, or the Governor. For thoroughly perſuaded as we are, that ſuch a practice is ſubverſive of the peace, tranquillity, and good government of this country, we are determined that our orders ſhall be ſtrictly obeyed.

Mr. George Vanſittart has tranſmitted to us ſeveral abſtracts of the collections in the Midnapore and Jellaſore provinces, with ſome other papers relative thereto, written in the Bengal language. We have directed him to ſend down to Calcutta, the perſons from whom thoſe accounts were taken, that they may be ſworn to, atteſted, and recorded in the Mayor's Court. In the mean time the Bengal papers are ordered to

* About 5,775 *l.* † About 67,665 *l.*

to be tranſlated; and we hope to ſend them to you properly authenticated, by the Admiral Pococke.

By private advices which the Preſident has lately received from Colonel Joſeph Peach, commanding the troops in the Deccan, deſtined againſt Hyder-abad, we learn, that they had advanced within forty-four Coſs of that city, after having taken Cemamet, a ſtrong fortreſs, and another fort called Wellengalt: that the Colonel was only waiting for a ſupply of muſquet ammunition to proceed on his journey; and that the enemy have little or no force to oppoſe them.

By letters which the Preſident has alſo received from Madraſs, we are informed, that Ruccun al Dowlah, the prime miniſter of Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan, had been for ſome days negociating with Colonel Joſeph Smith, for an accommodation between the Subah and the Engliſh; and for this purpoſe it was ſaid, that Ruccun al Dowlah intended to proceed to Madraſs, finally to conclude with the gentlemen there a treaty of peace, on the part of his maſter, who ſeem, by their laſt advices, inclined to encourage the advances made by the Subah for that purpoſe.

We have, ſince our laſt diſpatch, received ſeveral letters from Colonel Smith, concerning his ſentiments of the conduct of Sujah al Dowlah; but as we have no reaſon to alter the opinion we have hitherto entertained of the Vizier, we have only to refer you to the Colonel's letters, which appear upon our proceedings.

We have the pleaſure to tranſmit you by this packet, the broken ſett of Committee proceedings ſince the laſt diſpatch, and other papers as by the accompanying liſt.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VEREIST, J. CARTIER. R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, March 24, 1768.

The diſpatch of the Admiral Pococke, the laſt of your annual ſhipping, affords us an opportunity to adviſe you of the occurrences which have happened ſince our laſt addreſs, under date the 29th ultimo, a duplicate whereof we have the honour to encloſe.

Munneer al Dowlah's conduct, ſince his return to Allahabad from the Preſidency, has cauſed a diſcontent in the mind of Sujah al Dowlah. The authority which he has aſſumed over the royal houſe, and particularly of the Vizârut, which the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah was inveſted with at our requeſt, gives us too much reaſon to conclude he has filled the royal ear with ideas unfavourable to the Vizier, as well as the ſolemn engagement we have entered into. When we conſider the haughty diſpoſition of a perſon, whoſe reputation and influence are very conſiderable in the empire, we cannot be ſurpriſed if he takes offence at being deprived of thoſe honours he is entitled to, and which, with a laviſh hand, have been conferred upon another; who, in reality, is a ſervant of the Vizier's, and placed by him near his majeſty's perſon. He has, on many occaſions, repreſented to our Preſident, the uneaſineſs ſuch a conduct has given him; reminded him of his appointment to that dignity when the treaty was concluded, and ſignified his earneſt deſire, through our mediation, to be inveſted with the authority thus with-held from him by the jealouſy of the King,

and the artifices of a favourite ſervant. He has repeated aſſurances that we will religiouſly adhere to the treaty ſubſiſting between us: and Munneer al Dowlah has been told, that his late conduct has incurred our diſpleaſure; and that we expect, if he regards our friendſhip, he will make proper conceſſions to the Vizier, for the diſreſpectful behaviour he has obſerved towards him.

Sujah al Dowlah, in his letters to his majeſty, ſolicits to be admitted into the royal preſence, and to a ſhare in his councils and adminiſtrations; but his ſolicitations have not yet had the deſired effect.

By a letter from Colonel Sir Robert Barker we perceive, with pleaſure, the proſpect of a reconciliation between the Vizier and Munneer al Dowlah. He therein acquaints us, that the former is deſirous of an interview at Faiz-abad, and we have directed him to prevail upon the latter to accompany him thither. We do not doubt but a meeting will be effected, and that the ſubject of the preſent diſputes will be terminated to the ſatisfaction of the King and his Vizier.

We can hardly expect that his majeſty will conſent to Sujah al Dowlah's officiating near his royal perſon, nor indeed is that a point inſiſted on; but we think it but juſt and reaſonable he ſhould be conſulted with, and informed of all material tranſactions at court; as the ſeal of the Vizârut is in his name, and actually made uſe of as a ſignet to the royal mandates.

Should the King perſiſt in his refuſal to admit Sujah al Dowlah again to his honours, we ſhall ſeriouſly remind him of the ſolemn engagements we have reciprocally entered into, for the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, the defence of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and the peace and tranquility of theſe provinces. We ſhall alſo point out to him, the ill conſequences which may attend a rupture, which he thus endeavours to effect, with a man formidable as Sujah al Dowlah; and although it is our determination to adhere inviolably to the treaty we have made with his majeſty, we muſt not forget that we are equally bound in friendſhip to Sujah al Dowlah.

By letters from the ſecret department at Madraſs, we have the pleaſure to be informed they have concluded a treaty with the ¶ Subah, and that a deputation was ſent to him to ſee it ratified. The Preſident having in private letters from thence received a copy of the terms which have been mutually aſſented to, we conclude a knowledge of them will afford you ſatisfaction, and have the honour to tranſmit them to you a number in this packet.

We beg leave to congratulate you on an event which promiſes ſo favourable a proſpect of reducing Hyder Ally, and effectually ſecuring your poſſeſſions on the Coaſt. The rebel thus deſerted by the Subah, diſturbed by the Maharattas, and threatened with the loſs of his poſſeſſions on the Malabar Coaſt, by a conſiderable detachment of your forces, which the gentlemen of Bombay have deſtined for that ſervice, muſt ſoon fall a ſacrifice to his ambitious projects; and his ruin will, we hope, eſtabliſh a laſting peace and tranquility in the Carnatic, and fix your poſſeſſions on a permanent and ſolid baſis.

The demands made on us from the Preſidency of Madraſs, for the ſupport of the war, amount to * 20 lacks of rupees. We have determined to ſupply them with † 12 lacks from your treaſury, and have deſired them to appropriate ‡ three lacks for that uſe from the ſums we have remitted thither, for the ſervice of your China inveſtment. They will, by ſuch means, be furniſhed with an immediate ſupply of ‖ 15 lacks of rupees, to enable them to proſecute the war againſt Hyder Ally; and we have promiſed them a farther ſum of § five lacks early in September, ſhould they require it.

The great demands which have been made on this Preſidency for ſupplies of money from every quarter, have reduced your treaſury to a very low ſtate, and alarm us for

* 250,000 *l.* † 150,000 *l.* ‡ 37,500 *l.* ‖ 187,500 *l.* § 62,500 *l.*

¶ Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan.

for the conſequences which muſt inevitably attend ſuch a vaſt exportation from this country. We are apprehenſive that the very great ſcarcity of ſilver muſt affect your inveſtment for the enſuing ſeaſon, as it is with the utmoſt difficulty we now procure ſufficient for the immediate neceſſary advances for that purpoſe.

We have ſo frequently repreſented to you the fatal conſequences with which we are threatened, by the great exportation of ſilver from hence, that we are perſuaded you will leave no meaſures uneffected to relieve us from our approaching diſtreſsful ſtate.

It is with great concern we obſerve ſo great a part of our proceedings filled with diſagreeable altercations between Colonel Smith and the Select Committee. We wiſh to preſerve that harmony and unanimity which has ſo long ſubſiſted between the members of this Board, as we are ſenſible ſuch a conduct alone can tend to the proſperity of your affairs, and to preſerve that degree of ſubordination which is happily eſtabliſhed among your ſervants. In order, therefore, to remove every cauſe for future diſcontent between us and the Colonel, we have very fully pointed out to him the authority which we deem veſted by our honourable employers in us and in our Preſident; and we doubt not but ſuch a ſtep will be productive of that harmony in future, which we are deſirous to effect.

A difference in opinion amongſt us may eaſily ariſe, and cannot be deemed a crime in any perſon; but we wiſh to preſerve it within proper limits, as we can never admit any ſingle member of our Board to act independently, and even without previouſly conſulting us, in matters of the greateſt importance. As we entertain the moſt favourable ſentiments of the merit and abilities of Colonel Smith, we cheerfully conſent to refer the ſubjects of our differences to your impartial determination.

We are ſorry it is not in our power to tranſmit you by this conveyance, tranſlates of the Bengal accounts of the Midnapore and Jellaſore collections, which we before adviſed you had been ſent us by Mr. George Vanſittart, as they are very voluminous, and require firſt to be tranſlated into the Perſian language, and from thence into Engliſh, which our time will not admit of. The abſtracts, however, now wait on you, numbers in the packet, certified by our Secretary to be true copies of the original papers, tranſmitted from Midnapore.

We have the pleaſure to tranſmit you Mr. Sykes's correſpondence with the Zemindars, and other officers of the government; the broken ſett of our proceedings ſince the laſt diſpatch, and other papers as by the accompanying liſt.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XVI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, Sept. 13, 1768.

We had the honour to adviſe you in our addreſs by the Admiral Pococke, under date the 24th March laſt, of all material occurrences in your affairs under our direction, and to tranſmit to you our proceedings down to that period of time; a duplicate of thoſe advices now waits on you a number in this packet.

We have been favoured with your commands bearing dates the 20th November 1767, the 12th January, and 16th March 1768, by the ſeveral ſhips of this ſeaſon, to which you may be aſſured all due obedience ſhall be paid, unleſs a deviation from any part of them may be deemed moſt conducive to your intereſt. Senſible of the important truſt repoſed in the Select Committee, their warmeſt endeavours have been exerted to uphold the influence you have happily acquired; and to ſecure upon the moſt permanent foundation, your great and valuable poſſeſſions in theſe provinces. We are happy to perceive the ſucceſs with which their labours have been crowned, has rendered it unneceſſary for you to continue to us thoſe ſuperintending powers with which they have heretofore been veſted. The concluding of treaties, diſburſements of money, and the ſupreme power over your military, will therefore in future be conducted by your Preſident and Council; and we ſhall continue in the management of your political concerns, and the collection of the Dewanny revenues, within the limitation preſcribed by your late orders.

The Preſident and Council having referred to us the 55, 56, and 58 paragraphs of your letter to them, of the 20th November 1767, we forwarded the ſame to the reſident at the Durbar, with directions to tranſmit to us all his accounts of the revenues adjuſted to the 31ſt July, in time, if poſſible to be laid before that Board, and ſent you by this opportunity.

The 23, 26, 30, 31, and 32 paragraphs of your commands to us, dated 16th March, have likewiſe been ſent to Mr. Sykes. We have directed him to repreſent to the miniſters the impropriety of their holding lands under the country government; and that it is expected they will diſcontinue that practice in future. We directed him alſo to draw out an account of the charges of collections in the Dacca province, and an account of all diſburſements whatſoever, which have cauſed deductions from the annual amount of its revenues; which, when tranſmitted to us, ſhall be forwarded for your particular information.

We have recommended to him to obtain information from the miniſters, how far the introduction of our laws of inheritance, which you have been pleaſed to point out to us, may affect the claims of the country government over the natural rights of the native.

The Poonah was held at Murſhed-abad, with the uſual forms and ſolemnity, the 14th May laſt; the Preſident being unable to aſſiſt thereat in perſon, by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, Mr. Cartier proceeded up to the city on that occaſion, and officiated in his ſtead. The eſtimate then formed of the revenues, to be collected in the preſent year, is entered upon the face of our proceedings, which we have the honour to tranſmit by this conveyance; and we beg leave to refer to the letters addreſſed jointly from Meſſrs. Cartier and Sykes, for a particular explanation of the manner in which the ſtatement is formed.

Thoſe gentlemen deferred the holding of the Poonah as long as it could prudently be done, without endangering the current collections, in order to bring in as much as poſſible of the outſtanding ballances of laſt year. They are as ſmall as we could reaſonably expect; and have ariſen from the remarkable inundation of laſt ſeaſon, and other caſualties, unavoidable in the collection of revenues in a country of ſuch vaſt extent. You will be pleaſed to obſerve, that among the ballances incurred, is one lack * of rupees, occaſioned by a deficiency in the revenues of Dinagepore; notwithſtanding Mr. Sykes aſſures us, he has paid the greateſt attention to the collections of that province, from a ſuſpicion of many frudulent practices having been committed there by the Zemindars and other officers of the government, and the very oppreſſive meaſures they have purſued towards the farmers of thoſe lands. Every poſſible endeavour has been uſed in obtaining the ballance from the late collector of that

* 12,500 *l.*

that province. He at firſt ſeemed willing to pay that ſum; but at length abſolutely refuſed, unleſs he was reinſtated in the management of Rungpore and Dinagepore, and permitted to take thoſe countries on his own terms. So inſolent a refuſal, and a propoſal ſo injurious to your intereſt, induced the miniſters to diſmiſs him from his employment; and we are exerting our utmoſt endeavours to recover the ballance due.

Mr. Rooke is, for the preſent, at Dinagepore, in order to convey ſuch informations to the reſident at the Durbar as he may obtain, of the mal-practices purſued by the officers entruſted with the management of the collections in that province: but we have ſtrictly forbid that he interferes in any degree whatſoever with the country government; and we have directed that he remain no longer than is abſolutely neceſſary for that ſervice.

The accounts of Meerza Coſſim, the late Fouzdar of Houghly, are ſtill under the examination of the miniſters. Frauds have already been diſcovered therein, to the amount of * 120,000 rupees; of which ſum, † 100,000 rupees have been recovered into the treaſury at Murſhed-abad.

Mr. Sykes has repreſented to us the inconvenience he muſt labour under in tranſacting the buſineſs of the Durbar, from the Council's having appropriated Midnapore houſe to the uſe of the chief at Coſſimbazar; which place he has for ſome time paſt made his principal reſidence, by reaſon of the unhealthy ſituation of Mooty-jeel. We could not, with the leaſt degree of delicacy to that Board, take this matter again into conſideration; and he was therefore told it ſhould be referred to the deciſion of you, our honourable employers.

The Bahar collections have this year been nearly adequate to the preceding. Mr. Rumbold adviſes us, that the revenues being almoſt collected, he propoſes making a tour through that province, accompanied by Rajah Seêtabroy, and to ſettle the Bundabuſt for the enſuing year, from which tour we flatter ourſelves that we ſhall acquire a more exact knowledge of the ſtate of that province.

The Nabob, Sujah al Dowlah, having complained in his letters to the Preſident of the miſconduct of Gomaſtahs trading in his dominions under the ſanction of the Engliſh name, we did not heſitate to give him an early proof of our regard to his repreſentations; and accordingly came to a reſolution of prohibiting all your ſervants, as well as other Europeans reſiding under your direction, from carrying any trade, directly or indirectly, beyond the provinces, after a certain time limited for the adjuſtment of their outſtanding concerns, under pain of confiſcation of his goods, and diſmiſſion from your ſervice, if a covenanted ſervant; and if a free merchant, or other European, the immediate loſs of your protection. Such orders have been iſſued, and ſuch precautions taken in the poſting of officers at the different ſtations on the rivers, as have enforced this regulation in the moſt effectual manner.

Having on all occaſions moſt religiouſly fulfilled the articles of our treaty with the Vizier, we entertained hopes that our attachment to his intereſts would diſpel every ſuſpicion which his jealouſy of our ſuperior influence might probably have created in his breaſt; but ſo far from having produced that happy effect, we have too much reaſon to believe that his unbounded ambition will make him regard us rather as his rivals for power, than his ſteady friends; and that his attachment to us proceeds from his inability to deprive us of that reputation we have eſtabliſhed in an empire, in which he and his family have borne the moſt exalted ſtations in the royal houſe.

The Nabob continues to be extremely ſolicitous to be inveſted with the full authority of Vizier, and to enter upon the functions of that office. The King is equally averſe

* 15,000 *l.* † 12,500 *l.*

averſe to the Nabob's requeſt, and poſitive in refuſing him any other power than the nominal dignity. Our mediation has been ſolicited by them both, and our repreſentations have not been wanting; but the imperious conduct of the Nabob towards his royal maſter, and the enmity ſubſiſting between them, will, we apprehend, prove an inſuperable bar to their reconciliation.

We cannot but with concern obſerve, that our ſentiments with regard to Sujah al Dowlah's conduct greatly differ from thoſe we had the honour to tranſmit to you by the ſhips of laſt ſeaſon. Events ſince that period, will, we doubt not, juſtify the change; and make it a duty incumbent on us, as we regard the welfare of the Company, to adopt every prudent meaſure for evading the blow it is not impoſſible he may be meditating againſt their valuable poſſeſſions in theſe provinces. When we conſidered the very rapid progreſs he has lately made in his levies of troops; his extraordinary vigilance in the diſcipline of his army; the reports which we have received of his inviting auxiliaries into his ſervice, at a time when perfect tranquility ſeemed to reign throughout the empire; the connections he is forming with different powers; the eſtabliſhing a foundery, which has already ſupplied him with a quantity of cannon for field ſervice; and his amazing improvement in the making of ſmall arms, which are by no means inferior in quality to the very beſt exported to India: all theſe were circumſtances which naturally demanded our moſt ſerious attention, and compelled us to reſolve upon loſing as little time as poſſible in arriving to ſome degree of certainty with regard to his future deſigns.

As previous ſteps towards the ſecurity of your brigade ſtationed at Allahabad, we immediately came to a reſolution of eſtabliſhing a magazine of proviſions in that fort for their maintenance, and on ſending up a ſupply of * ten lacks of rupees for their ſubſiſtence, as ſoon as the ſtate of the Murſhed-abad or Patna treaſury ſhould enable us to appropriate ſo large a ſum for that purpoſe.

Senſible of the vaſt importance of the fort of Chunar to Sujah al Dowlah, in caſe he ſhould come to an open rupture with us, we have directed Colonel Barker to reinforce the garriſon we have at preſent therein, ſhould he have reaſon to judge ſuch a ſtep neceſſary from the future operations of the Nabob. It is a matter that requires the utmoſt delicacy, and as ſuch we have recommended it to the Colonel: who, we are perſuaded, will take every precaution in effecting it, ſhould it become neceſſary.

The next and moſt important meaſure adopted, was the appointment of a deputation to proceed to Allahabad, to repreſent to Sujah al Dowlah, in perſon, the ſuſpicions which his late conduct has created; and to endeavour, by a candid inveſtigation of facts and friendly argument, to convince him of the inviolable faith with which we have on our parts adhered to the treaty; and require his reaſons for ſo conſiderable an augmentation of his force, at a time when even the moſt remote danger to his poſſeſſions was not to be apprehended; and that we have taken this method of communicating to him our ſentiments, which we hope will convince him of the ſincerity of our attachment, and our earneſt deſire of continuing the friendſhip which has ſubſiſted ſince the treaty. But if, contrary to our moſt earneſt wiſhes, he ſhould be deaf to every remonſtrance of this nature, the deputation is then empowered to requeſt his majeſty will order the immediate reduction of his force, as a ſtep eſſentially neceſſary for his ſafety and our own, and to acquaint the Vizier that we are determined to enforce an obedience to the orders of his royal maſter; ſince we hold it abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary to prevent any one neighbouring power acquiring ſuch degree of ſtrength or power, as may enable him to diſturb the general tranquility of the empire. This meaſure will not, however, be purſued, until every perſuaſive argument is become of no effect.

The

* 125,000 *l.*

The more effectually to ſucceed in our negociations when the rainy ſeaſon ſhall be paſt, we intend to direct the ſecond brigade to march to the Caramnaſſa. We are of opinion that when the Nabob perceives our fixed determination to bring this matter to an iſſue, it will make him reflect ſeriouſly on the impropriety, not to ſay folly, of his conduct.

The Preſident moſt readily tendered his ſervices on this occaſion, notwithſtanding his ill ſtate of health for ſome time paſt; but the Select Committee not deeming it neceſſary to put him to the inconvenience of undertaking ſo long a journey, appointed Mr. Cartier and Colonel Smith two members of the deputation, and applied to the Council for the nomination of Mr. Ruſſel as a third; for there being only three remaining members of the Select Committee (the number you have directed conſtantly to be on the ſpot to tranſact the buſineſs of this department) another member from our Board could not with propriety be ſent. Thoſe three gentlemen will accordingly proceed up the country as ſoon as the Valentine's diſpatches ſhall be cloſed. The inſtructions with which they are furniſhed will plainly evince our earneſt deſire of preſerving the peace inviolate, and to accommodate matters with the Vizier on the moſt friendly terms; and we are perſuaded that the gentlemen, to whom we entruſt this important negociation, will exert their zealous endeavours to accompliſh the wiſhes of your Select Committee, and to fix the general tranquility on a permanent baſis.

Be aſſured, gentlemen, it is with the utmoſt reluctance that we find ourſelves reduced to the neceſſity of making hoſtile preparations againſt any power of Hindoſtan; but more particularly againſt a prince, whoſe attachment and fidelity to our cauſe we have attempted to engage by every friendly office in our power. The ſecurity of your territorial poſſeſſions call aloud for theſe meaſures; and we ſhould be wanting in duty and fidelity to the valuable truſt repoſed in us, if we remained inattentive, whilſt ſo reſpectable a power is daily increaſing. Our reſolutions upon this important point have not been the work of an hour, they have reſulted from repeated and mature deliberations. To them, therefore, as they ſtand recorded upon the face of our proceedings, we beg leave to refer you; and we hope the meaſures deemed neceſſary to be purſued will have the honour of your approbation.

From the abovementioned circumſtances you will no doubt perceive the impracticability of removing the third brigade from its ſtation at Allahabad, which has continued there at the particular requiſition of the King and Sujah al Dowlah. We muſt, on this occaſion, expreſs our great aſtoniſhment at the poſitive orders you have lately ſent us, for withdrawing that brigade, under pain of being rendered reſponſible for all the conſequences which may enſue from its continuance. Such an abſolute reſtriction, without permitting us upon the ſpot to judge how far from time and circumſtances ſuch a meaſure may be purſued, muſt, we apprehend, on ſome future occaſion be productive of the utmoſt evil conſequence to your affairs. In the preſent caſe for inſtance, did we not regard your intereſts above every other conſideration, you might poſſibly, by an immediate execution of your orders, be reduced, in the ſpace of a few weeks, from the moſt flouriſhing ſituation to the loweſt diſtreſs. Sujah al Dowlah would then have the King at his mercy, and might obtain that right to your poſſeſſions, by which you now hold them. He would then have no curb on his ambition; and being thus left at large to purſue his hoſtile intentions, might, with eaſe, enter theſe provinces with a numerous body of cavalry, harraſs your troops, without putting it in their power to bring him to an action; and deſtroy thoſe very countries from which you receive ſuch immenſe revenues; but as our army is now ſtationed, the third brigade is a check on all our neighbours, and more particularly on the Vizier.

We

We are alſo concerned to find that our reſolution, on the approach of Abdalla, to raiſe a body of Mogûl horſe, does not meet with your approbation. We came to this reſolution in conſequence of Colonel Smith's repreſentations of the abſolute neceſſity of entertaining a corps of cavalry, ſhould there be a proſpect of real ſervice. We judged it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to give the Colonel this power; at the ſame time we ſtrongly recommended to him not to make levies, unleſs the ſituation of affairs ſhould abſolutely require it. You will find that our recommendation had all the effect we could deſire; ſince on the rumour of Abdalla's return, the ſervice did not require that you ſhould incur the leaſt unneceſſary expence, nor was a ſingle horſeman entertained.

But we are obliged to enlarge on this ſubject from the preſent ſituation of your affairs. It never will be our intention, in any caſe whatſoever, to raiſe a body of horſe ſo numerous as to oppoſe the thouſands of cavalry that may be brought againſt us; but we cannot conceive it would be warrantable to riſk not only the perſons of your commanders in chief, and principal officers of your army, but perhaps ſuch convoys on the fate of which the ſucceſs of our operations might ſolely depend, to the very precarious fidelity of the troops of another power. You have only three hundred horſe in your pay; a number by no means ſufficient for the ordinary guards and patroles of the camp. Without cavalry it would be impoſſible for your officers to conduct their operations; ſince they could not at any time reconnoitre the enemy's ſituation, without marching a large corps of infantry for a covering party; and making this a common practice, would harraſs your army beyond meaſure. The ſecuring of convoys is a point of too much importance to truſt to any other troops than thoſe in your own pay. In ſhort, it ſeems the opinion of all the principal officers of the army, that in time of ſervice a ſmall body of cavalry is indiſpenſibly neceſſary. However, you may reſt perfectly aſſured, that on this, as well as all your other orders, we ſhall never depart from the ſyſtem you have preſcribed, unleſs the ſervice ſhould abſolutely require it; and then we ſhall obſerve the greateſt œconomy.

Colonel Barker informs us that Abdalla is making preparations for marching again towards Hindoſtan. That he left Cabôol in May laſt, and joined his army, which had taken the field; and that a part of it, reinforced by the neighbouring powers, is marching towards Caſhmêer, Multân, and Lahôre; but we do not find this intelligence confirmed by later advices.

Jewhar Sing, the chief of the Jauts, was aſſaſſinated on July laſt, by an unknown hand. We do not hear that his death has cauſed any great commotions, his brother, Row Rutten Sing, having ſucceeded him without oppoſition; and has wrote to our Preſident, expreſſing his hopes of the continuance of that friendſhip towards him, as ſubſiſted with his predeceſſor. The Nabob Sujah al Dowlah is preparing to march his army to the aſſiſtance of Achmed Cawn Bungiſh, one of the Rohilla chiefs, as he intimates, at his particular requiſition.

By letters from the ſecret department at Fort St. George, we obſerve they are purſuing with vigour their operations againſt Hyder Ally. The main body of their army, joined by a detachment of Colonel Campbell, are encamped within twenty-five miles of Bengulou; a ſtrong fortreſs, on which the rebel places great dependence, having ſubdued the ſeveral forts laying between their army and their own garriſons. Hyder Ally is alſo encamped near that place with his whole force, conſiſting of eleven thouſand cavalry and infantry, and determined it ſeems to defend it to the laſt extremity. The ſiege we doubt not is e'er now commenced; and as the extirpation of Hyder Ally will greatly depend on the ſucceſs of your arms in that enterprize, we ſhall remain in a ſtate of anxiety, waiting for the iſſue.

The

The great number of cannon and ſtores they have acquainted us is neceſſary to enable them to carry on the ſiege, has induced us to reſolve on ſending them a ſupply of ſhot by the firſt conveyance which offers for the Coaſt; and as they ſtill continue to repreſent to us their urgent occaſions for money, we ſhall alſo embrace the ſame opportunity to ſend them as ample a ſupply as the ſtate of our treaſury will admit of.

The detachment under Colonel Peach in the Deccan has been lately employed againſt Narraindoo, and the other refractory Zemindars of the Chicacole Sircar. He has poſſeſſed himſelf of a fort belonging to the former, which was evacuated on his making a practicable breach; and he, with his ſcattered army, is retired to his ſtrong holds among the mountains. The Colonel is at preſent at Kimedy; and the gentlemen at Madraſs, upon a rumour of Nizam Ally's diſaffection to their cauſe, have thought it neceſſary to keep that detachment, either to remain as a check over the rebellious conduct of the Zemindars, or for the preſervation of the Sircars, ſhould the Subah attempt any hoſtile meaſures againſt them.

The Preſident and Council at Bombay, at the requeſt of the Madraſs Preſidency, fitted out an armament, conſiſting of three ſhips, many ſmall veſſels and boats, with five hundred Europeans, and eight hundred Sepoys, againſt Hyder Ally's poſſeſſions on the Malabar coaſt, which they reduced on the firſt of March, together with the greateſt part of his fleet. The rapid ſucceſſes of this armament would have been attended with the greateſt conſequences, in ſupport of the meaſures purſued by your army on the Coaſt, had they been permanent. But the return of Major Gowin and Mr. Watſon to Bombay ſoon after, with a principal part of their marine force and ſome Europeans, on account of the approaching rainy ſeaſon, encouraged Hyder Ally to march a great part of his forces to Mangalore in perſon, with which he threatened the re-capture of this important ſettlement. The major part of the garriſon, tho' conſiderable in ſtrength, ſtruck with a panic at his approach, inſtead of making reſiſtance as ſoldiers, moſt ſcandalouſly abandoned their poſt, and retired to Tillicherry, and the remainder ſuffered themſelves to be taken priſoners in the fort, with all their ammunition and warlike ſtores. Thus was the Myſorean reſtored on a ſudden to thoſe valuable poſſeſſions, which the loſs of muſt have greatly diſconcerted him in his military operations on the Coaſt. An event highly favourable to his cauſe, as the neighbouring powers may poſſibly be impreſſed with an idea of his ſuperior ſkill and courage, and will hardly now be prevailed upon to join our arms againſt him.

Their defeat, and the loſſes incurred by that expedition, have reduced the garriſon at Bombay ſo very conſiderably, as to diſable them from attempting a ſecond enterprize, unleſs reinforced from your other ſettlements. They have repreſented this matter very fully to the Preſidency at Madraſs, and requeſted of them to apply to us for aſſiſtance, ſhould they be unable to afford them any from thence. On any ſuch application being made to us, we ſhall readily grant them every aſſiſtance that will be compatible with our own ſituation.

The Preſident and Council having determined on not returning the ſhip Admiral Watſon to Europe, we thought it moſt adviſeable to ſend her round to Bombay, whither ſhe will prove an additional force to their marine, ſhould they attempt a ſecond enterprize againſt Hyder Ally, and if not wanted for ſuch ſervice, ſhe might either be diſpoſed of there to equal advantage as at this port, or ſent round to Madraſs with a cargo of cotton, to aſſiſt that Preſidency in the remittances for their China inveſtment. For this purpoſe we recommended to the Council their ordering the neceſſary repairs to be made to her, and ſhe is now under diſpatch.

The French at Chandernagore having of late taken up large ſums of money in ſilver ſpecie, and tranſmitted the ſame to Pondicherry, we were apprehenſive that ſuch a proceeding muſt be productive of dangerous conſequences to this country, unleſs a ſtop was put to it in future, and therefore recommended to the miniſters of the government to prohibit all exportation of ſilver from theſe provinces, and to impoſe ſuch penalty on diſobedience as they might think proper. And it being alſo neceſſary to repreſent to his majeſty the many evils ariſing from the very ſmall quantity of ſilver imported for ſome time paſt by the French, Dutch, and other European nations into his dominions, we earneſtly entreated him to ſend ſuch orders on this ſubject, to the Subah-dar of theſe provinces, as he might judge moſt expedient for the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects.

'We have kept in remembrance the orders you were pleaſed to ſend to the Preſident and Council, for tranſmitting to you ſuch intelligence as they may be able to obtain of the French nation at the iſlands. We are ſeeking an intelligent perſon to ſend thither, under a pretence which may give the leaſt cauſe for ſuſpicion of our deſigns; and from thence to proceed to England, in order to communicate to you the diſcoveries he may have made. Many difficulties occur to us in the proſecution of ſuch a ſcheme, but none greater than the fixing upon a proper perſon for the occaſion; if we ſucceed in that, you may be aſſured of our readineſs to carry your orders into execution.

When we conſider the very large ſums of money with which the French agents at Chandernagore have already been ſupplied from Calcutta, for bills granted on their Company in France; the draughts made this ſeaſon on individuals at this ſettlement, to the amount of * thirty lacks of rupees, payable to the Council at Chandernagore, and others on Madraſs for † ten lacks, payable to their agents at Pondicherry; we are very ſtrongly induced to ſuſpect they are reſerving a fund in India for ſome future occaſion, it being well known, they are already amply ſupplied for carrying on their inveſtments of this year.

We are alſo appriſed of ten ſhips being deſtined from France this ſeaſon, ſeven of which the French intimate are to be ſold, and to remain in India. That they have already about four thouſand of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's troops at the iſlands; and it cannot admit a doubt but that many of thoſe veſſels are taken up for the tranſportation of a further number. So alarming a force, at a place from whence it is difficult to procure the leaſt information of their deſigns, has induced us to have a vigilant eye over our fortifications, which have been almoſt intirely put a ſtop to, from the want of artificers and materials; we have recommended to the Council to prohibit all private buildings and repairs being carried on in Calcutta, or its environs, after the firſt of November next, in order that no future impediments may be met with in putting the new fort in a poſture of defence as expeditiouſly as poſſible.

It requires no great depth of judgment to foreſee, that the aſſembling ſuch a number of forces at the French iſlands, can bode no good to your ſettlements in India. Nor are we without our apprehenſions, that whenever the French are in a condition to cope with our nation in Europe, they will make ſome attempt in India; and even this may happen, previous to a declaration of war. And as from the ſituation of the iſlands, they are ſole maſters of their own time of operations; it is more than probable, that the firſt intelligence of their intention will be the appearance of a French fleet in Ballaſore road.

As we judged it moſt advantageous to have gun carriages, as well as all wood and iron work required for the ſervice of the new fort, conſtructed by contract; we received propoſals from three ſubſtantial perſons reſiding in Calcutta, and deeming reaſonable

* 375,000 *l.* † 125,000 *l.*

ſonable the terms they offered, we directed the Committee of works to enter into contracts with them accordingly; and we ſhall be careful to have this work inſpected, that it may be executed in the ſtrongeſt and beſt manner. The expence of materials will be thereby reduced to a degree of certainty, and we hope greatly diminiſhed.

It is with great concern we acquaint you, that differences of opinion have ariſen between the Preſident and Colonel Smith; but as they are in general of ſuch a nature as fall more particularly under your cognizance, and ſtand fully recorded upon our proceedings, we beg leave to refer them to your deciſion.

The Colonel, upon his reſuming his ſeat at our Board, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at a minute delivered in by the Preſident, on the 10th February laſt, wherein he ſtood accuſed of having counteracted the meaſures purſued by the Preſident in the courſe of his country correſpondence, and perceived that the ſame had been tranſmitted to you without his previous knowledge. The aſſurances he then gave us of his ignorance of the tranſaction, which gave cauſe for ſuch an accuſation, was ſo entirely ſatisfactory to us, that we not only condemn the falſe and ill-natured repreſentation of Munneer al Dowlah to the Preſident on this occaſion, but are under much concern leſt our opinions thereupon, which were tranſmitted to you by the Admiral Pococke, ſhould induce you to entertain ſentiments unfavourable to the Colonel; and it is with pleaſure we embrace this early opportunity to aſſure you, that ſo far from entertaining ſuch an idea to his prejudice, we can with the utmoſt confidence affirm, that he has convinced us of his earneſt deſire to co-operate with us, in any tranſaction that may redound to your honour and intereſt.

We hope, and have reaſon to flatter ourſelves, that, in future, deliberations will be conducted with that harmony ſo deſirable to ourſelves as individuals, and ſo highly eſſential for the well governing of your affairs.

Colonel Smith having expreſſed his ſtrong deſire of returning to Europe by one of the early ſhips of this ſeaſon, we repreſented to him, that his preſence was neceſſary until the iſſue of our negotiations with Sujah al Dowlah was known. On this repreſentation he chearfully aſſented to proceed up the country as one of the members of the deputation. But as he has requeſted you ſhould be informed of his intention to reſign his commiſſion as ſoon as your affairs will permit, we deemed it neceſſary to give you this information, and at the ſame time take the liberty of recommending, in the ſtrongeſt manner, Colonel Sir Robert Barker to your favour; and we hope that ſo many years diſtinguiſhed ſervices, his general good character, his abilities as an officer, and his attachment to your ſervice, will induce you to confirm him in the appointment of the command of your forces, after Colonel Smith's departure.

We have, as yet, received no more than ſeven hundred recruits this ſeaſon from Europe, of the number deſtined for this ſettlement, notwithſtanding all your Coaſt-and-Bay ſhips are ſafely imported. We muſt ſuppoſe that the remainder are on the Bombay ſhips which you have ordered to touch at Madraſs, and have therefore requeſted of the gentlemen there to forward them to us by the firſt opportunities after their arrival; as, without them, it will be impoſſible to form your military eſtabliſhment in the manner you have been pleaſed to direct.

You will perceive, by the treaſury account tranſmitted to you by this conveyance from the Preſident and Council, that it is entirely out of our power to comply with your diſcretional orders for ſending five hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie to Europe by the ſhips of this ſeaſon. To the great ſupplies we have furniſhed your Preſidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, your ſupercargoes at Canton, and to the conſiderable increaſe of your inveſtment here, muſt be imputed the very low ſtate of your treaſury. Experience confirms us in the ſentiments we have repeatedly expreſſed to you concerning the exportation of bullion from thoſe provinces, and it becomes a matter

of ſtill more important conſideration, as foreign nations, who were accuſtomed to import ſuch large quantities of bullion for the purchaſe of their cargoes for Europe, are no longer under that neceſſity; ſince by bills from, and by draughts on Europe, they obtain an ample ſufficiency for all their occaſions. And here we cannot but remark, that the very great reduction you have been pleaſed to make in the rate of exchange, will undoubtedly contribute to the prolongation of this evil.

We have the honour to tranſmit you a number in this packet, a tranſlation of the account collections in the province of Midnapore and Jellaſore, in conformity to your former directions, atteſted by the Mayor; together with a return of the army; the country correſpondence; and the broken ſetts of our proceedings and letters, received and ſent ſince the laſt diſpatch, for your particular information; and have the honour to ſubſcribe ourſelves, with great reſpect, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. SMITH, R. BECHER. C. FFLOYER.

P. S. Colonel Smith ſigns the foregoing letter to the Honourable the Court of Directors, with this reſervation, that he does not intend thereby to contradict any opinion that he has already entered on record.

No. XVII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HON. SIRS, Fort William, November 21, 1768.

No material occurrences have happened in your affairs here ſince the diſpatch of the Valentine, when we had the honour to addreſs you under date the 13th Sept. laſt; duplicate and triplicate thereof now wait on you by the ſhips Verelſt and Kent.

Meſſrs. Cartier, Smith, and Ruſſel, ſet out for Allahabad, on the buſineſs of the deputation, ſoon after the departure of the Valentine; and we hope are ere now arrived, having left Patna the 7th inſtant.

The important truſt repoſed in them has made them deſirous of acquiring, during the courſe of their journey, every poſſible information of the ſtate of affairs above; and the ſame motive has urged us to give them from time to time our unreſerved ſentiments on ſuch further meaſures as appeared to us neceſſary for them to purſue; leaving to them, however, upon the ſpot, the power of carrying them into execution, or otherwiſe, as they may judge moſt conducive to the good of your ſervice. When we conſidered that the principal difficulty they may probably encounter will be in perſuading the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to a reduction of his force; we recommended to thoſe gentlemen to conſent to the Nabob's retaining troops to the number of ten thouſand infantry, and ten or twelve thouſand cavalry. From this force we can have nothing to apprehend; and we think it will be ſufficient to enable him to preſerve that reſpect from the neighbouring powers, which he has hitherto maintained. To a man of his ambitious and vain-glorious diſpoſition, there cannot be a greater diſgrace, than the public knowledge of ſuch a reduction muſt neceſſarily occaſion. We have therefore ſignified to the deputies that we think ſo mortifying a circumſtance may be evaded, by their prevailing on him to make a tender

of

of the remainder of his troops as recruits to your brigades. Such a meaſure would prevent the general odium he muſt otherwiſe incur from the ſeveral powers of Hindoſtan, and, inſtead of it, muſt convince them of his ſteady attachment to your intereſts.

We flatter ourſelves, that matters will be amicably ſettled with the Nabob, as it muſt evidently tend to your intereſt to preſerve an alliance with a perſon of his high ſtation and power in the empire. Nothing has been omitted on our parts to induce him to participate of your friendſhip; but time alone will ſhew how far a confidence may in future be placed in him.

We have, on many occaſions, moſt earneſtly ſolicited you to ſend abroad the beſt recruits you could procure for your military eſtabliſhments, ſo much depending thereon, that it is the moſt eſſential point of ſecurity to your poſſeſſions. We therefore take the liberty of offering it as our opinion, that your recruiting ſervice can only be properly conducted by officers of integrity and experience appointed for that purpoſe in England; who, ſenſible of the important ſervices they may render to the Company by an attentive diſcharge of their duty, would chearfully embrace the opportunity of recommending themſelves to your favour, by providing good and able-bodied young men, who would be of real ſervice to your armies abroad; and the very heavy expences annually incurred by you on this occaſion, would no longer be ill beſtowed. It is with concern we inform you, that Colonel Smith hath reported your recruits of this ſeaſon, in general, to be very indifferent. Of thoſe already arrived, there are barely ſufficient to form two of your regiments, agreeably to the regulations you have been pleaſed to preſcribe; and they are appointed to complete, as nearly as poſſible, the ſecond and third brigades.

A diviſion of the firſt brigade remains at Mongheer; and another, under the command of Colonel Joſeph Peach, is ſtill in the Deccan; from whence the gentlemen at Madraſs have given us hopes they will be ſpeedily returned to us.

It is with much concern we obſerve, that the Secret department at Fort St. George ſtill labour under great inconveniencies from the want of money to enable them to purſue their operations with that vigour which they deem eſſentially neceſſary for the reduction of Hyder Ally. They were even apprehenſive of being driven to the neceſſity of appropriating to that uſe one hundred and eighty thouſand rupees * of the ſum then lying in their treaſury for the China inveſtment.

As our treaſury was at that time repleniſhed by gold mohurs of the late currency, which the Preſident and Council had thought proper to recall therein, we ſhipped on board the Admiral Watſon and the Plaſſey ſchooner to the amount of eight lacks † of rupees for that Preſidency. This, with three lacks ‡ we ſent in the ſnow Aſia, which was drove by ſtreſs of weather into Pegu, we hope, will prove a ſeaſonable ſupply. We alſo ſent them, by the Admiral Watſon, five thouſand eighteen, and three thouſand twenty-four-pounder ſhot, and ſhould at the ſame time have ſupplied them with the article of gun-powder, which they have ſince requeſted, had we known they had wanted it before that ſhip's departure. We then propoſed to ſend them two hundred barrels in the Plaſſey ſchooner; but on conſulting with our Maſter-attendant, it was judged that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of her being detained on that account.

They have detained at Madraſs Mr. Lewis Smith, a cadet arrived there this ſeaſon in the Dutton, and deſtined for Bengal, as he was judged capable of rendering them ſervice in the engineering branch. The gentlemen inform us that it is their intention to requeſt you will be pleaſed to fix him upon that eſtabliſhment; and we take the liberty

* 22,500 *l.* † 100,000 *l.* ‡ 37,500 *l.*

liberty of recommending him to you for that purpoſe, as you have ſo handſomely provided us with officers in that corps.

Such of the recruits deſtined for Bengal as have been landed at Madraſs, are ſtopped there for the immediate ſervice of that Preſidency. As thoſe gentlemen alone can judge how far the exigency of their affairs required their taking a meaſure ſo contrary to your intentions, we could do no more than repreſent to them, that the number we received was inſufficient for the purpoſes you intended them; and to requeſt they would ſend round to us the remainder as ſoon as they could be ſpared.

We cannot, in juſtice to you, our honourable employers, and to every individual reſiding under your government in Bengal, avoid repreſenting once more to you the extreme diſtreſs which this country is unhappily reduced to from a want of ſilver ſpecie. It is almoſt beyond conception, and with difficulty will be credited but by thoſe who experience the ill effects it daily produces. The day is at length arrived which we ſo early foreſaw, and has brought with it that load of inconveniencies which we have repeatedly apprized you of. This ſettlement, for ſome months paſt, has, in fact, been in a ſtate of bankruptcy. Trade is totally put a ſtop to; and even the moſt reputable of your ſervants can with difficulty procure ſilver ſufficient for the payment of their ſervant's wages. To theſe evils is added another, the more ſerious, as it precludes even the moſt diſtant proſpect of the re-circulation of money; we mean the very conſiderable draughts which have, this ſeaſon, been made on individuals from Europe, in favour of the French government at Chandernagore, and of which we had the honour to adviſe you in our laſt addreſs. There is now in Calcutta a ſervant of the French Company, with thoſe very bills which are nearly all become payable, receiving on that account every rupee which can poſſibly be amaſſed by individuals, and ſending it to that ſettlement. He has orders from his ſuperiors to accept of no Company's bonds in part of payment, by which it is apparent, that their intention is to take every advantage of our diſtreſs.

Permit us alſo to refer you to the preſent ſtate of your treaſury. You will thereby perceive a total inability to diſcharge many ſums, which you are indebted to individuals for depoſits in your caſh, as well as to iſſue any part of the conſiderable advances required for the ſervice of every public department. We need not then obſerve the apparent danger which threatens your inveſtment for the enſuing ſeaſon, neither the favourable proſpects of our rivals the French, who, by having ſo early a command of money, muſt neceſſarily be enabled to make the more early advances.

The Dutch, unwilling to truſt to the precarious reſources of an exhauſting country, have, ſince our laſt advices, very judiciouſly imported ſome bullion to Bengal; and though the ſum may not exceed three lacks *, yet it is of the greateſt utility to the forwarding their inveſtment.

You may be convinced, that the value of your territorial acquiſitions have not been decreaſing, ſince the collections are now greater than they ever have been ſince your inveſtiture of the Dewanny. But be aſſured, that the benefits ariſing from them muſt be of ſhort duration, whilſt a ſcarcity of ſpecie prevails as at preſent, and is daily exhauſting. You muſt expect, unleſs the evil is ſpeedily removed, to collect your revenues in the commodities produced in the country, without having a proſpect of vending them at any rate, as the merchants will be totally deprived of the means to purchaſe them.

This, gentlemen, is the preſent diſtreſsful and real ſituation of the country; and, we flatter ourſelves, that, by taking a comparative view of our diſtant proſpects with the politic advantages reaped by the foreign nations trading here, who graſped at all private

* 37,500 *l.*

private monies from individuals, you will no longer deem us reprehenſible, if a decreaſe in the amount of your future inveſtments, and a debaſement of their quality ſhould prove the conſequence, ſince you muſt be ſenſible, that early advances alone can in this country inſure the one and the other. The heavy payments of your revenue are not made till late in the ſeaſon; and, unleſs we have a year's advance in your treaſury, no advantage can be taken in its proviſion.

Excuſe us, therefore, if we think it a duty indiſpenſible in us, to exhort you, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to purſue ſuch meaſures as may oblige foreign nations to import bullion into this ſinking country.

We have been the more explicit on this ſubject, in order to evince the impoſſibility of the Council's ſending any ſilver this ſeaſon for the uſe of the China inveſtment; for, what with the further demands we muſt expect will be made on us from the Secret department at Fort St. George, thoſe now upon us to a very great amount, the providing of ſo conſiderable an inveſtment, and the unavoidable expences of this Preſidency, we are very apprehenſive that little or no money will remain in your treaſury, for ſome time at leaſt, to anſwer any emergency.

We have directed Mr. Sykes to ſend us down a ſupply from the City with all poſſible expedition, and he gives us hopes of receiving ſix lacks of rupees * in a few days. That gentleman having requeſted our permiſſion to reſign his poſt at the Durbar, by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, and to return to his duty at the Preſidency, we have referred his requeſt to the Preſident and Council, for their nomination of a ſucceſſor.

We have the honour to tranſmit you the broken ſet of our proceedings, and letters received and ſent, ſince the laſt diſpatch, as per accompanying liſt of packet, and to ſubſcribe ourſelves, with the utmoſt reſpect, &c.

H. VERELST, RICHARD BECHER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XVIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, January 6, 1769.

We had the honour to addreſs you laſt, under date the 21ſt November, in two copies by the ſhips Vereſt and Kent, a duplicate whereof now waits on you by the Queen.

It is with great pleaſure we embrace the opportunity which the preſent conveyance affords us, to inform you that our deputies to his majeſty and the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah have hitherto met with every deſired ſucceſs in the courſe of their negociations. His excellency gave them the meeting at Benâres, where many days paſſed in conference, on the ſubject of the late jealouſies ſubſiſting between us, which at length happily terminated in the concluſion of a new treaty with him, on the 28th of November. The ſteady meaſures adopted and purſued in thus bringing the Nabob to an explanation, have not a little contributed to his ready acquieſcence to the moſt eſſential parts of our juſt pretenſions; and the tender regard which the gentlemen of the deputation have ſhewn for his honour in the reduction of his forces, at the ſame time

* 75,000 *l.*

time that they have conſulted the future ſecurity of theſe provinces, we flatter ourſelves, will meet with that approbation from you which we have teſtified to them on that occaſion. By the ſtipulated reduction of the Nabob's troops, he is ſtill permitted to retain a number which will render him reſpectable among the powers of Hindoſtan, though in no degree ſufficiently formidable to trouble the repoſe of theſe provinces. This, we may hope, will rather be productive of a confidential regard on our part, than create in us future ſuſpicions of the Nabob's ambitious views, ſince it admits not a doubt, that he can now form no projections but what we ſhall have in our power to controul.

The Preſident has been informed, that the Nabob accompanied the deputies to Allahabad, and was received in the royal preſence in quality of Vizier, with every mark of diſtinction due to his ſtation in the empire, and afterwards returned to his dominions, with his majeſty's permiſſion to return to Allahabad at the approaching feſtival of the Mohamedans. We hope this will tend to conciliate the long differences which have ſubſiſted between them on the ſubject of the Vizârut.

When we conſidered the very peremptory orders you were pleaſed to ſend us, for confining ſolely our views within theſe provinces, though ſenſible how impolitic an immediate obedience to your commands, and how far they muſt at preſent be from anſwering the ſalutary purpoſe of a ſolid and permanent ſecurity to your valuable poſſeſſions; yet we were deſirous of embracing the opportunity of our deputies being ſo near the royal preſence, to make ſuch an attempt towards the execution of your orders as appeared to us moſt likely to effect your purpoſe; and we have therefore recommended to their conſideration, how far his majeſty's giving up Korah to Sujah al Dowlah, in exchange for the Sircars of Ghazipore and Benâres, and the Nabob's ceding to him the fortreſs of Chunar, may be ſuitable to one and the other.

From the temper of mind and ſituation of Sujah al Dowlah, we flatter ourſelves, he will be inclinable to cultivate our friendſhip, and no longer prove refractory or deaf to our remonſtrances, and his majeſty not leſs attentive to our advice. The ſituation of the preſent royal domains, lies too much within the country of Sujah al Dowlah; inſomuch, that ſhould we even come to an open rupture with him, to ſupport his majeſty as allies to the throne, we muſt march through an enemy's country, and thereby ſubject our troops to many very apparent inconveniencies. The preſent annual revenues of Korah, exceed thoſe of Ghazipore and Benâres, ſix or ſeven lacks * of rupees; this may prove a temptation to Sujah al Dowlah, particularly if he conſiders how very compact his territories will from hence become.

The Nabob has frequently, ſince he ceded the fort of Allahabad to his majeſty, complained of the want of ſome place for the ſecurity of his family, and a capital for himſelf. The King's reſtoring that fortreſs, may be a ſtrong inducement to the Nabob to embrace this propoſal, and to give up Chunar in exchange, which will be a ſtrong barrier to us when in poſſeſſion of his majeſty. The Pergunnah, at preſent poſſeſſed by the Bundel-cund Rajah, may be appropriated for his Majeſty's uſe, to make good the difference between his preſent poſſeſſions and thoſe of Bulwant Sing, provided they are not thought to be at too great a diſtance for his purpoſe; if that ſhould be the caſe, Tarrâr, or ſome lands contiguous to Bulwant Sing's country, may then be aſked for from Sujah al Dowlah, as a compenſation for the territories ceded by his Majeſty.

If ſuch a ſcheme can be effected, our troops may be withdrawn into theſe provinces; the King may poſſibly follow them, and thereby will be ſaved, not only the annual drain of treaſure for the payment of the tribute, and the ſubſiſtence of your troops, which has, with other demands, nearly exhauſted the wealth of this country, and reduced us to the greateſt diſtreſs; but the currency of ſilver ſpecie will be increaſed

* 75,000 *l.* or 87,500 *l.*

creaſed, by an importation of the ſums collected from the revenues of Ghazipore, &c. countries, as well as thoſe ariſing from every emolument the throne may enjoy. Should any future hoſtile preparations be made againſt his majeſty's arms, we may then the more eaſily unite our forces againſt our common enemy, as the proximity of his majeſty's poſſeſſions would be a ſecond barrier to our arms, and with double ſecurity for them, from all the inconveniencies of war.

It is probable from ſuperſtitious motives, that his Majeſty may be induced to think this a diſgrace, as it carries with it the appearance of a retreat from his capital, his long favourite object. But to this we might repreſent his more immediate ſecurity by a junction with us; the imaginary proſpect of our marching at ſome future time, with accumulated treaſures and force in his ſupport; the ideas which ſuch an union muſt create in the courts of Hindoſtan, and the neceſſity we are under from the poſitive injunctions we have received of recalling the third brigade from Allahabad.

Another objection may be made to this plan by his majeſty, ſetting forth the impropriety or diſhonour of exchanging his preſent royal poſſeſſions for thoſe of a Zemindarry, guarantied by us, whoſe rents cannot be increaſed, and where no Jagheers can be granted. To this may be repreſented the annexed Pergunnahs, at preſent poſſeſſed by the Hindaput Rajah, or ſuch lands as may be farther granted him; which, protected by us, will enable him to beſtow rewards on thoſe whom he may chuſe to honour with a proviſion; and the more ready and immediate payment of the rents from Bulwant Sing, will enable him more honourably to ſupport his army, than he now does by his preſent mode of payment. We have communicated the foregoing obſervations to the deputies at Allahabad, and have deſired they may be regarded more as hints, than bearing a tendency to any digeſted plans, and we hope ſoon to receive their opinion on them; for it muſt be from the lights we may obtain from them, that we ſhall form a judgment of the practicability of thoſe meaſures.

The preſent diſtreſsful ſtate of this country, proceeding from the ſcarcity of ſilver, has induced us to direct thoſe gentlemen to iſſue their orders for receiving all ſums which may be procured in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, for defraying the expences of the third brigade ſtationed there, and that the paymaſter do grant bills for ſuch ſums received on the military paymaſter-general in Calcutta as uſual, at five days ſight. And it has been alſo recommended to them to prevail on his majeſty to accept gold mohurs of the late currency, in part payment of the tribute, at a reaſonable exchange, for which purpoſe we have ſent them ſome coined at the mints of Calcutta and Murſhed-abad, in order that this matter might be more eaſily adjuſted.

In our letter under date the 29th February laſt, we informed you, that we had tranſmitted to Janoojee, one of the Maharatta chiefs, ſome propoſals for a treaty of peace, and the ceſſion of Oriſſa. We have lately received his reply to them, and although his demands appear too high for us to accede to, yet we are aſſured by his Vackeel, that he will very cheerfully acquieſce in every reaſonable demand we can make, being deſirous of putting an end to a negociation which has been ſo long depending. We have therefore taken the ſubject a ſecond time into our moſt ſerious conſideration, and have finally reſolved on ſuch propoſals being made to that potentate, as we deem moſt conſiſtent with your honour, and the future ſecurity of your valuable poſſeſſions, as well in Bengal, as on the Coaſt of Coromandel. Our deliberations were, in conſequence of your late orders, ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Preſident and Council, and having been by them approved, articles of a treaty are now drawing out, in order to be executed on the part of the Nabob and of the Engliſh Company. For further particulars relative thereto, permit us to refer you to our proceedings, which wait on you by this conveyance; having only on this occaſion to aſſure you, that we have paid a ſtrict attention to thoſe orders wherein you

direct that no treaty be entered into, but with the principal power; and that Janoojee is the only perſon with whom we can with propriety enter into a treaty, cannot be doubted, ſince the treaty for the payment of the Chout was firſt entered into by Alliverdy Cawn with his father Ragoojee, and was on his death confirmed by Janoojee alone.

At the time we were deliberating on the terms propoſed by Janoojee, we received advices from the ſecret department at Fort St. George, relative to the operations of the war againſt Hyder Ally, and expreſſing their apprehenſions of Mahadavarow's marching into the Carnatic to his aſſiſtance; which circumſtance is corroborated by advices lately tranſmitted to them from Mr. Broome, Reſident at the Maharatta court at Poonah. This ſituation appears to us ſo critical, that to enſure a laſting peace and tranquility on the Coaſt of Coromandel, we were of opinion, the utmoſt efforts of this Committee ſhould be exerted, in ſupport of the preſent war againſt Hyder Ally, and that every means ſhould be made uſe of to prevent his increaſe of power, by a junction with the Maharattas; a junction which would not only render the event of the war dubious, but would likewiſe deprive the Company of the revenues they now collect from the Carnatic, and oblige us to drain this exhauſted country of ſtill greater ſupplies of treaſure; which muſt in ſuch caſe be conſumed in the courſe of a long and tedious war, inſtead of being applied to the purpoſes of your ſeveral inveſtments in India.

From the late conduct of Hyder Ally, we cannot ſee a proſpect of the gentlemen at Madraſs being able to conclude a peace with him upon honourable terms, or which can promiſe to be ſecure and permanent. For, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, ſhould the war be put an end to, Hyder would be left more formidable than he was at the commencement of it. His credit would be exalted in all the courts of Hindoſtan, from his having ſingly withſtood the utmoſt efforts of the Engliſh arms on the Coaſt; and the fame of our's would conſequently be diminiſhed by their receding from the conteſt, after ſo long and obſtinate a ſtruggle; and nothing leſs could be expected than a recommencement of troubles on the part of Hyder Ally, as ſoon as he had recruited his forces, and brought the Maharattas and Nizam Ally to unite their forces to his. Such an event might be productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences to your affairs: for Hyder, politic of diſcerning, would be cautious to avoid any overſights or errors he may have committed in the courſe of the preſent war; he would, no doubt, be active in improving the diſcipline of his troops; and, actuated by a ſpirit of revenge, and ſenſible alſo that the ſecurity of his own poſſeſſions could only be inſured by our ruin, no efforts which policy or courage might ſuggeſt, or which ambition or deſpair might inſpire, would be wanting on the part of that potentate.

A ſtill more cogent reaſon bids us beware of his growing power. By advices from Madraſs, under date the 31ſt Auguſt, it appears, that the gentlemen there entertained ſtrong ſuſpicions that the French at Pondicherry, were carrying on intrigues at his court, and that they had promiſed him aſſiſtance from Europe, or the iſland of Mauritius; and when we reflect on the grand preparations of that nation at the latter place, the number of its forces there, and the increaſe of its ſhipping in India, it is moſt probable that the French may join Hyder Ally, ſhould this opportunity of ſubduing him be loſt. Such a circumſtance, added to thoſe already mentioned, might involve your affairs in India even beyond a poſſibility of retrieving them.

However deſirous the gentlemen at Madraſs may be to put an end to ſo deſtructive and expenſive a war, we apprehend they have not within themſelves thoſe reſources requiſite for effecting it, without hazarding your poſſeſſions at ſome future time. We are therefore the more readily induced to come to an immediate concluſion, if poſſible,

ſible, of a treaty offenſive and defenſive with Janoojee, obſerving, as a baſis, the ceſſion of Oriſſa. His well known jealouſy of and differences with Mahadavarow, (againſt whom he is endeavouring to ſupport an independency) muſt ſecure him moſt effectually in your intereſt. A treaty thus concluded, will cauſe a diviſion of the Maharatta power, a dimunition of their territorial poſſeſſions, and conſequently of their natural ſtrength; and the friendſhip of Janoojee ſecured by the annual payment of a ſtipulated ſum, his poſſeſſions will become a barrier to theſe provinces, againſt the incurſions of other internal weſtern powers, without ſubjecting us to the neceſſity of applying for their forces as auxiliaries, and thereby expoſing your poſſeſſions a prey to their rapacity. And further, it cannot be doubted but ſuch a treaty will ſow diſſenſions among the Maharatta chiefs, and may thereby occaſion ſuch a mutual decreaſe of their ſtrength, as may bring them to a level with, if not in ſubjection to, ſome of the other powers of Hindoſtan, which will leave your extenſive territories in a perfect ſtate of repoſe and ſecurity.

The nominal authority of the King, the power of his Vizier, and that part of our forces now ſtationed at Allahabad, may, if your affairs on the Coaſt ſhould require it, be effectually interpoſed; as the bare report of ſuch a junction, aided by the feint of a march towards the territories of Mahadavarow, which lay open, and muſt be expoſed to us, ſhould he march to Hyder's aſſiſtance, may not only deter him from accepting his offers, but may induce him to conſult the immediate ſafety of his own poſſeſſions through our friendſhip. The force of Janoojee, who has lately ſolicited the King's Sunnuds for ſuch lands as he may conquer from Mahadavarow, joined or ſeconded by the detachment under the command of Colonel Peach, in the Deccan, may be uſefully employed, ſhould Mahadavarow take the part of Hyder Ally; or ſhould the Subah wantonly and weakly engage in new enterprizes againſt the tranquility of the Carnatic: ſo formidable and unexpected a junction in this quarter, muſt ſoon compel Hyder to terms of accommodation, if not ſubject his territories to certain ruin.

The ſtrongeſt motives for our having adopted theſe ſentiments, are the deprivation of Hyder's hopes and our fears, of his effecting a junction with the French, Nizam Ally, and Mahadavarow; by which ſtep the influence you at preſent poſſeſs in the cabinets of all the powers of Hindoſtan, would moſt probably revolt to our natural European rival, and the conſequences of ſuch an evil are too apparent to require elucidation.

It is therefore our unanimous opinion, founded upon the moſt mature deliberation, that a fortunate iſſue to a treaty with Janoojee, would be productive of the advantages we have herein pointed out, and moſt probably of ſpeedy conceſſions from Hyder Ally, upon ſuch terms as the gentlemen at Madraſs may judge neceſſary to impoſe, for the future ſafety and tranquility of your poſſeſſions, or thoſe of your allies, on the Coaſt of Coromandel; therefore, we have reſolved, that no delays ſhall be occaſioned on our part, to effect a purpoſe which tends ſo evidently to the advantage of your affairs, and which neceſſity alone has compelled us to adopt.

Although we are deſirous to aſſiſt the gentlemen at Madraſs on every occaſion, where your welfare is concerned, yet it is alone the urgent and very critical ſtate of your affairs there, that can poſſibly induce us to deviate from that ſyſtem of policy we have hitherto obſerved, and would gladly continue, of confining our views to your preſent poſſeſſions, and of avoiding all diſtant and extenſive operations, which muſt, in ſome degree, ſubject your acquiſitions to danger, by a diviſion of your force. Such are the ſentiments we communicated to your Preſidency at Fort St. George, when we laid before them the meaſures which appeared to us moſt proper to be purſued

ſued in the preſent ſituation of their affairs; and we requeſted their opinions thereon, before we finally determined on a matter of ſuch importance.

As the moſt minute tranſactions of your Select Committee ſince the departure of the Vereſt and Kent are entered upon the proceedings which we have the honour to tranſmit to you by this conveyance, we beg leave to refer thereto for your further information.

The ſnow Aſia, on which we informed you, in our laſt advices, the Preſident and Council had embarked * three lacks of rupees, for the Preſidency at Fort St. George, is returned hither with her treaſure. Your ſhip Dutton has carried † ſix lacks of rupees, of the late gold currency, to Madraſs, to anſwer their urgent occaſions; which, with the remittances by the Admiral Watſon, and Plaſſey ſchooner, will we hope prove a conſiderable relief to their diſtreſs.

Mr. Sykes has reſigned his ſeat at the Select Committee, and purpoſes, on account of his ill ſtate of health, to take his paſſage to Europe in the Queen. We muſt, in juſtice to that gentleman, expreſs our entire ſatisfaction of his conduct during the time he was employed in the ſtation of reſident at the Durbar, and our concern at the neceſſity which compels him to quit your ſervice.

Mr. Becher, who was appointed by the Preſident and Council to the poſt of reſident at the Durbar, has proceeded to this ſtation.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, F. SYKES, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Feb. 3, 1769.

Nothing material having occurred ſince our laſt advices, under date the 6th ult. a duplicate of which we have the honour to tranſmit to you, we flatter ourſelves will ſufficiently apologize for the conciſeneſs of this addreſs; more particularly as we have omitted no opportunity, during the courſe of this ſeaſon, of making you fully acquainted with every matter of importance which has come under our conſideration.

The reſignation of Mr. Sykes having cauſed a vacant ſeat in your Select Committee, Mr. Alexander was appointed to fill it; and has accordingly taken his ſeat, after having taken the uſual oath of ſecrecy adminiſtered to him.

Mr. Cartier is returned to the Preſidency, and has laid before us the original treaty lately entered into by the deputation with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah; together with a ſeparate agreement written by the Nabob himſelf, wherein he promiſes to reduce his forces to the number ſpecified in the treaty within the ſpace of three months. It is with pleaſure we inform you, that his majeſty expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the treaty, and was graciouſly pleaſed to ratify it with the royal ſign manual.

We ſhould do injuſtice to Meſſrs. Cartier, Smith, and Ruſſel, were we not to expreſs our entire approbation of their conduct during their late deputation; and we doubt not, but you will be pleaſed to regard it in the ſame point of view.

By this conveyance we have the honour to tranſmit to you a complete ſett of our proceedings; and of letters ſent and received for the laſt year.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, J. ALEXANDER, C. FFLOYER.

* 37,500 *l.* † 75,000 *l.*

No. XX.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, March 4, 1769.

This ſerves only to adviſe you that we embrace the opportunity of the preſent diſpatch to tranſmit you a duplicate of our laſt addreſs by the ſhip Saliſbury, under date the 3d ult. together with the broken ſetts of our proceedings of letters, ſent and received, from the commencement of the year to the date hereof.

By the Shrewſbury, the next and laſt of your ſhips for diſpatch this ſeaſon, we propoſe to addreſs you fully on the ſubject of your affairs entruſted to our management, till when we muſt beg leave to refer you to our proceedings and letters, tranſmitted during the courſe of this ſeaſon.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, J. ALEXANDER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XXI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, April 6, 1769.

We embrace the opportunity of the Shrewſbury's diſpatch, which is your laſt ſhip for Europe of this ſeaſon, to inform you of ſuch occurrences as were not noticed in our two laſt addreſſes, under dates the 3d February, and 4th ult. and alſo of ſuch material circumſtances as have happened ſince the Talbot's diſpatch.

When the deputies were appointed to proceed to Allahabad, we took into conſideration the great drains of ſilver annually made from theſe provinces for the payment of your troops on that ſtation; which, with many other demands, had nearly exhauſted the wealth of this country. We conſidered alſo, that his majeſty had frequently repreſented to the Preſident, through Munneer al Dowlah, the Naib Vizier, that Rajah Hindaput had long uſurped certain diſtricts in the Bundel-cund country, which formerly compoſed a part of the Subah of Allahabad, and which he was extremely deſirous of re-uniting to the royal domains. The opportunity which then preſented itſelf was deemed favourable for inveſtigating this matter; and we accordingly recommended to the deputies, in our letter of inſtructions, to propoſe to his majeſty our aſſiſting him in the recovery of thoſe diſtricts, on condition that he would appropriate a part of their revenues for defraying all expences of your troops whilſt they remained without the provinces. To this propoſition his majeſty very chearfully acquieſced.

But it appearing from the ſubſequent reſearches of the deputation, that the royal claim could not clearly be eſtabliſhed, we did not chuſe to purſue a plan likely to lead us into diſtant enterprizes, which the ſtricteſt juſtice did not authorize us to undertake; leſt we ſhould thereby run the hazard of involving your affairs at ſome future time into thoſe difficulties we have ever made it our ſtudy to avoid. Colonel Smith has acquainted us with the reſult of his own enquiries into this matter; but deeming

deeming that alſo inſufficient, we have ſuſpended all thoughts of an expedition in that quarter.

We have not a doubt but his majeſty will be very ſolicitous for the recovery of the uſurped diſtricts, and will leave no meaſures unattempted to effect an object ſo very flattering to his hopes. His viſit to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, at the very time he appeared moſt earneſtly intent on this project, gives us cauſe to ſuſpect, that inſtead of *mere* compliment, it tended principally to the concerting a plan of operations for ſome future attempt againſt the Bundel-cund country. We apprehended that the Vizier, when he found us determined not to grant our aſſiſtance to his royal maſter, would not fail to urge him on the enterprize, by a tender of his forces and aſſiſtance; or might perhaps endeavour to obtain his majeſty's Sunnuds for ſuch conqueſts as he himſelf might make in that country. Certain it was, that the King had no force to enable him to undertake ſuch an enterprize himſelf; and therefore we could not pretend to ſay how far his pride or neceſſity might lead him into errors. When we conſidered the open and avowed enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the King and the Vizier, we could not think he would be ſo regardleſs of his own perſonal ſafety, as to arm a man of Sujah al Dowlah's diſpoſition and boundleſs ambition, with ſo great a power of the royal houſe as an extenſion of territory muſt neceſſarily give him. But ſtill we thought it neceſſary to guard againſt ſuch evils, though we did not really apprehend them; and accordingly directed Colonel Smith to aſſure his majeſty, in either of the before-mentioned caſes, that we ſhould immediately withdraw all your troops within the provinces; and, if the latter was likely to take place, the Colonel was to acquaint Sujah al Dowlah, that on the march of any part of his forces into the Bundel-cund country, we ſhould regard him as a violater of the general tranquility, and an invader of thoſe countries the throne pretends a claim to.

Colonel Smith thought it expedient to attend his majeſty in the viſit to Faiz-abad. He was preſent at the conferences held between the King and his Vizier; which produced the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of forgiveneſs and oblivion of paſt injuries, on the one part, and of the utmoſt loyalty and fidelity on the other.

In our letters of the 6th January laſt, we fully acquainted you with a plan, which then appeared to us practicable, for effecting an exchange of the royal domains, for the countries of Ghazipore and Benâres; and in order to proceed on a matter of ſuch delicacy and importance with all poſſible circumſpection, we communicated our ſentiments to the gentlemen of the deputation, and deſired them to give us every information they could procure for our guidance. Their opinion ſtands recorded upon the face of our proceedings; and we readily concurred with them, that whilſt the troubles continued on the Coaſt it would be improper to attempt the execution of ſuch a project.

Though we have reaſon to think the Nabob-Vizier has not regarded, with the moſt ſtrict and exact punctuality, the performance of his engagements in the diſmiſſion of thoſe troops which exceed the number he has ſtipulated to keep up, yet we do not find he has raiſed or added a man to his army ſince the treaty at Benâres; ſo that we have not the leaſt doubt, what with caſualties and natural deaths, but his army will be reduced, in a ſhort ſpace of time, to the ſtate we wiſh to ſee it. The Vizier himſelf ſteadily aſſerts, that he has performed every thing he agreed to do, and claims ſome merit on the occaſion. To charge him openly with diſſimulation, when the detection is ſo difficult, would be imprudent, and equally impolitic, particularly ſo at a time when he profeſſes the warmeſt friendſhip and attachment to us, and no other part of his behaviour contradicts ſuch aſſurances. Reſt aſſured, honourable Sirs, that although we may not rigidly demand the performance of articles as to a man, yet we ſhall watch the motions of this ambitious and volatile prince, ſo as to prevent

him

him in future from being dangerous to your poſſeſſions; being more inclined that he ſhould place a confidence in us, by a frankneſs of behaviour, when it can be aſſumed without danger on our ſide, than be deprived of it by a diffident and captious conduct.

The general rumour which has, for ſome time, prevailed of the approach of Shaw Abdalla towards the King's frontiers, has been one of the principal motives which have compelled us to keep the third brigade at Allahabad, both as a check to his operations, and as a ſecurity to the territorial poſſeſſions of his majeſty, and our ally the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah. Colonel Smith, in his advices of the 18th of February, informed us that the Shaw had advanced a part of his army near to Lahôre, and ſeemed determined to purſue his march to Dehly; but by the Colonel's letter to the Governor, under date the 19th ult. which we have juſt received, it is with the utmoſt pleaſure we perceive that Shaw Abdalla is preparing to retreat, and poſſibly towards his own dominions. A circumſtance ſo very favourable to our determined reſolution of embracing the firſt ſafe opportunity to recall the third brigade within theſe provinces, that we now only await a confirmation of this intelligence to carry into execution the poſitive orders you have ſent us on this ſubject.

It is with the utmoſt confidence we can aſſure you, gentlemen, that thoſe orders ſhould have inſtantly been obeyed, could we have done it conſiſtently with the duty we owe you, and with the ſolemn engagements entered into with your allies. To conciliate the minds of his majeſty and the Vizier, and to curb the ambitious projects and hoſtile intentions of the latter, were the firſt motives for continuing the brigade at Allahabad, after the receipt of your orders. To inforce, if neceſſity required, the performance of the Vizier's late treaty with us, to be in readineſs to ſupport the Madraſs adminiſtration, if the ſecurity of your poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel ſhould require our making a diverſion againſt the Maharatta power, and to be a check on the ambitious projects of Shaw Abdalla, ſhould he have determined to attack the frontiers of your allies, were conſiderations which next urged us to detain your troops in the only ſtation where they could be of eſſential ſervice to your affairs.

Let us, therefore, flatter ourſelves, that the cauſes aſſigned for having hitherto ſuſpended the execution of your orders, will evince that the meaſures adopted proceeded from abſolute neceſſity, and will acquit us of any imputation of diſreſpect, or inattention to your commands.

Sorry we are to inform you that your affairs on the Coaſt wear a moſt unfavourable appearance, and are even reduced, by the repeated ſucceſſes of Hyder Ally, to the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs. The Madraſs Preſidency, ſenſible of the many dangers which ſurround them, have given us a moſt pathetic account of their ſituation; nor can we expect from the advices they have lately tranſmitted to us, a very ſpeedy iſſue to the long, dangerous, and expenſive war in which they are engaged, until the treaſures of their Preſidency and our own ſhall be nearly exhauſted. To give them every poſſible ſupport from hence, we have deemed it indiſpenſibly a duty we owe to you, our honourable employers; for being ſervants of the ſame maſters, and being engaged in one general cauſe, we have regarded the welfare of your ſettlement of Fort St. George equally with our own. The ſame principal ſtill actuates us to deviſe poſſible means, which may conduce to their ſecurity, and the welfare of your poſſeſſions.

Little did we imagine, after the very large ſupplies which have been ſent them this ſeaſon for the ſupport of the war, that their neceſſities would ſo increaſe as to compel us to curtail the inveſtment, which the Council have given you the greateſt rea-

ſon

ſon to expect from this Preſidency in the enſuing year. But ſuch is the only means which can be deviſed for enabling us to grant them any effectual aſſiſtance.

We are adviſed that Hyder Ally has made propoſals for a peace, but ſo diſhonourable to the Nabob of Arcot, and inglorious to your arms, that they were deemed inadmiſſible. The gentlemen, however, deſirous of accommodating matters, if poſſible, rather than continue ſo hazardous and expenſive a war, have replied to his hard conditions; and, in their turn, propoſed to him ſuch terms as they thought moſt conducive to your intereſts. As they expected the reſult of theſe negociations would be a continuance of the war, which would conſiderably increaſe their military expences, they wiſhed to be aſcertained of the reſources which they might expect from hence, in order that they might form a plan accordingly for their future operations; and, at the ſame time, informed us of the ſtate of their finances, which they concluded would enable them to keep an army in the field for the term of three months. The ſums of money we have by ſeveral late conveyances remitted to Madraſs, of which they had not been apprized at the time of their laſt diſpatches, together with two lacks of rupees *, which were ſent them on the Experiment, a country ſhip, immediately on receipt of their laſt advices, pretty nearly equalled the amount which they calculated for three months diſburſements of their army; ſo that we have every reaſon to believe, that the ſafe arrival of our ſeveral late remittances will enable them to keep the field againſt Hyder Ally until the month of September next, independently of other reſources, which may ariſe from the ſale of their expected imports, farther loans from individuals reſiding under their government, and a poſſibility of the Nabob's making farther payments on account of the revenues of the Carnatic.

That they might be at ſome degree of certainty in regard to future reſources from this quarter, we have given it as our opinion that they may depend on being ſupplied with an annual ſum of twenty-four lacks of rupees †, to commence from the month of October next, ſo long as it is to tend to the actual ſupport of the war they are at preſent engaged in, provided we are not compelled to enter into warlike operations in defence of theſe provinces; and that, ſhould their future neceſſities increaſe, it may be poſſible, by putting a ſtop to our inveſtment, to augment our ſupplies to thirty lacks ‡. At the ſame time that we thus candidly offered our opinion on the aſſiſtance they may expect from us in caſe of need, we could not but inform them of the very diſtreſſed ſtate to which this country muſt inevitably be reduced, by ſuch conſiderable exportations of its ſpecie.

You have before been informed that our principal object in bringing matters to a ſpeedy concluſion with Janoojee, was to divert Mahadavarow from entering the Carnatic to the aſſiſtance of Hyder Ally. The advices lately tranſmitted to us from Colonel Smith have for the preſent relieved us from apprehenſions in that quarter; ſince we find he has directed his operations towards the province of Berar, and ſeems ſeriouſly intent on cruſhing the power and influence of Janoojee. We have therefore thought it highly impolitic at this juncture to continue our negociations with this chief, as his fate muſt actually be decided, long ere any of our forces could reach him, even ſhould we have deemed it neceſſary, as a check on Mahadavarow's growing power, to march your troops to his aſſiſtance. If Mahadavarow ſhould prove unſucceſsful in his attempt, and ſhould reſume his former intentions of entering the Carnatic, it will then be time enough to think ſeriouſly of a league with Janoojee.

Mr. Rumbold having in his letter to us, ſetting forth the preſent ſtate of the Bahar province, repreſented the neceſſity of making ſome deductions in the revenues of that province,

* 25,000 *l.* † 300,000 *l.* ‡ 375,000 *l.*

province, we embraced the opportunity of Mahomed Reza Cawn's being on a viſit to Calcutta to conſult his opinion on a matter of ſuch importance. It was a meaſure he thought abſolutely neceſſary to be taken, and his reaſons in general coincided with thoſe of Mr. Rumbold.

The experience that gentleman muſt have acquired during the time he has been veſted with the charge of the Bahar collections, and the general knowledge of Mahomed Reza Cawn in all matters relating to the Dewanny revenues, induced us to conſent to ſuch deductions being made from the general ſtatement of that province at the laſt Poonah, as may be deemed irrecoverable, or ſuch as may prove an immediate relief and encouragement to the Ryots in the future cultivation of their lands. We hope this act of lenity will impreſs them with a favourable opinion of the government, induce them to exert their induſtrious labour to promote its welfare, and enable them to pay their rents more regularly in future.

Mr. Kelſall has repreſented to us, that he labours under many inconveniences in the proviſion of your inveſtment, from not being veſted with the charge of the Dacca collection. We have replied to his repreſentation, by acquainting him, that as you had been pleaſed to approve the mode adopted by the Select Committee, for conducting the buſineſs of the Dewanny revenues, we could not deviate therefrom without your orders, and that we ſhould refer his letter to your conſideration and deciſion.

The Governor having informed us, that Mahomed Reza Cawn was particularly deſirous of his preſence at the city, to enquire into ſundry matters relative to the collections of the Bengal province, and of his readineſs to comply with the requeſt; we approved of his intention, and he has accordingly proceeded on his journey.

We have the honour to tranſmit you by this packet copies of Mr. Sykes's country correſpondence, as reſident at the Durbar, to the time of his delivering over the charge of that ſtation to Mr. Becher, together with a duplicate of our laſt letter, the broken ſett of our proceedings, and other papers ſince the laſt diſpatch, as per incloſed liſt of the packet; and to ſubſcribe ourſelves, with the utmoſt reſpect, &c.

JOHN CARTIER, JAMES ALEXANDER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XXII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, April 21, 1769.

Since the diſpatch of the Shrewſbury, by which ſhip we had the honour to addreſs you, under date the 6th inſtant, we have received advice from your Preſidency at Fort St. George, that they had concluded a peace with Hyder Ally, on the 4th inſtant; and that he, in conſequence, was immediately to quit the Carnatic.

When we conſider that the Thames will be the only ſea conveyance of this ſeaſon, by which the gentlemen at Madraſs can tranſmit to you ſuch important advices, and the poſſibility of her loſing her paſſage to England, or of meeting with other accidents which may attend her late diſpatch, we cannot heſitate to embrace the opportunity,

which now preſents itſelf in the diſpatch of a French ſhip from Chandernagore, of thus briefly informing you of a circumſtance which ſo nearly concerns the welfare of your poſſeſſions on that coaſt. To this we are the more ſtrongly induced, from the entire confidence we repoſe in the prudence and fidelity of Mr. John Sumner, one of your late covenanted ſervants on this eſtabliſhment, who being compelled to return to his native country for the recovery of his health, has obtained the Council's permiſſion to embark in this ſhip, it being the only remaining ſea conveyance of this ſeaſon. But as foreign ſhips muſt be ever diſtruſtful channels for the conveying of public and important advices, we hope to ſtand excuſed for not tranſmitting you the particulars, which we doubt not you will receive by land from your Preſidency at Bombay or Fort St. George.

Mr. Sumner, to whom this addreſs is entruſted, has been directed to deſtroy it, if he perceives any danger of its falling into foreign hands.

We have the honour to ſubſcribe ourſelves with the utmoſt reſpect, &c.

JOHN CARTIER, JAMES ALEXANDER, CHARLES FFLOYFR.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. VERELST, to the COURT of DIRECTORS, during his Government in BENGAL, relative to the commercial and political intereſts of that country.

No. XXIII.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, March 17, 1767.

It is with pleaſure I can inform you, that the preſent ſituation of the country, and of the Preſidency, leaves me but little room to doubt that we ſhall, for ſome time, at leaſt, enjoy the moſt perfect tranquility abroad, and concord at home. The preparations to diſturb the repoſe of the empire, which are making by the Duranny * king, appear to me too diſtant to affect us, or our allies, for this ſeaſon; and it is highly probable, that he will never venture to advance nearer to us than Dehly. The lateſt advices inform us, that he is ſtill diſtant from Dehly about two hundred and fifty miles: it is likewiſe reported, that he has diſpatched his deputies to demand the revenues of the different provinces of the empire; and that an agent is now on his way to Bengal with a commiſſion to the above effect. For my own part, when I conſider the prodigious length of the march, the numberleſs difficulties which muſt be encountered; the oppoſition of the Seiks; the jealouſy that muſt ſeize the many independent nations who ſeparate us from Abdalla; the advanced ſeaſon of the year; and eſpecially the great reputation in arms which we have eſtabliſhed over all India, I have but little apprehenſions that he will be able to create any diſturbance this year.

I am

* Shaw Abdalla.

I am more inclined to believe, that a prince who has the reputation of policy, will never ſtake his fortune on the precarious iſſue of an attempt that muſt be attended with dangers and difficulties, more than proportioned to the advantages he can expect from ſucceſs. Prudence, however, requires, that we ſhould not indulge in too much ſecurity; nor be wanting in thoſe meaſures which are neceſſary to inſpire with confidence our ally Sujah al Dowlah, the King, and thoſe other country powers whoſe intereſt leads them to oppoſe Abdalla, and to form a barrier to the Nabob's dominions.

We have, for this purpoſe, reſolved upon a plan, the particulars of which appear on the face of our proceedings the 23d of February, with a view, that all our military operations might be maturely concerted before Colonel Smith repaired to the army; and that nothing might remain but the immediate execution, ſhould we find the enemy are likely to advance to our frontier.

The motion of the five battalions of Sepoys to Seragepore, ſufficiently indicates to all the country powers, our determined reſolution not only to ſtand upon our own defence, but to extend our protection to all thoſe who are connected with us in friendſhip, or engaged to us by treaties, ſo far as may be conſiſtent with our own ſecurity and intereſt. Yet we ſhall avoid iſſuing orders to the ſecond brigade, and the remainder of the third, to join the above detachment, until the circumſtances of our intelligence render it abſolutely neceſſary, as this motion might alarm the minds of the people, and, in ſome degree, impede the collections, and other public buſineſs.

As to the Maharattas, we have nothing to apprehend from them in this quarter; their chief, Ragoonaut Row, is in full march to the ſouthward; and, by our laſt advices, had reached Narva Gaut, but with what views we cannot yet determine.

Janoogee, the Maharatta chief of Naugpore, ſeems well diſpoſed to cultivate our friendſhip, and promote the negociation reſpecting the ceſſion (upon certain conſiderations) of Cuttack to the Company. You have already been informed of the end propoſed in this treaty; to negociate which, I have at the Committee's recommendation, wrote for Janoogee's Vackeel to proceed to the Preſidency; and you may depend on my utmoſt attention to your honour and ſecurity in every ſtep I ſhall take in ſo important a tranſaction.

From the valuable cargoes already ſhipped in the Cruttenden, Britannia, Anſon, Albany, and Nottingham, as well as the goods provided for the Mercury, and thoſe that will be lying on hand in the warehouſe for want of tonnage, you will perceive that our utmoſt endeavours have been exerted to produce an encreaſe of your inveſtment: nothing, in my power, indeed, ſhall be wanting to forward a meaſure, by means of which alone you can hope to receive the full advantages of your increaſed revenues; but I am ſenſible many obſtacles will occur from the great flow of money now in the hands of foreign nations, and from the uncommon ſcarcity of weavers that prevails at preſent at all the factories and Aurungs; whether this *uncommon ſcarcity of weavers* proceeds from the troubles in which the country was ſo lately overwhelmed, or whether it ariſes from the general decline of trade at all the ports in India, it is certain that a great number of the manufacturers in cloth have deſerted their profeſſion, to ſeek for ſubſiſtence from a leſs precarious calling: hence follow thoſe unavoidable diſputes which ſo frequently happen with the French and Dutch, who leave no means untried to ſeduce the weavers from our ſervice.

The chief and council of Coſſimbazar have been apprehenſive they ſhould be under a neceſſity of raiſing the wages of their workmen, or of renouncing all hopes of encreaſing the inveſtment. Such a ſtep would prove prejudicial to your affairs, unleſs we could, at the ſame time, come to ſome equitable compromiſe with the other European eſtabliſhments, to check an evil equally felt by themſelves.

We are now taking every poſſible ſtep towards ſecuring a ſtill farther increaſe of your inveſtment for the enſuing ſeaſon. All the factories and Aurungs are fully ſupplied with the neceſſary advances, and there is at preſent the greateſt proſpect that the buſineſs will be conducted with zeal and alacrity.

The ſame attention will be paid to the collections of the revenues; to enforce, regulate, and eſtabliſh which, both with reſpect to the ballances of the preſent year, and the ſtatements of the enſuing general Poonah, I propoſe next month taking a tour of the provinces, for as long a time as the affairs of the Preſidency will admit of my abſence. This meaſure was recommended by Lord Clive to the Committee; and, I flatter myſelf, it will be the means not only of increaſing the revenues, but of conciliating the minds of the people to our government, as it will furniſh us with the means of redreſſing grievances, and correcting abuſes, which muſt otherwiſe have eſcaped my knowledge.

H. V.

No. XXIV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, March 28, 1768.

The ſeveral occurrences ſince I had the honour to addreſs you by the Nottingham, ſtand ſo fully recorded on the proceedings of your Council and Committee, that a ſecond addreſs from me would appear unneceſſary, were there not ſome ſubjects which I could wiſh to point out to your more particular attention; and others, which, though of conſequence, do not fall under the cognizance either of the Council or Committee.

It is to their proceedings I would refer you for proofs of that harmony, with which your affairs have been conducted during my government. Their example has been imitated by the younger ſervants in both civil and military departments; who, deſirous of convincing their employers, that their paſt faults have been occaſioned by the heat and extravagance of youth, apply themſelves with diligence to the diſcharge of their ſeveral functions. Nor can I with juſtice to theſe gentlemen omit remarking to you, that in general where errors have ariſen, they have proceeded more from their extreme youth and inexperience, than from any inclination to do wrong; as ſuch, I flatter myſelf they will be overlooked.

The only difference of opinion that has given riſe to altercation, you will ſee recorded in the proceedings of the Committee, in their correſpondence with Colonel Smith commanding your forces. As his ideas of the conduct of Sujah al Dowlah, and of the political meaſures which have been purſued, have conſtantly differed from ours, I judge it incumbent upon me, for your information, and for the juſtification of our conduct, to lay before you a compendious ſtatement of the different powers of Hindoſtan, by whom our own, or the public tranquility can be eſſentially diſturbed; a ſtatement, which will fully evince the ſecurity of the Honourable Company's poſſeſſions here, and the ſtability of the ſyſtem which has been ſo happily adopted.

The firſt and great cauſe of our ſecurity is, the general indigence of the Mogul empire; the invaſion of Nadir Shaw gave the firſt ſtroke to its power and opulence, but it fell not ſo heavily as is commonly imagined. It gave a mortal wound, it is true, to the overgrown wealth and arrogance of the Omras; but, as the blow was not purſued, its effect was not immediately felt beyond the capital. The eruption of the Maharattas enſued, their wide extended ravages laid deſolate almoſt every thing on the ſouth ſide of the Ganges, from near the frontiers of Bahar, on the eaſt, to Sirhind on the north and weſt. Their undiſtinguiſhing rapine plunged cities and countries

countries in one common ruin, and the empire muſt have ſunk under their oppreſſion, or fallen a prey to their ambition, if the defeat at Paniput had not put a period at once to their power and devaſtations. The expeditions of the Shaw Abdalla ſucceeded, which, though neither ſo extenſive, deſtructive, or bloody, as thoſe of the Maharattas, ſtill conduced greatly to exhauſt a declining ſtate; and, though his ſphere of action was chiefly confined to the Panjab and confines of Dehly, yet the vaſt ſums he levied muſt have been ſeverely felt throughout a country which produces no ſilver, and but very little gold. So large a decreaſe of ſpecie naturally produced a decay of trade, and a diminution of cultivation; and, though theſe evils have, in ſome meaſure, been palliated in our provinces by the annual imports of bullion, yet in the moſt flouriſhing interior parts, ſuch as Benâres, Mirzapore, &c. the fact is notorious, and beyond diſpute.

The natural conſequence of theſe circumſtances has been, that the different powers find their finances narrow, and their treaſures unequal to the maintenance of a reſpectable army, or the proſecution of a war of any duration. Whenever, therefore, they are urged by ambition or neceſſity to enter on any expedition, they aſſemble new levies for the purpoſe with the moſt unreflecting precipitancy; they riſk everything on one campaign, becauſe they have ſeldom reſources for a ſecond, and come to an engagement at all events, becauſe the conſequence of a defeat are leſs terrible than thoſe which muſt enſue from the deſertion, or ſedition of an ill paid and diſaffected army. As their troops then are chiefly raw men and aliens, they are without attachment to their general, or confidence in each other: a variety of independent commanders deſtroys all ſubordination and authority; and the certainty of beggary and ſtarving, from the common accidents of war, throws a damp on the moſt ardent bravery.

Theſe circumſtances, I apprehend, gentlemen, have been very principal ſources of our repeated victories over theſe immenſe Aſiatic armies, which have fled before a handful of your troops; and theſe will, I truſt, either deter others in future, or enſure ſucceſs againſt any who may be deſperate enough to brave a force like ours, ſo ſtrengthened by diſcipline, and rendered formidable by uninterrupted ſucceſſes.

A ſecond, and no leſs powerful reaſon for the ſecurity of our ſituation, is the diſcordancy of the principles, views, and intereſts of the neighbouring powers; and which muſt ever defeat any project of accompliſhing, by an aſſociation, what the wealth or power of a ſingle one muſt prove unequal to. The majority of the preſent princes of Hindoſtan have no natural right to the countries they poſſeſs. In the general wreck of the monarchy, every man ſeized what fortune threw into his hands; and they are, therefore, more ſtudious to ſecure what they have already obtained, than to graſp at new acquiſitions. Hence, the principal diſturbances which have lately happened in Hindoſtan, (Sujah al Dowlah's invaſion of Bengal excepted) have been accidental broils raiſed by the Maharattas, Seiks, and the Shaw Abdalla, whoſe views were rather extended to plunder than to territorial poſſeſſions. Conſcious that the maintenance of their uſurped authority depends on their preventing any of the members from being too much depreſſed, or too much elevated, they are become jealous and ſuſpicious of each other, and ever ready to throw in their weight againſt any one whom they ſee riſing too high above the common level. For this reaſon, they at firſt looked on our ſucceſſes with an evil eye, 'till our generoſity to Sujah al Dowlah; our attention to our treaties and public faith; and above all, our moderation in not purſuing our victories, begot a confidence in us they had not in their countrymen, and made them rather ambitious of our friendſhip than jealous of our power.

Thus

Thus circumſtanced, it will always be eaſy for a watchful and active adminiſtration on our ſide, to hold the general ballance of Hindoſtan, and cruſh every combination in the bud, by ſpiriting up ſome neighbouring power, who may be either ill-diſpoſed, or at leaſt not favourable to the confederates. A very little acquaintance with the diſpoſition of the natives, will ſhew their ardour for change, where they have a proſpect of ſupport; and the ſituation of Allahabad, and the ſtation of a brigade there, renders this plan ſtill more practicable. Its ſituation makes it, in ſome meaſure, the key of the ſurrounding territories; and its vicinity to the ſeveral countries of Sujah al Dowlah, the Rohillas, Jauts, and Maharattas, enables us to penetrate their views with more certainty, and in caſe of neceſſity, to enter any part with our army in ten or fifteen days, where we can have either an ally to ſupport, or an enemy to puniſh. It is for theſe reaſons, we have been obliged to retain a brigade out of the provinces. Our repeated reſolutions in Committee, will, I doubt not, evince our earneſt deſire to fulfil your orders on this head, and the neceſſity itſelf excuſes us for keeping it there as long as theſe reaſons ſhall ſubſiſt.

Such, gentlemen, ſeem to be the general cauſes of our preſent ſecurity here; but they receive additional ſtrength, from the particular characters and ſituations of the ſeveral potentates themſelves.

The King, Shaw Allum, acknowledged emperor of Hindoſtan, retains little of the authority or dominions of his anceſtors, but what he has derived from us. The provinces of Korah and Allahabad yield him a revenue of about twenty-ſeven lacks* per annum, at a rack rent; this is almoſt exhauſted, to ſupport rather the name, than the ſubſtance of an army, whilſt the Bengal tribute defrays the expences of his court and houſhold, and enables him to live in an affluence, if not with a ſplendor, he never before enjoyed. His abilities are rather below mediocrity, and his character ſeems rather calculated for private life than a throne. He is religious, as a man; affectionate, as a father; and humane, as a maſter; but, as a prince, he is weak, indolent, irreſolute, and eaſily ſwayed by the counſels of ſelf-intereſted men: I can not, however, think we have any thing to apprehend from theſe diſpoſitions; the remembrance of what he experienced, when dependent on Sujah al Dowlah, has created in him ſuch a diffidence of Hindoſtan connexions, as will effectually prevent him truſting himſelf to any of them again; and, at the ſame time, he probably entertains a diſtant hope, that the hand which has already raiſed him to his preſent independence, may one day be extended to reſtore him to his throne and right.

The Nabob, Sujah al Dowlah, is our next ally; and, if gratitude can be any tie on an Hindoſtan heart, we have every reaſon to conſider him as connected with us by the moſt indiſſoluble bonds. His dominions, except the Zemindarry of Bulwant Sing, lie on the north of the Ganges, and extend to the hills; and, though they are more thinly peopled than is common in this country, have been ſo much improved by his late regulations in them, as to produce annually near one crore and twenty-five lacks of † rupees. His increaſe of ſtrength has kept pace with his increaſe of revenue. He has near eleven battalions of Sepoys of all ſorts, a good body of horſe, and has made conſiderable additions to his artillery and magazines; but, as his whole revenue can never ſupport a force which can be really formidable to us, ſo it will always be in our power to direct the force he has to ſuch purpoſes as may beſt conduce to the intereſt of the Honourable Company and the general peace. The Nabob's education, and perhaps diſpoſition, have led him to be vain, aſpiring, and impatient. He is active, but deſultory; his judgment rather acute than ſound; and his generalſhip and policy more plauſible than ſolid. From pride, or jealouſy, he is afraid to employ men of abilities or rank, in the ſeveral departments of his government;

* 337,500 *l.* † 1,562,500 *l.*

ment; he plans, directs, overſees, and executes every thing himſelf; ſo that the multiplicity of buſineſs, and his daily encreaſing infirmities, oblige him to leave his beſt deſigns imperfect and crude. His ambition, it is true, is always inciting him to form new projects, but his volatility induces him to be continually abandoning ſome, and his impetuoſity often renders the remainder abortive. In a word, from a moſt careful review of his character and conduct, he ſeems a much properer inſtrument to accompliſh the Company's main point, the maintaining themſelves the umpires of Hindoſtan, than an enemy, who, from his ſtrength or ſituation, could give them any material uneaſineſs or trouble.

The Rohilla chiefs ſucceed, as ſeveral of them are immediately contiguous to the dominions of his majeſty, or of Sujah al Dowlah. The principal ones are Achmed Cawn Bungiſh, Haffez Rahmet Cawn, and Nijib al Dowlah, beſides ſeveral of leſs importance; ſuch as, Dunnedy Cawn, Sardar Cawn, &c. Though all theſe are, in fact, independent of each other; yet, as being of one tribe, and deriving their power from one ſtock, (Ally Mahomed Cawn) it is generally ſuppoſed they would unite in their common defence; although, from their diſpoſitions and ſituations, it ſeems hardly poſſible they could be brought to act unanimouſly. Their joint force is computed at about eighty thouſand effective horſe and foot; but theſe, from their native hardineſs, their dexterity with the ſword, and ſkill in the uſe of war rockets, have generally been ranked in higher eſtimation than the ordinary Hindoſtan troops; and the people in general, from ſome circumſtances in their political conſtitution, may be conſidered rather as a riſing power, at leaſt in national ſtrength.

The territories of Achmed Cawn Bungiſh, immediately border on the Korah country to the weſtward; they lie chiefly, if not entirely, between the Ganges and the Jumna; and his capital, Furruk-abad, is ſituated on the Ganges, about fifty coſs beyond the territories of Korah; his revenues, at the higheſt eſtimation, amount to * thirty-five or forty lacks of rupees, but the receipts do not probably exceed † thirty, and his ordinary force may be about eight thouſand horſe and foot: he is now pretty far advanced in years, and unfit for active life, both from an incurable lameneſs, and the various infirmities which a long courſe of every ſpecies of debauchery has brought on: yet, with all his vices, he is a man of ſtrong parts, extenſive experience, and deep policy. He makes ſeveral generous allowances to men of noble families and decayed fortunes, and is a great encourager of trade, by uſing every endeavour to protect the merchant from the natural turbulency of his ſubjects; on theſe accounts, he is much reſpected among his tribe, and is generally conſidered as their leader in caſe of an attack on their community, though the other two principal chiefs exceed him both in revenue and force. He has no children to ſucceed him, but has, after the Rohilla cuſtom, adopted one of his ſlaves, and given him the title of Daim Cawn.

The country poſſeſſed by Haffez Rahmet Cawn joins to the weſtern limits of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and lies entirely on the north of the Ganges, except Etwah, and ſome other ſtraggling Pergunnahs, which lie on the Jumna. The extent of it towards the north and the weſt cannot be accurately determined, as our accounts are but imperfect and from report, but it produces a revenue of at leaſt ‡ fifty or ſixty lacks of rupees, and enables him to maintain a ſtanding army of about fifteen or eighteen thouſand horſe and foot. His character has little to diſtinguiſh it, except that low cunning, intrigue, and deceit, ſo general in this country; and his avarice makes him particularly cautious of riſquing his treaſures by engaging in diſputes or war. With all his parſimony, he is not very rich, and his ſon, Anaut Alnah Cawn, a bold, giddy youth, without education or parts, draws all he can from him to ſupply

* 437,500 *l.* or 500,000 *l.* † 375,000 *l.* ‡ 625,000 *l.* or 750,000 *l.*

ply his own extravagauce; the father is between forty and fifty years of age, but healthy and ſtrong, and the ſon about twenty-three or twenty-four at moſt.

The poſſeſſions of Nijib al Dowlah are bounded by Sirhind on the weſt, and, beginning on the Jumna about ſeven Coſs eaſt of Dehly, they take a ſweep quite acroſs the peninſula, and to the northward of the Ganges, ſo as to join Haffez Rahmet's and Dunnedy Cawn's weſtern frontier. He has, alſo, ſome diſtricts in the confines of Dehly to the ſouth of the Jumna. The revenue of ſuch an immenſe tract of country, in one of the moſt fertile parts of the empire, would be prodigious; but the greateſt part of it having long been the ſeat of war, and of the depredations of the Maharattas, Seiks, and Abdalla, it is much impoveriſhed, and does not yield above eighty or ninety † lacks per annum. Conſiderable, however, as this is, his treaſury was never very full. He has been obliged for many years to keep a ſtrong army for the protection of his dominions and his family, againſt the continual incurſions of the Seiks, &c. and the large contributions he was obliged laſt year to pay the Shaw Abdalla, has now probably drained it entirely. His troops are generally twenty thouſand, or more; and, as he has been almoſt continually at war, are veteran and brave. As a man, and a prince, he is perhaps the only example in Hindoſtan of, at once, a great and good character. He raiſed himſelf from the command of fifty horſe to his preſent grandeur, entirely by his ſuperior valour, integrity, and ſtrength of genius; and has maintained himſelf in it with univerſal applauſe, by a ſpirited and well grounded ſyſtem of policy. Experience and abilities have ſupplied the want of letters and education; and the native nobleneſs and goodneſs of his heart have amply made amends for the defect of his birth and family. He is a ſtrict lover of juſtice, a moſt faithful ſubject to his emperor, and has long been the ſole defence and ſupport of the Royal Family at Dehly. His wiſdom and conduct were no where more manifeſt than in his tranſactions laſt year with the Shaw Abdalla. He found himſelf obliged to join him, or expoſe his country to an immediate invaſion, and, therefore, complied with the neceſſity; but, at the ſame time, ſo protracted their councils, and threw ſo many ſecret obſtacles in the way of their deſigns, that after ſeveral months, the Shaw finding his troops mutinous for want of pay or plunder, himſelf harraſſed by the Seiks, the heats begun, and the rains approaching, was obliged to return home with diſgrace, and reſt contented with a ſum of money infinitely inferior to what his expedition had promiſed. Another man, in ſuch a ſituation, would probably have loſt his life or liberty; but Nijib al Dowlah, by his prudence, at once ſaved his dominions, and extricated himſelf. He is now about ſixty years old, and his conſtitution much worn down by fatigue and ſickneſs; ſo that it is probable he will ſoon be ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Zabelah Cawn, aged near thirty-five, who, to all his father's virtues, joins the improvements of a liberal education.

It would be unneceſſary to trouble you with a detail of Dunnedy Cawn, Sardar Cawn, and the other inferior chiefs. They can have no political conſequence; but as their dominions are ſurrounded by thoſe of the more powerful Sirdars, they muſt, of neceſſity, adopt whatever plan of action the others may think expedient to embrace.

The dominions of Jewhar Sing, or the Jaut country, extends in the peninſula from Agra to within a few Coſs of Dehly on the weſt, and near Etwah on the eaſt; they are poſſeſſed likewiſe of a large tract to the ſouth of the Jumna; and, beſides a number of inferior places of ſtrength, have three forts which are deemed almoſt impregnable. The revenue of Jewhar Sing is, on a moderate computation, near two crore of ‡ rupees per annum, beſides the aſtoniſhing ſums his father Serage Mahl had amaſſed. But, though he is ſo much ſuperior to his neighbours in wealth, his ſtrength is

† 1,000,000 *l.* or 1,125,000 *l.* ‡ 2,500,000 *l.*

is not proportionable; his people, from their caſt and occupation, are unaddicted to arms, and he has, therefore, on all occaſions where he has been attacked himſelf, or has attacked others, been obliged to call in foreign auxiliaries: theſe carry off a large proportion of his exceſs of wealth, and muſt, if he has any thought, render him cautious of engaging much in war, leſt the ſame arms he uſes for the deſtruction of others, may be ultimately turned againſt himſelf. His character, like the majority of the great in Hindoſtan, is that of a man abſorbed in pleaſure and luxury; weak, vain-glorious, aſpiring, without experience or abilities. He diſcovered ſome perſonal bravery in his late engagement with the Raje-poots, but little prudence or conduct in the commencement of the war, or method of carrying it on. His ſtanding army is computed at about twelve thouſand horſe, a large body of foot, who garriſon his forts; and Sōmroo, with his rabble of Sepoys, is the general he ſeems moſt to depend upon.

The power with which he is now at war, is Maha Rajah Madhu Sing; and his ambition, which led him to the invaſion, coſt him, five months ago, ſo ſignal a defeat, that he has been obliged to call in the Seiks to his aſſiſtance. His adverſary has done the ſame with the Maharattas; and ſhould their diviſions permit them to anſwer the ſummons, in all probability after the enſuing rains the diſpute may become obſtinate and bloody: whatever may be the event, it can ſcarcely affect us; and the moſt probable conſequence ſeems to be, a confirmation of the general tranquility, as theſe four principal powers will be too much enfeebled, by their mutual efforts againſt each other, to be ſpeedily in a condition of giving the public any diſturbance.

Maha Rajah Madhu Sing poſſeſſes a large diſtrict to about the ſouth-weſt of Dehly, and his revenue is eſtimated at about a crore of * rupees. Few princes of Hindoſtan can compare with him for the antiquity of his family, or the fame of his anceſtors. His ſubjects are chiefly Raje-poots, born to war; they are the cultivators of his lands in peace, and the undaunted defenders of theſe lands when invaded. Proud of their ancient glory, they diſdain to fly, and ruſh with intrepidity to certain death or victory. In the late engagement with Jewhar Sing, their horſe rode up through the fire of above ninety pieces of cannon, and all the muſquetry of the Sepoys, till they came to ſwords; and, though thrice repulſed, renewed the attack, which met with the ſucceſs their bravery deſerved, and night alone ſaved the remains of the Jaut's broken forces. What renders this noble ſpirit ſtill more laudable is, that it is chiefly exerted in the defence of their families and maſter; nor do I recollect an inſtance in the annals of Hidoſtan, where they were ſubdued themſelves, or attempted the conqueſt of others.

The Maha Rajah is more remarkable for his family than talents; and though neither weak nor deficient, yet his abilities can hardly entitle him to eminence or fame. His ſtanding army is but inconſiderable, becauſe, as I obſerved before, all his ſubjects are his ſoldiers; ſo that, however amply he is provided for his own ſecurity, his ſyſtem is no ways calculated for foreign expeditions.

We have been ſo long acquainted with the Maharattas in the Deccan, that it would be ſuperfluous to make any obſervations on their ſituations, to gentlemen ſo well informed of it from the preſidencies of Madraſs and Bombay; and I ſhould not have mentioned them at all, except as poſſeſſors of ſome diſtricts which lie on the ſouth of the Jumna, and contiguous to the † demeſnes of our § royal ally. Their neighbourhood, however, can never give us cauſe of apprehenſion, as the ſmallneſs of their force there leaves them rather open to invaſions themſelves, than puts it in their power to moleſt others: and the late advices from Bombay and Madraſs, will

* 1,250,000 *l.* † The province of Korah and Allahabad.
§ Shah Allum, the preſent emperor of Hindoſtan.

clearly point out how impracticable it muſt be for the Maharattas, under their preſent inteſtine diviſions and jealouſies, to ſend any formidable reinforcements to ſo remote poſſeſſions with hoſtile views. I ſhall cloſe this head with one general remark, that as the Maharattas are notoriouſly the ſoldiers for hire, their arms will probably be ever at our devotion, becauſe our revenues can beſt enable us to come up to their price.

As the country of the Seiks commences as far weſt as Sirhind, their diſtance would be a ſufficient reaſon for omitting them in this detail, did not their aſtoniſhing riſe from the loweſt ebb of national weakneſs, to a moſt reſpectable pitch of power, make it neceſſary juſt to touch on them. In the reign of Ferruk Seer, their tribe was not computed at above one thouſand perſons; but their admiſſion of converts of all perſuaſions into their religion, has, in ſo ſhort an interval, ſwelled their force to above eighty thouſand men fit for arms; and put them in poſſeſſion of all that fertile country between Sirhind and the river Atoch. In a political view, they ſeem rather a barrier for Hindoſtan againſt Abdalla, or any other weſtern power, than a people aiming at conqueſt; and their military conduct on the § Shaw's late expedition, gave full proof of their ability to repel, if not ruin an invader.

This, gentlemen, is the ſtate of the Hindoſtan powers, which I have taken the liberty of ſubmitting to your cognizance. I believe it will be found exact, though not minute, and be ſufficient to demonſtrate, that, as every advantage of revenue, diſcipline, force, and unanimity is on our ſide, ſo the oppoſite diſadvantages muſt prove fatal to any power who may attempt to be your enemy. I muſt refer you to the country correſpondence for farther particulars, as well as for the confirmation of what I have here advanced. You will there find pleaſing proofs of the anxious deſire all the powers I have enumerated, expreſs for our alliance and friendſhip; and you will clearly perceive from thence, how eaſy it muſt be for us to maintain our preſent character as umpires of Hindoſtan, by counteracting any hoſtile deſigns againſt ourſelves or our allies, by our influence at a diſtance, or by our force when near. This has been the ſyſtem I have ever ſtrenuouſly recommended to the Committee; the maxim I have invariably purſued myſelf; and this, I truſt, will continue in future to be crowned with the deſired ſucceſs.

I could have wiſhed the * gentlemen on the Coaſt had been more deeply impreſſed with this idea, ſo that the reinforcements ſent from Bengal, inſtead of being ſcattered and diſmembered, might have ſtruck the important blow we meditated againſt the † Subah. In this caſe, Hyder-abad, weak and defenceleſs, muſt have fallen an eaſy prey before the Nizam could have even received intelligence of the expedition; and, as the capture muſt have more univerſally enforced a conviction of our power, ſo the generous reſtitution of it to a repenting enemy, muſt have highly exalted our moderation and diſintereſtedneſs.

You will obſerve, from the Committee proceedings, that a jealouſy has long ſubſiſted between the courts of his ‡ majeſty and Sujah al Dowlah. A ſeeming attention in us to one more than to the other, will ever awaken apprehenſions; and, however nice and delicate our conduct may be, imaginary cauſe for uneaſineſs will always be found. His majeſty has lately, through our interpoſition, liſtened to an accommodation with the ‖ Nabob; and, by a letter juſt received, has confirmed his reconciliation, by conferring a dreſs on the ‖ Vizier.

The very large and valuable cargoes laden on board the ſeveral ſhips of this ſeaſon, will, I hope, be a convincing proof of the great attention that has been paid to ſo

§ Shaw Abdalla, the Duranny king.
* The preſidency of Madras, on the coaſt of Coromandel.
† Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan.
‡ Shah Allum, the preſent emperor of Hindoſtan.
‖ Sujah al Dowlah, the Vizier.

im-

important a part of your affairs. The ſeveral invoices amount to no leſs than five millions eight hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand * rupees, and a ballance of goods remains in the warehouſes of four hundred and forty-nine thouſand † rupees, which makes the total of your inveſtment this ſeaſon ſix millions three hundred and forty-five thouſand ‡ rupees. So conſiderable an increaſe, at a time when the other nations were equally anxious with ourſelves to extend their trade, could not be effected without many diſagreeable complaints from both the French and Dutch factories; though many of them, upon examination, proved frivolous, and others without foundation. They muſt do us the juſtice to acknowledge, that we have acted towards them with moderation, and have often aſſiſted them by our influence with the country government in points that were not detrimental to your intereſt; nor has this increaſe been unattended by complaints from your own ſervants, though, I muſt confeſs, with much more juſtice: and my duty to my employers, no leſs than humanity to the ſufferers, calls upon me to lay before you a diſtinct repreſentation of their caſe. The incurſions of the Maharattas in the time of the Nabob Alliverdy Cawn, the diſputes we were forced into with his ſucceſſor, Serajah al Dowlah, and the war we ſuſtained againſt the bloody tyrant Meer Coſſim, have kept theſe provinces in a continual ſtate of confuſion, and introduced all the evils attendant upon war. Cultivation was neglected, manufactures were deſtroyed, and numbers of weavers and winders were obliged to procure ſubſiſtence from a leſs precarious employment. We have, indeed, enjoyed a few years of reſt, and the country every day feels more and more the benefit ariſing from it. Plenty has ſucceeded to famine, and ſecurity has induced the natives to apply themſelves again to labour, and to commerce; but the manufactures are ſcarcely encreaſed, the Aurungs are not ſo well peopled as they were twenty years before; and yet your demands, and thoſe of the other nations, are beyond what the country is able to ſupply, was every ſpecies of cloth to be purchaſed. The amount of your orders is above a ‖ crore and twenty lacks, the Dutch wiſh to have § forty, the French are endeavouring to procure ** twenty-two, and the Danes and Portugueſe †† fifteen.

The French and Dutch Companies, by granting remittances only for ſuch ſums as have been paid into their treaſuries in ſilver, have been amply ſupplied with money; and they have as amply furniſhed their agents at the Aurungs with the proper ſpecies of rupees, whilſt we have been put to difficulties in that account. To obviate theſe in ſome meaſure, and to comply with your orders to the utmoſt of our power, we have been obliged to curtail the private trade of your ſervants at every Aurung to a degree almoſt of annihilation.

Deprived of that principal branch of commerce by which alone the ſhipping trade can be ſupported, interdicted trading in ſalt, whilſt we behold all the foreign nations, as well as natives, enjoying the benefit of it, under feigned names and various pretences, too intricate to be unfolded, and too deeply laid to be checked or brought to public view, prohibited all other means of accumulating money, with ſmall ſalaries, and no emoluments, from whence is a ſervant to raiſe a fortune in Bengal? I declare, I have as great an opinion of your preſent ſet of ſervants in general, as of any one body of men: but with ſuch a proſpect before them, having the government of a rich and populous kingdom, and the amount of millions paſſing through their hands, they muſt be more than men to ſtand the fiery trial: were they to reſiſt the temptation, I greatly fear that zeal and vigour ſo neceſſary for the proſperous

* 663,300 *l.* † 50,512 *l.* ‡ 713,812 *l.*

‖ 1,350,000 *l.*—§ 500,000 *l.*—** 275,000 *l.*—†† 187,500 *l.*—Total, 2,312,500 *l.* ſterling ¶.

¶ Here, rupees of the Engliſh are eſtimated at two ſhillings and three pence each, being current; thoſe of foreign nations, at two ſhillings and ſix pence each, being ſilver.

management of your affairs, would be wanting; but, ſhould it be too powerful, I tremble for the conſequences.

This, I am ſenſible, is not the ſtate to which you would wiſh to ſee your ſervice reduced, but it really is the ſtate at preſent; you have been pleaſed to promiſe your ſervants ſome conſideration in lieu of the ſalt, and they wait with anxiety your reſolutions.

I have thus, gentlemen, performed what my duty required at my hands; if I have any where expreſſed myſelf with too much warmth, the nature of the ſubject will, I hope, ſufficiently plead my excuſe.

It was this heavy reſtriction upon private trade, that induced ſome of the gentlemen clandeſtinely to extend their commerce into the territories of our ally Sujah al Dowlah, but the ill conduct of ſome of the Gomaſtahs having occaſioned complaints from the Nabob, I immediately iſſued orders for their recall, and have taken effectual meaſures for preventing that trade in future.

The increaſing ſcarcity of ſilver has been ſo fully ſet forth in the proceedings of the Council and Committee, that nothing but the urgent neceſſity of the ſettlement could tempt me to remind you of it in this letter. Gold is not current at the Aurungs, and we ſhall with difficulty be enabled to raiſe a ſufficient quantity of ſilver for the proviſion of the enſuing year's inveſtment. A farther remittance to China is entirely out of our power to ſupply.

The extent of your territorial poſſeſſions in Bengal requires a conſiderable body both of Europeans and Sepoys to be maintained for its defence. The latter corps is conſtantly kept completed, but the number of the former is far ſhort of the fixed eſtabliſhment. The recruits of the laſt ſeaſon were not even ſufficient to ſupply caſualties. As the keeping the brigades and artillery complete is of the higheſt importance to the ſafety of theſe provinces, I muſt entreat of you, gentlemen, to encreaſe the number of the annual recruits for Bengal.

The indent for cannon and ſmall arms, I likewiſe hope, will be fully complied with; of the former, many may prove uſeleſs on the very firſt trial, and the latter are liable to ſo many accidents, from the dangerous navigation of the river in tranſporting them to the army, from the ignorance, the careleſſneſs, or the deſertion of the Sepoys, that an ample reſerve in our magazines is abſolutely neceſſary; no leſs than one thouſand ſix hundred of the laſt ſupply were loſt in the river a few days ſince, which, I fear, we ſhall never recover.

An agate quarry has been lately diſcovered among the hills near Mongheer: as the ſtone appeared to be of a proper quality for gunflints, I ordered a quantity to be made, and have directed five thouſand to be ſent to the ſecond brigade, and the like quantity to the remainder of the firſt brigade, and the troops in garriſon; if, upon trial, they anſwer my expectation, I ſhall recommend to the board the providing two millions of them to be kept in ſtore for the ſupply of any future emergency: they are cheaper than the flints from Europe, the expence being only four * rupees for a thouſand; but, leſt they ſhould not prove ſerviceable, or the vein be inſufficient for a conſtant ſupply, I would beg leave to recommend that the indent for this ſeaſon be complied with. I have ſent by Captain Riddle one hundred, taken promiſcuouſly out of the heap, for your examination and opinion.

The Committee proceedings will inform you, that we have been treating with the Maharattas for their ceſſion of the country of Cuttack: this negociation has been greatly protracted, but I am in hopes of ſeeing it very ſoon concluded. It is cuſtomary with theſe people to ſpin out treaties to an immoderate length: avaritious in the higheſt

* Ten ſhillings.

degree

degree, they endeavour by every artifice to encreaſe their exorbitant demands; and, faithleſs themſelves, they are ſuſpicious of the faith of others. The advantages of ſuch an acceſſion of territory are too obvious to require being particularly pointed out. The mutual aſſiſtance the † preſidencies can yield each other, unſubjected to the precariouſneſs of the ſeaſons, and the accidents ſo liable to ſhipping, is not one of the leaſt we ſhall derive from completing the chain of your poſſeſſions from the banks of the § Caramnaſſa to the extremities of the coaſt of Coromandel.

I have the honour to encloſe you a general ſtatement of your receipts and diſburſements of caſh during the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven. It is calculated more for ſpeculation, than to be depended upon for its exactneſs; though I am certain you will find it deviating but ſlightly from the truth, ſhould any error appear.

To confirm what I have before urged of the neceſſity of your encreaſing the number of recruits deſtined for this preſidency, I do myſelf the honour to encloſe a ſtate of the European forces, drawn up to the firſt of this month, and compared with one made the 30th of June laſt; from which you will obſerve that three hundred and ninety were ſick, and ſix hundred and ſeventy were wanting to complete the eſtabliſhment, before the arrival of the recruits of laſt ſeaſon; and though none of them were loſt either by death or deſertion during their ſtay at Calcutta, we have at this time three hundred and ſixty-ſix ſick, and three hundred and five are ſtill wanting to complete: an amazing deficiency, when it is conſidered that the ſickly ſeaſon is not yet begun.

A number of gentlemen are employed in a ſurvey of theſe provinces. The boundaries are almoſt finiſhed, and they are now taking the ſections of the ſeveral countries. In September next, I hope to have the pleaſure of ſending you a complete plan of all your poſſeſſions in this part of India. In tracing and examining ſuch an immenſe tract of country, the greateſt part of which affords not the leaſt conveniency to an European, the expence muſt neceſſarily be great, but the benefit of ſuch an undertaking will be an ample compenſation for the charges that are attendant upon it.

You will be pleaſed to receive a general return of your forces, both European and Sepoys. As I have not lately received any return of the detachment to the Coaſt, I have been obliged to omit it.

I flatter myſelf you have, ere now, made choice of a gentleman to ſucceed me in the government: the weakneſs of my conſtitution renders ſuch a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary, if it is not already effected. My gratitude to the Company would not allow me to heſitate a moment in complying with their orders, ſhould they judge it expedient for me to make a longer ſtay in India; but a ſeries of nineteen years dedicated to their ſervice has ſo entirely deſtroyed my conſtitution, that another year's reſidence in Bengal would, in all probability, prove fatal. Should my ill ſtate of health oblige me to vacate the chair before I am honoured with your anſwer, I ſhall quit it with the leſs reluctance, as the gentleman next to me in the ſervice, (Mr. Cartier,) bears ſo worthy and unexceptionable a character: and I take the liberty of recommending him to your particular notice.

Allow me, gentlemen, to conclude with a private requeſt for myſelf, and I the leſs fear a denial, when I reflect, that it is the firſt I have ever taken the liberty to make; that you will indulge me with the remittance of ſuch part of my fortune as may be remaining in India at my departure, through your caſh.

H. V.

† The two preſidencies of Fort St. George on the coaſt of Coromandel, and of Fort William in Bengal.

§ The river Caramnaſſa is the north-weſt boundary of the province of Bahar, and divides it from the late Rajah Bulwant Sing's country.

To

No. XXV.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

Fort William, September 26, 1768.

I had the honour to addreſs you under date the 28th of March, by the ſhip Admiral Pocock, and endeavoured then to give you as full a ſtatement of your political and commercial concerns, as my health and a ſhort reſpite from public buſineſs would permit. I will now proceed on the ſame plan to lay plainly before you every matter which ſeems worthy of your knowledge or attention. I have always deemed this direct correſpondence between the Preſident and the Court of Directors of the moſt ſerious import to the Company; becauſe, having the primary ſuperintendence of the ſeveral departments, he muſt be beſt acquainted with the immediate ſprings of every material event; and becauſe, as an individual, he can communicate his ſentiments with that freedom and unreſerve which the delicacy of public addreſſes will not with propriety admit. It has ever been my principle, and, I truſt, will be ever my practice, to give truth as I find it, even where that truth might appear unfavourable to myſelf, or diſagreeable to you: I look on myſelf as accountable for all my public acts to you, to my king, and to my country; and I will never diſguiſe facts to court approbation, or conceal them from an apprehenſion of cenſure. For this reaſon, I hope my preſent repreſentation will have that weight in your opinions which I could have wiſhed our public ones had been honoured with on ſome late conſequential points. Your Governor and Council, I may ſafely affirm, ever merited the preference which ſeems to have been given to private authorities; and, I am perſuaded, a ſhort reflection will eaſily evince how injurious ſuch a ſuſpicion is to your ſervants, how unworthy of your impartiality, and how dangerous to the Company's affairs in general. The intelligence of individuals can be derived only from partial lights, and communicated mainly with private views. Your ſervants, on the contrary, are immediately preſent on the ſcene of action; they have free acceſs to every ſource of information, and can neither aggrandiſe or villify advantages or loſſes, without certainty of detection and forfeiture of good name. Whatever benefits, therefore, may be expected to accrue from a compariſon of public and private advices, they will be found by experience to be no ballance to their inconveniences: ſuch a jealous attention to their actions may, perhaps, prove a curb to a corrupt adminiſtration, but it will certainly furniſh them with a plauſible excuſe, while a manifeſtation of diſtruſt will inevitably fetter the activity and reſolution of the moſt upright government. As your ſervants, we are accountable for every act and meaſure; but it is ſurely hard that our conduct and integrity ſhould be arraigned on the ill-founded teſtimony of ſanguine or diſcontented men! I am ſenſible how much the delicacy of your ſituation, and the violence of oppoſition muſt have influenced you in this point; and I hope you will excuſe my warmth on the occaſion. A little time will either juſtify or condemn us; and I truſt the preſent * diſpatch will demonſtrate whoſe repreſentations have been moſt authentic and impartial.

The King Shaw Allum remains much in the ſame ſituation, both as to his affairs and diſpoſitions. The memory of what is paſt continues to render him fearful of forming Hindoſtan connections. Formed, as I have obſerved, rather for private life than a throne, he inſenſibly begins to acquieſce in the enjoyment of competence and independency: and his rooted jealouſy of Sujah al Dowlah, and of his encreaſing power,

* By the ſhip Valentine.

binds

binds him to us more ſtrongly, as well from apprehenſion as neceſſity. He profeſſes on all occaſions, and I believe ſincerely, to be influenced only by the Engliſh counſels; and though his re-eſtabliſhment at Dehly is caſually the ſubject of his converſation and letters, yet a reference to Col. Barker's correſpondence will point out how far his reſolutions in this matter are from being immediate or determined.

In the ſituation of the other potentates of Hindoſtan, no great alteration has taken place, except the deceaſe of the Raje-poot and Jaut chiefs. Maha Rajah Madhu Sing died a natural death, after concluding a ſort of truce, rather than peace, with Jewhar Sing and the Seiks; and Jewhar Sing was aſſaſſinated in June by a Raje-poot, four of whom had been commiſſioned by their principal Sirdars for that purpoſe, from an apprehenſion of his views on their country, after the rains, on account of the youth and weakneſs of their new ruler Perteet Sing. No commotions, however, have been produced by this accident. His brother Ruttun Sing (a weak and indolent debauchee) has peaceably ſucceeded him, though it is not improbable that very weakneſs may prove a temptation to his neighbours, or the enterprizing Maharatta or Seik, to attack him at a proper opportunity. Diviſions have alſo been manifeſted among the Rohillas. A formidable inſurrection was raiſed in Achmed Cawn's country, which obliged him to apply to his majeſty and Sujah al Dowlah for aſſiſtance; though tranquility has ſince been reſtored to his territories, by the defeat of the rebel Abedullah Cawn, without any foreign interpoſition. The powers farther to the weſtward appear tranquil and ſettled. There is no appearance of any new expedition from the Shaw Abdalla. And the Seiks will, in all probability, not adopt active meaſures this ſeaſon, as they have received money from Madhu Sing, Jewhar Sing, and Nijib al Dowlah, to purchaſe their friendſhip, or rather to buy off their ravages. The only probability of their return muſt be from the invitation of the Jauts or Raje-poots, ſhould the Maharattas make any attempt upon them. And their interfering in this caſe, will rather add to our ſecurity, than give us reaſon for alarm: becauſe, by their ſupport of the weaker party, the conteſt muſt become more equal, and the only enemy we have to fear in India, be greatly weakened thereby, without the mediation either of our arms or influence.

The ſtate and order of your provinces, revenues, commerce, and ſervice in general, are matters next in conſequence to your political ſecurity; and, as ſuch, require the moſt urgent repreſentations on my part, and the moſt diſpaſſionate attention on yours. The animoſity of public faction, the extravagant hopes of the partial and ſanguine, and the unjuſt miſrepreſentations of the deſigning and diſcontented, have contributed to exaggerate the advantages of all above their real, or even poſſible, amount; they have conſpired to draw on us the public odium, and miſlead the impartiality and propriety of your moſt poſitive orders!

When the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa came under your juriſdiction, they were much ſunk in opulence, population, and manufactures, from their ancient importance. The almoſt continual irruptions of the Maharattas, under the government of Alliverdy Cawn, and the avarice of the miniſters under the ſupineneſs of Serajah al Dowlah, the neceſſities of Meer Jaffier, and the iron hand of the rapacious and blood-thirſty Meer Coſſim, ſtruck equally at the property of the rich, and induſtry of the poor: and while it reduced the one to indigence, compelled the other to ſeek ſafety in flight. If, to theſe, we add, firſt, the immenſe amount in ſpecie and jewels to the value of between three and five crores of * rupees, ſecreted or carried off by Coſſim, after his ſeveral defeats had obliged him to relinquiſh all hopes of a reinſtatement: 2dly, The royal tribute of twenty-ſix † lacks, and the expence

* Between 3,750,000 *l.* and 6,250,000 *l.*

† 325,000 *l.*

expence of about twenty lacks for a brigade, both paid annually out of the provinces, and conſequently out of the ſphere of our immediate circulation: 3dly, The annual amount of our own, and the other nations inveſtments, for which no value is received into the country: 4thly, The large exports of bullion to China, and the different preſidencies during the three laſt years: And laſtly, the unavoidable misfortune and capital drain, the immenſe ſums paid into the caſh of foreign nations for bills on their reſpective Companies. I ſay, the aggregate of theſe ſeveral exports muſt appear inevitably and immediately ruinous to the moſt flouriſhing ſtate; much leſs be deemed tolerable to a declining and exhauſted country! Yet it is in this ſituation the Court of Directors, and the nation in general, have been induced to expect prodigious remittances in ſpecie, from a country which produces little gold and no ſilver; and where any conſiderable imports of both have, for a ſeries of years, been rendered unneceſſary to the trade of foreign Companies, by the general demands for draughts on Europe. It was therefore to be wiſhed, and was more than once propoſed, that when theſe lands came under our management, we had lowered, for a time the ſtated rents of moſt diſtricts, as an incitement to cultivation and improvement, rather than have made the ſmalleſt attempt to an increaſe. Many, however, and powerful reaſons, conſpired to influence the adminiſtration in the meaſures they adopted: the neceſſity of providing a certain fund for emergencies, in a country fruitful in revolutions, the certainty of no ſupplies from home, or the other preſidencies, and the probability of large demands from both; all pleaded powerfully for retaining things on the footing we found them, and for poſtponing a relaxation of revenue, till theſe great purpoſes were fully accompliſhed. The event has juſtified our pre-conceived opinions, though the neceſſities of the country remain unrelieved and unremedied. Diſtreſſed as we are, at preſent, for the means of the neceſſary remittances to the Coaſt and Bombay, for the proviſion of future inveſtments, and even the defraying of current expences, what muſt have been our ſituation, had our collections been leſs rigid and ample? Excuſe me, gentlemen, for ſuggeſting here another reaſon, not leſs cogent, though of a private nature: If, when your ſervants have exerted themſelves in every extenſion of your revenues and inveſtment conſiſtent with the immediate ſafety of the country, all their efforts fall ſo ſhort of the ideas you have formed, and of the public expectation, what could they have hoped, had they framed their meaſures for preſent retrenchments and diſtant advantages? Might not your whole adminiſtration here, with juſtice, have apprehended their being ſacrificed to an irritated and miſinformed Court of Proprietors, who might have regretted the injury, when the reparation was beyond their power? Do us the juſtice, gentlemen, to reflect how unreaſonable ſuch a riſk of our fortunes and characters muſt appear after a tedious ſervice, and the manifold injuries of the climate, more eſpecially where our own opinions and integrity are all the evidence we have to produce in our ſupport.

Permit me to give you my moſt ſerious opinion, founded on almoſt nineteen years experience in the various branches of your revenues, and in various diſtricts of your poſſeſſions, that it is totally beyond the power of your adminiſtration to make any material addition to your rents, or remit a ſingle rupee in ſpecie home; and that, unleſs the moſt efficacious and ſpeedy meaſures are entered upon by you to neceſſitate the foreign nations to an importation of bullion, equal to the amount of their homeward cargoes, and effectually to divert the capital ſums paid for their bills into the channel of your own remittances, money will ſoon become ſo ſcarce as to oblige us to collect many of the rents in the produce of the lands inſtead of ſpecie, and our

utmoſt

utmoſt exertion of endeavours be deemed happy, if we can any ways gather together a ſufficient ſupply of caſh for the proviſion of your inveſtment, and the current expences of this preſidency. A reference to the immenſe drains I have mentioned, and a ballance of trade againſt the country equal to the ſum of our vaſt inveſtments, and thoſe of all the other nations, will eaſily account for this diſtreſs, and juſtify my aſſertions.

The extent of the Dutch and French credit exceeds all conception, and their bills are even ſolicited as favours. The preciſe ſums received by them for ſome years I have endeavoured to aſcertain, though hitherto without ſucceſs; but if we only form our idea from the bills drawn this year from Europe on individuals here and Madraſs (excluſive of what has been received for bills on their Company) the amount will appear prodigious and alarming. Advices of draughts and letters of credit have been already received to the amount of twenty-eight * lacks of rupees on Bengal, and ten † lacks on the gentlemen of Madraſs; and I have the moſt certain information that their treaſuries at Pondicherry and Chandornagore are amply furniſhed with all proviſion for both their inveſtments and expences for three years to come. You have often complained of the increaſe and ſuperiority of the French, &c. inveſtments; but your orders and regulations have furniſhed them with the moſt extenſive means of both. It is in vain to threaten diſmiſſion from your ſervice, or forfeiture of your protection, for ſending home money by foreign caſh, while you open no door for remittances yourſelves. Such menaces may render the practice more ſecret and cautious; but will never diminiſh, much leſs remove the evil.

But it is not from their accumulation of money alone, both here and on the coaſt, that I think the French deſigns require a very ſerious attention; but becauſe their preparations at the iſlands, and the number of ſhips they ſend out to remain in the country, leave us little room to doubt they are meditating an important and early blow in this quarter. How far the procuring a ſquadron of men of war to be ſtationed in India, is in your power, or conſiſtent with your plan, I know not; but allow me to recommend it as a meaſure highly conducive to your ſecurity.

Though I had not, at that time, an adequate idea either of the opulency of the French, or ſo immediate a proſpect of our own diſtreſs for ſpecie; yet, with a view to reſtrict their ſupplies for the enſuing year, I formed a plan in the beginning of May laſt, for receiving all monies tendered to our treaſury, and giving bills on Europe, payable in three annual proportions; the whole to bear an intereſt of ſix per cent. till ſuch bills were granted; and the ballance, after the firſt year, to bear an intereſt of three per cent. till paid. The univerſal concurrence I knew the propoſal would meet with, induced me to prepare a minute on the ſubject for the conſideration of the Board, a copy of which I have the honour to encloſe for your information, and proof of the utility of ſuch an arrangement. Before we had any opportunity of entering on ſo important a debate, from the abſence of Meſſ. Cartier and Becher, the arrival of your orders, by the Admiral Watſon, obliged me to quit my former intentions, however thoroughly I remained convinced of their neceſſity. Had the reſolution depended ſolely on myſelf, I would have riſked your ſevereſt diſpleaſure, from a conſciouſneſs of doing my duty, and promoting your true intereſt; but when your prohibitions were ſo poſitive, when your prejudices appeared ſo ſtrong, and your confidence in us ſo ſmall, could I have propoſed to the Council drawing on you for 150,000 or 200,000 pounds ſterling, when you expected a remittance to the amount of 500,000, without ſubjecting every member of that Board to certain diſgrace, and diſmiſſion from you, had they acquieſced in my meaſures?

* 350,000 *l.* † 125,000 *l.*

But though it has been impoſſible for us, in our preſent ſituation, to follow your directions in the remittances of ſo large a ſum in ſpecie; as much, I think, as the power of men could effect has been done, and is ſtill doing, to enable you to realize in Europe as much as poſſible of your property here. The mode, indeed, has been different from what you had preſcribed; but, I flatter myſelf, it will be found, on trial, moſt beneficial to the Company's affairs, and the nation in general. If you will recur to the ſtate of your inveſtment four or five years ago, it will be found on an average, not to exceed 34 * lacks of rupees; the laſt year we provided you the amount of 64 † lacks; and I am in hopes to be able to tranſmit you, by the ſhips of this ſeaſon, goods to the value of one complete million ſterling. When it is conſidered, that this is an increaſe of of near 600,000 pounds ſterling, that your poſſeſſions will be leſs impoveriſhed by an export of their produce than ſpecie, that the nation will be benefited by the duties on ſo large an import, and that the Company, inſtead of a loſs of 20 per cent. on bullion, will reap a conſiderable profit on the ſales of theſe cargoes, I doubt not our conduct and induſtry will meet your and the nation's moſt ſincere approbation.

To enable you to form the moſt perfect idea of the military improvements of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, I ſend you, by Captain Purvis, a muſket, which was one of his firſt attempts; and alſo a lock, which is of his laſt and beſt manufacture.

H. V.

No. XXVI.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.

Fort William, April 5, 1769.

There has no material alteration taken place in the King's affairs, or in thoſe of the other powers of Hindoſtan, ſince the date of my laſt letter. His majeſty is ſtill at Allah-abad, and has ſhewn ſome diſpoſition towards a reconciliation with his Vizier, and honoured him with a viſit of compliment at his capital Faiz-abad.

We have had ſome alarms of an intended invaſion of Hindoſtan, by the Shaw Abdalla, at the invitation of the Raje-poot chiefs, in order to revenge themſelves of the Jauts, for their unwarrantable attack of their country laſt year, under Jewhar Sing. Later advices, however, aſſure us, that he has been obliged to march back, in order to reduce one of his principal chiefs, who had revolted; and that the riſque he runs of having his Candahar dominions attacked by ‡ Kerim Cawn, in his abſence, will probably make him cautious how he ventures ſo far from his own frontiers.

Yet, though we have little reaſon for fears from abroad, the internal ſtate of our provinces is a matter of real concern; and, unleſs provided for by ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, they muſt moulder into ruin of themſelves, without the intervention of any enemy. A little attention to the nature of the riches of Bengal, and a compariſon of the various ſources of wealth or diſtreſs in the former and preſent ſyſtems of government, will evince this beyond diſpute. Though our provinces afford no gold, ſilver, or precious ſtones, yet the vaſt variety and abundance of the produce of the lands, and the excellence of the manufactures of the inhabitants, leave them no great occaſion for imported commodities; and, at the ſame time, invite foreign merchants to purchaſe and export theſe goods and manufactures, from

* 382,500 *l.* † 720,000 *l.* N. B. Theſe being Current rupees, are eſtimated at two ſhillings and three-pence each,

‡ The preſent emperor of Perſia.

their

their ſuperior cheapneſs and quality. I have obſerved, that the natives had occaſion for few foreign commodities, either for convenience or for luxury, and, conſequently, a very ſmall proportion of their trade could be carried on by barter, and the reſt only by giving ſpecie for goods. The extent alſo of this traffic was prodigious; and beſides the large inveſtments of the different European nations, the Bengal raw ſilk, cloths, &c. to a vaſt amount, were diſperſed to the Weſt and North, inland; as far as Guzzerat, Lahôre, and even Iſpahân. In proportion, therefore, to this diffuſion of commerce, the quantity of ſpecie in the country neceſſarily increaſed, the farmer and workman were enabled to anſwer the demands of government with eaſe, by the readineſs of their ſales; and every extenſion of induſtry at home, or trade abroad, was a new opening to an advance of the general opulence.

From this view, then, of the ſtate of trade heretofore in theſe provinces, and by ſetting the ſum of the charges of merchandize, and other neceſſary diſburſements againſt the ſum of the imports, it will clearly follow, that the whole amount of the trade of the provinces was a clear gain to them, by an exchange of their produce for bullion.

How far the imports and expences ballance each other, you have ample means of conviction in your own hands, by a compariſon of your export goods and bullion with your factory diſburſements, and homeward inveſtment, till the revolution in 1757; and if they ſhould prove ſo in your extenſive commerce, the circumſtance will hold much more ſtrongly in the inland trade of the Mogul and Guzzerat merchants; who had the duties of the government to pay, and whoſe goods were tranſported chiefly by expenſive land-carriage. If theſe facts are admitted, we can be no longer at a loſs for the ſource of the prodigious ancient riches of Bengal, as there flowed in every year an increaſe of ſpecie equal to the export trade of the country; and of the immenſity of this, we muſt conceive the moſt conſequential idea, when we find from the Pachoutrah or cuſtom-office books, at Murſhed-abad, that ſo late as Alliverdy Cawn's time, and after ſo many internal revolutions and foreign ravages, nearly the value of ſeventy * lacks of raw ſilk were entered there, excluſive of the European inveſtments, which were not regiſtered in them, as being either duty-free, or paying at Houghly. Here then we trace the grand and true fountain of the wealth of theſe Subahs, and the ſplendour of their Nazims; but, beſides this, there were alſo ſeveral collateral ſtreams which ſerved, in their turn, to feed and ſwell the principal one. The advantages accruing from ſo beneficial a commerce, enabled, as we have ſeen, the farmer and manufacturer to diſcharge their ſtipulated revenue to their prince; and theſe revenues again did not center, nor were ſunk in his coffers, but returned through various channels into the general circulation. Large Jagheers were granted to men of noble families, or particular favourites; whole diſtricts were allotted to the other branches of the reigning family, at a rate vaſtly below their real value: large armies of horſe, &c. were maintained either for ſhow or ſecurity, at an enormous expence; and even the luxury and pomp, ever cuſtomary among the potentates of the Eaſt, contributed in ſome degree, by encouraging a ſpirit of expence, and diſſipating large ſums among the people in general; which, if they had remained ſhut up in the treaſury, would have been a loſs to the currency, and no preſent advantage to the proprietor. By theſe means, therefore, and the advantage of trade already mentioned, an extenſive and briſk circulation of ſpecie was kept up every where; the farmer was eaſy, the artizan encouraged, the merchant enriched, and the prince ſatisfied.

* 875,000 *l.*

It would not be eaſy, neither is it of any importance in the preſent enquiry, to aſcertain the preciſe æra in which all theſe began to decline; but ſo far is certain, that the decline was neither ſenſibly felt by the country, nor perceptible to us, 'till after the * revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier. This threw ſuch conſiderable ſums into the hands of the Company, as to render their importing bullion for their inveſtment unneceſſary; and the large fortunes obtained, in conſequence, by individuals, who were precluded the courſe of remittance through your caſh, filled the treaſures of foreign nations, in exchange for bills on their reſpective Companies; ſo that, ever ſince the country came into our poſſeſſion, they have been enabled to rival us in trade, in our own territories, with our own money.

The former channels then of opulence to the country beginning to ſtagnate, it was left to be maintained by the old ſtock of ſpecie, which, for a ſeries of years paſt, had flowed into it; and this, by a variety of unforeſeen events, ſunk more rapidly than, in the ordinary courſe of things, it might otherwiſe have done. The elevation of Meer Jaffier was attended with ruin to many of the principal families, dependent on the late reigning one; and much confuſion and interruption to the trade of the country merchant, by advancing our intereſt therein, in preference to his. When a ſecond † revolution took place in favour of Coſſim Ally Cawn, he ſoon found the fatal tendency of this ſuperior influence; his endeavours to put the other merchants on ſomething of an equal footing with us, produced continual diſputes between his officers and our agents; and the precarioufneſs of his ſituation, with an ambition of rendering himſelf ſpeedily independent, by a rapid encreaſe of military ſtrength and finances, made him ſacrifice the moſt opulent inhabitants to his avarice, and drain the country by every ſeverity of exaction, to ſecure a fund for his future deſigns and exigencies.

From the beſt authorities I have been enabled to obtain here, and from the faireſt calculations, it ſeems probable that Coſſim Ally was the cauſe of a loſs of near five ‡ crores of rupees in jewels and ſpecie to the country, which he either expended in drawing Sujah al Dowlah to his aſſiſtance, or carried off and ſecreted for his future proviſion.

If we conſider that the treaſures of the Nizamut were ſo low, on his acceſſion, that Meer Jaffier had been neceſſitated to cede large diſtricts to us, in lieu of ſums due, whilſt his own troops were almoſt mutinous for want of their pay and arrears; and if, to this, we add that Coſſim remained in quiet poſſeſſion of his new dignity no longer than three years, we muſt at once ſee that this immenſe ſum was levied immediately from the provinces in this ſhort interval, over and above the heavy current expences, and be ſenſible how large a proportion this vaſt drawback muſt have been to the country's capital of ſpecie. The § reſtoration of Meer Jaffier, and the grant of the ‖ Dewanny to the Company by his majeſty, rendered the freſh imports of bullion, either by us or foreign companies, leſs neceſſary to the maintenance and proſecution of trade, from the ſame original cauſe which had exiſted in 1757; and the increaſing reſtrictions and diſadvantages with which the free trade of the native, Guzzerat, or Mogul, was daily fettered and loaded, ſucceeding that confuſion which frequent revolutions had occaſioned, either produced certain bankruptcies, or deterred the more circumſpect from embarking at all in commerce to a certain loſs. Here, then, the channel of trade, which had before poured the principal riches into Bengal, began to turn a drain upon it; the whole centered in the Europeans, whoſe commerce was, at all times, leaſt to the advantage of the country, becauſe their im-

* In the year 1757. † In the year 1760. ‡ 6,250,000 *l.* § In the year 1763.
‖ In the year 1765.

ports

ports were largeſt in proportion, and their duties leſs; and who, now, added to theſe a new loſs, that of making larger exports than ever, at the country's ſole expence. Of the deſtructive extent of this loſs, the following rough compariſon of the imports of bullion by the European nations, and their exports of commodities and bullion, for three years paſt, will awaken the moſt alarming idea.

IMPORTS.

	Rupees.	£. Sterling.
Bullion imported by the Dutch at the higheſt eſtimate during that term, at 10 lacks per annum	3,000,000 or	337,500
Ditto, by the French, — —	0,000,000	
Ditto, by the Engliſh, — —	0,000,000	
Ditto, by the Guzeratties, Moguls, &c. —	0,000,000	
Ditto, in gold from Baſſora, Mocha, &c. on private account, at 6 lacks per annum — —	1,800,000 or	202,500
Ditto, by the Daniſh Comp. at 2 1-half lacks per ann.	750,000 or	84,375
* Rupees,	5,550,000 or	624,375 £.

EXPORTS.

Engliſh Company, in 1766 and 1767, at the loweſt calculate, — —	10,700,000 or	1,203,750
Ditto, in 1768, — —	7,000,000 or	787,500
Ditto private property, at the rate of 5000l. per ſhip, and 5 ſhips per ann. for 3 years, at a medium,	600,000 or	67,500
Dutch Company, 1766 and 1767, 3 ſhips public and private, amount at the loweſt 10 per ſhip, -	6,000,000 or	675,000
Ditto, 1768, 4 ſhips, — —	4,000,000 or	450,000
French, 1766 and 1767, 5 ſhips, at 10 lacks each,	5,000,000 or	562,500
Ditto, 1768, 4 ſhips, ditto, — —	4,000,000 or	450,000
Danes, 1766 and 1767, 1 ſhip, at 8 lacks each year,	1,600,000 or	180,000
Ditto, 1768, 2 ſhips, at ditto, — —	1,600,000 or	180,000
† Specie exported out of the provinces for payment of the king's tribute and a brigade at Allah-abad, at 50 lacks per annum, for 3 years — —	15,000,000 or	1,687,500
Private exports to China, at 2 lacks per annum,	600,000 or	67,500
	56,100,000 or	6,311,250
From which deduct the imported bullion, agreeable to the above eſtimate — —	5,550,000 or	624,375
And there remains a ballance againſt the country of rupees, — — —	50,550,000 or	5,686,875 £.

I do not, here, include the export trade in general of the private European merchants, notwithſtanding it is very conſiderable, becauſe, though they bring in little

* This ſtatement is in Current rupees, which are eſtimated at the exchange of two ſhillings and three-pence each.

† The brigade accounts for one year not having been completed when this ſtatement of their expence was formed, this part of the annual drain of ſpecie was thereby rather over-rated.

bullion,

bullion, yet, as they import commodities equal to what they carry out, the country is neither much hurt nor much benefited by their traffic, till the merchant comes to realize his gains, in order for his return to his native country, and then the amount of them becomes an addition to the ballance againſt the country, by being paid into ſome European Company's caſh for bills; and, by this means, rendering it unneceſſary for them to import bullion at a riſque for the proviſion of their inveſtment. Neither do I include, in this account, the large ſums ſent by us to China, Madras, or other preſidencies; becauſe theſe reduced the Company's treaſury rather than the country, and becauſe they were equally loſt to the country if they remained in the treaſury, and did not enter into our diſburſements or inveſtment, as if they were exported. The King's tribute, on the contrary, and the expence at Allah-abad, are really ſo much loſs to the circulation, becauſe, as they form a large proportion of our neceſſary diſburſements, ſo being now made out of the provinces, they muſt be a ſimilar loſs to the current ſpecie. It will hardly be aſſerted that any country, however opulent, could long maintain itſelf, much leſs flouriſh, when it received no material ſupplies, and when a ballance againſt it, of above one-third of its whole yearly value, was yearly incurred. But beſides this, there are other concomitant circumſtances, which have contributed to diminiſh the riches of the country, and muſt, if not remedied, ſoon exhauſt them. I have obſerved, that one great advantage the country formerly reaped was, the diffuſion of its revenues by large grants to different families, and by the expenſive luxury of its governors. But now the whole amount of the lands is ſwallowed up in one gulph—your treaſury; nor does any part of it return into the circulation, except the ſums iſſued for our inveſtment and neceſſary expences; ſo that there enſues an annual loſs to the currency, equal to the difference between the aggregate of the inveſtment and diſburſements, and the total of the revenues. This, if continued, muſt in time draw in all the ſpecie; and the only remedy for this evil is, either to encreaſe your inveſtment, until, with your diſburſements, it equals your revenues, or to import a quantity of ſpecie equal to the difference. The firſt of theſe, if practicable, would leave you without a fund for emergencies, by advancing the revenues to the Aurungs as faſt as they were collected; the ſecond, I am afraid, is rather to be wiſhed by us than to be attempted by you.

I have thus, gentlemen, attempted to lay open to you the true ſources of the ancient opulence of Bengal, and its preſent diſtreſs. Perhaps, you have never been led to conſider them in this light; but, I am perſuaded, an impartial examination will evince the juſtice of my arguments. Should they ſtand the teſt, they cannot fail of being particularly uſeful at this juncture; as they will enable you to apply a ſuitable ſupport where the weakneſs is pointed out, and to anſwer the objections and clamour of your enemies. From hence, alſo, you will ſee how much the advantages of your late acquiſitions have been exaggerated beyond all bounds; and how far from impoſſible it was for the Honourable Eaſt India Company to be diſtreſſed, though newly become maſters of the revenues of a country which ſtood rated at above three millions ſterling per annum. A ſuperficial, or weak obſerver, may eſtimate a country like an eſtate, from its rent-roll; but the man of experience and reflection will eaſily ſee that its annual income muſt depend on the proportion of its produce, which can be realized in ſpecie; and that the intrinſic value of it muſt fluctuate as the quantity of ſpecie, which is the meaſure of it, multiplies or decreaſes in the kingdom where it is placed. In this point of view, and after what has been already ſaid, I need no arguments to demonſtrate the reality of our preſent difficulties, and the certain proſpect of our future diſtreſs. I have already hinted my apprehenſions of your inability to increaſe your inveſtments of bullion, which are even now looked upon with a jealous eye by the nation; but it is ſtill in your power to oblige others to import it, or leave you ſole

maſters

maſters of the Bengal trade. Large ſums, belonging to your former ſervants, are ſtill lying unremitted; and theſe muſt yearly encreaſe, by the fruits of the ſucceſsful induſtry of your preſent ones. If you open your caſh upon equitable terms for remittances for all ſums tendered, both national and private conſiderations will draw all theſe into your channel, and cut off the grand reſource and advantage of foreign nations, the rivalling you in your trade with your own money. I ſay equitable terms, becauſe it can never be expected that any one will remit the produce of many years labour at ſo great a diſcount as one ninth part of his principal, below the par of exchange, at two ſhillings and three-pence per Current rupee; and, on the contrary, had you even raiſed the rate to two ſhillings and four-pence the Current rupee, inſtead of ſinking it to two ſhillings, I dare aver, the Company, as well as the nation, would have been conſiderable gainers by the advance. We ſhould then have been able to have ſent you home, by the next ſeaſon, an inveſtment far ſuperior to that of the preſent year; whereas policy, or rather neceſſity, muſt now oblige us to curtail it to forty-five * lacks. I need draw no compariſon between the loſs of one ninth per Cent. on the remittance, and the gain to you of one hundred and ſeventy-five per cent. on ſuch an increaſe of import; neither need I ſuggeſt the difference it occaſions to the nation, Company, and country, to throw ſo large a ſum into the hands of their natural enemies, and lukewarm friends, by a miſtaken and injudicious œconomy.

Do not, however, gentlemen, conceive that your ſervants here are ſo anxious for remittances through your caſh, from any private or intereſted views. The remittances of foreign nations muſt always be more advantageous to them, becauſe they will always keep their terms a little higher than yours as an inducement; and this muſt continue till yours are on ſuch a footing, as to render a farther advance of their rate equal, or ſuperior, to the inſurance and intereſt on exports of bullion. Then we may hope for ſome ſupplies from them to this declining country; and, till then, our ſtraights and poverty muſt increaſe.

We have ſent you an inveſtment this year, the produce of which will, we hope, anſwer every exigency; but we propoſe to lower the inveſtment for the next ſeaſon to forty or forty-five lacks, including the ſeven lacks, and upwards, now in your warehouſes; and to appropriate the ſurplus for the eſtabliſhment of a fund for our own exigencies, and thoſe of the other preſidencies. The neceſſity of this I need not enlarge upon; the arguments in a letter to us from the gentlemen of Madraſs, dated March 1ſt, 1769, and the ſentiments of the Committee in the laſt paragraph of their anſwer thereto, will, I apprehend, be ſufficient.

The ſum ought to amount to a † crore of rupees for this preſidency, and fifty ‡ lacks for the ſupply of the treaſury at Fort St. George; and I would recommend that, after the above fund is ſecured, the ſurplus of the revenues, or a conſiderable part thereof, ſhould be employed on private ſecurity of the native in loans, for the cultivation of the waſte lands; by which, in time, your whole poſſeſſions would become of real value to you, the country better populated, the trade increaſed by an additional quantity of manufactories, and the means of realizing your property more certain, and leſs detrimental either to the country, or the native trader.

As a preſent relief to the neceſſities of the ſettlement, at their univerſal requeſt, and to ſupply, as far as poſſible, the deficiency of ſilver for the purpoſes of trade and revenue; we have found it expedient to re-eſtabliſh the gold currency upon a new plan and ſtandard, as the only remedy left us; and, I doubt not, but when you ſeriouſly weigh the arguments ſet forth in the reſolutions of the board, you will approve the meaſure, and acquit us from all imputation of precipitancy or contradiction in our councils.

* Of current rupees, or 506,250 *l.* † 1,250,000 *l.* ‡ 625,000 *l.*

I did

I did intend to have entered on the ſtate of your revenues, both as to the mode of collection, and the improvements of which it is capable; but, as I am now proceeding towards the * city, and ſhall have an opportunity of ſeeing every thing adjuſted for the Poonah, I have thought it better to defer it till the firſt ſhip of next ſeaſon, when I hope to deliver it in perſon.

Since I began this letter, I have received intelligence of the retreat of the Shaw Abdalla.

H. V.

No. XXVII.

To John Cartier, Eſq. and the Gentlemen of the Council of Fort William.

Fort William, Dec. 16, 1769.

Before I put an † end to my long ſervices, it is a duty I conſider incumbent on me to contribute what I can to the future welfare of this ſettlement and country, our Company, and nation. The experience and obſervations of more than twenty years may poſſibly claim ſome attention from the Court of Directors. I ſhall make no other apology for what I now lay before you, than the warmth of my zeal for a ſervice, whoſe intereſt I ſhall ever ſupport with a grateful heart.

The ſubject is important, extenſive, and delicate; but as ſo many and various repreſentations have been given of it, ſome perverted by deſign, others through ignorance, it becomes more immediately the duty of the ſervants of the Company, who have had experience, to communicate, and the part of the Court of Directors to confide in them.

I ſhall begin with a ſummary reference to the moſt intereſting degrees and varieties of ſituation, through which we have paſſed from the original conſtitution of the Company, to its preſent flouriſhing condition; in the courſe of which many reflections muſt needs occur to warn us from errors, and to expoſe imperfections: nor is it ſurpriſing that we ſhould diſcover many, where ſuch a multitude of changes, connections, engagements, and occupations has coincided with the ſuddenneſs of our elevation, in diverting our thoughts from a more ſettled contemplation of ourſelves, and of our own eſtabliſhment.

The aſcendency of the Engliſh in Hindoſtan, is in the number of thoſe events which are diſtinguiſhed by a ſeries of fortunate and unforeſeen occurrences; not the reſult of any fixed or connected plan of policy. A colony of merchants, governed by laws, and influenced by principles merely commercial, have acquired a political title and influence over a country, which for extent, populouſneſs, and annual revenue, may be compared to many the moſt conſequential ſtates of Europe; that commerce which was once proſecuted in ſubjection to a tyrannical government, ever ready to take advantage of our weakneſs, and to conſtrue the ſlighteſt omiſſions into encroachments, is now but a ſecondary conſideration; and the native authority being too weak to controul the power which our agents derive from our name, the rights of the natives have been generally ſuperſeded. The ſubſtantial have declined riſking their property in trade under ſuch diſadvantages, and the poor and induſtrious receive but a faint encouragement to their labours; we ſee, we feel, the increaſing poverty of the country, from the diminution of ſpecie, as well as the ſlowneſs and partiality of

* The city of Murſhed-abad, the capital of Bengal.

† Mr. Vereſt reſigned the government of Bengal, December 24, 1769.

its

its circulation; indeed, from the regulations we have made, examples we have ordered, and the checks we have multiplied, I flatter myſelf that the equality of commerce will finally be reſtored, and the ſpirit of monopoly be deſtroyed; but the body of the people are in a manner formed to wear the yoke. They poſſeſs nothing of the inquiſitiveneſs of the European nations; and the moſt ſlender arts are ſufficient to obſcure their underſtandings, and fit them for implicit ſubmiſſion. Thoſe among them, who attain to employments in our ſervice, are generally men who have learnt ſo much of our manners as to corrupt their own, and joining an acute and verſatile genius to abundance of low cunning, they ſcarcely want the conſequence of the Engliſh name to prompt them to every villainy.

Whilſt the native government retained its ſuperiority, its tribunals were acceſſible; and though venality preſided at them, yet ſome ſhew of juſtice was maintained, and, at times, redreſs might be procured. The native government is now fallen in the eyes of the inhabitants, yet ſuch reſtrictions have hitherto cramped our proceedings, as to prevent us from taking that intimate part which our preſent character and dignity require. The dependents of this nominal government have been the only inſtruments which we could employ, either to repreſs the enormities of our own agents, or to obtain the good opinion of the country people. Their authority is, in general, overawed; their principles too bad to anſwer the former purpoſe; and their eſtabliſhment and conduct too temporary and too weak for the latter; ſo that the Engliſh name has been only all-powerful to do miſchief; and a mortifying ſpectacle of fraud and oppreſſion on the one hand, and imbecility on the other, has been exhibited to us, without the power of interpoſing.

The conſideration of theſe circumſtances muſt appear to the Court of Directors, a principal object of their attention. A prudent deciſion thereon moſt nearly concerns the ſafety and proſperity of theſe important poſſeſſions. I hope, therefore, that my opinion in this place, will not be deemed unneceſſary or ill-timed; there can be no doubt but the cauſe, which has thus fruſtrated the beſt inclinations, is interwoven with our original conſtitution, which muſt be enlarged in proportion as our ſphere of action is extended, and our duty encreaſed; otherwiſe we can never hope to direct the application of our own power, and remove it from the necks of the poor and uſeful to the chaſtiſement of the tyrannical and rapacious.

In the infancy of our ſettlement, with all our care and prudence, we could ill defend ourſelves from the forged accuſations or open attacks of the government; we looked no farther than the proviſion of the Company's inveſtment; we ſought advantages to our trade with the ingenuity, I may add, ſelfiſhneſs of merchants. All our laws were local and municipal, reaching no farther than our own exigencies and conveniencies; all our ſervants and dependents were trained and educated in the ſame notions; the credit of a good bargain was the utmoſt ſcope of their ambition.

No ſooner did we begin to feel our own ſtrength, than our ſucceſſes followed one another with ſuch rapidity, as to advance us from a ſtate of obſcurity or mediocrity, to power, affluence, and national reputation. At length we ſaw ourſelves, though yet under the name of merchants, maſters and adminiſtrators of a legiſlative authority: we began to plan, direct, and inſpirit every meaſure of government, whether with regard to foreign treaties or domeſtic regulations. Wealth flowed in upon us from every ſide. Our inveſtment was extended: we ſupported the whole trade of India; and, from our reſources, gave ſecurity to it in every quarter. But this was rather a temporary than a ſolid ſituation; and we ſoon diſcovered, that though our acquiſitions had been made in ſo ſhort a ſpace as ſcarcely to be paralleled, conſidering their immenſity, yet a well digeſted ſyſtem was neceſſary to introduce permanency

in our eſtabliſhment. The defects and imperfections of which were too apparent to eſcape our obſervation. Our dependents, accuſtomed to apply their talents to preſent gain, and to extract advantages from the ſmalleſt opening, aſſumed an importance proportionable to our ſucceſſes, grew immoderate, and diſclaimed their dependency on the native government.

In this ſituation we could not retract without expoſing ourſelves to a ſecond ſtage of obſcurity, perhaps lower than the firſt. Our circumſtances impelled us forward, and the grant of the Dewanny became as much an object of neceſſity as it was of advantage. Thus we inſenſibly broke down the barrier betwixt us and government, and the native grew uncertain where his obedience was due. Such a divided and complicated authority gave riſe to oppreſſions and intrigues unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the infection, and being removed from any immediate controul, proceeded with ſtill greater audacity.

In the mean time we were repeatedly and peremptorily forbid to avow any public authority over the officers of government in our own names, and enjoined to retain our primitive characters of merchants with the moſt ſcrupulous delicacy.

The conſequences are but too evidently exemplified in the decline of commerce and cultivation, the diminution of ſpecie, and the general diſtreſſes of the poor; a train of evils which could only have ſprung from the above cauſes, ſince every advantage of a long and uninterrupted tranquility has been on our ſide. Experience muſt convince the moſt prejudiced, that to hold vaſt poſſeſſions, and yet to act on the level of mere merchants, making immediate gain our firſt principle; to receive an immenſe revenue, without poſſeſſing an adequate protective power over the people who pay it; to be really intereſted in the grand and generous object, the good of the whole, and yet to purſue a narrow and partial end; are paradoxes not to be reconciled, highly injurious to our national character, dangerous to the beſt defended eſtabliſhment, and abſolutely bordering on inhumanity.

The people give us the labour of their hands, and in return we owe them our protection; common prudence, as well as the laws of ſociety, require that thoſe obligations ſhould be reciprocal, or the tie muſt ſoon be diſſolved; for the firmeſt ſecurity of every government is the affections of the people; and for obtaining them, there never, perhaps, preſented a more favourable opportunity, or more noble field, than what the Engliſh poſſeſs in Bengal. The mildneſs of our government, properly diffuſed over theſe provinces, will form ſo conſpicuous a contraſt to Mahomedan deſpotiſm, that it muſt bind them to us and our cauſe for ever.

I have hitherto conſidered our intereſt in this country as built on a precarious foundation, becauſe this cement was wanting to bind it; and, in this point of view, I am particularly happy on the late reſolutions which have been taken, to appoint Engliſh Supra-viſors, as an introduction to ſo deſirable an event. I could have wiſhed to have ſeen the execution of * the plan during my continuance in the government; but permiſſion was denied to me before, and a neceſſary regard to my health makes it impoſſible now; however, I have this ſatisfaction left, that if I may judge from the unanimity with which you, gentlemen, have embraced the plan, neither penetration to diſcern, nor fortitude to overcome, every difficulty will be wanting; on the contrary, I flatter myſelf that, by a juſt diſpenſation of rewards to thoſe who merit them, and timely checks on thoſe who require them, you will bring ſo great and good a work to its full maturity and perfection; a circumſtance which will reflect the higheſt honour on every individual, who has either the direction or execution of it. At the ſame time, I have the pleaſure to reflect, that every ſtep you take

* See this plan, a ſubſequent article in the Appendix.

in

in it will bring you ſo much nearer to the great end of ſecurity. For whilſt the army is maintained on its preſent formidable footing, whilſt you continue your attention to the defence of the place, and the minds of the people grow more and more conciliated and attached, you can have nothing to fear.

But there is a rock, and a dangerous one, which requires the greateſt circumſpection to avoid. We have ſtepped forth beyond all former precedent or example. We have the beſt and moſt laudable of all arguments to juſtify our conduct. But it ſhould be remembered, that we have reached that ſupreme line, which, to paſs, would be an open avowal of ſovereignty. It ſhould be remembered, that we cannot be more, without being greater than ſound policy allows; the intereſts of our employers at home, no leſs than our national connections abroad, forbid it. If we were, before the change, cautious of interfering with the native government, and of awakening the jealouſy of foreign nations, we ought now to redouble our prudence. The change itſelf, ſuppoſing the greateſt forbearance on our parts, has an unavoidable tendency to deſtroy the name of the Nizamut; by which means, what might have been the happieſt event for the Company and nation, may become the ſource of perplexities and jealouſies, if not the deprivation of the Company's privileges. There is, however, a middle way, where moderation muſt guide and continue us; where we may walk with ſafety, advantage, and conſiſtence, without danger of too much confinement, or too much liberty. Exteriors ſhould be regarded as eſſentials. Every order ſhould ſcrupulouſly wear the ſanction of the native government. Our dependence on its indulgencies, our obedience to his commands, our delicacy to its miniſters, ſhould appear moſt conſpicuous in all tranſactions, either of buſineſs or ceremony. I am not ignorant how difficult it is always to preſerve and affect that temperate rule of conduct which I mention, when the power and direction of all departments ſo entirely concentre in your board; and may be ſtill more difficult to produce a proper conformity in the Supra-viſors: for theſe reaſons I am thus earneſt in my repreſentations, and am of opinion, that the whole weight and vigilance of this board ſhould be exerted to check the moſt trifling variation from the line, and to preſerve the idea of the native government, its dignity and ſuperiority over all, as entire and unimpaired as poſſible.

Without departing from theſe maxims, we ſhall have ſufficient opportunities to anſwer all our views; our power will not be leſs efficacious, in being exerciſed with prudence. The Supra-vivorſhips will afford you a ſet of ſervants capable of ſucceeding, in their turn, to the firſt offices; that ſtation will introduce them to a perfect knowledge of the laws and cuſtoms of the country; they will form a judgment upon the ſpot of the diſpoſitions of the people; they will ſee with their own eyes the prevalent abuſes of office, the villainy of agents, and, in ſhort, the true ſpring of the miſery or happineſs of the country. Thus much may be advanced with confidence, that if this meaſure meets with the neceſſary ſupport and encouragement, there cannot fail being a regular ſucceſſion of able and vigorous adminiſtrators. The ſervice, at preſent, affords many young men of promiſing parts and abilities. As the Supra-viſorſhips may be called a nurſery for them, in reſpect to the government of the country, ſo in like manner their experience in commercial matters, before they reach Council, muſt bring them acquainted with our commercial intereſt; and as theſe are the grand foundation and ſupport of our proſperity, they muſt be deemed the eſſential part of their education.

But from what has been ſaid of the characters of the people who are employed directly by us, or intermediately for us, every thinking perſon muſt be ſenſible of one capital defect in our government: that the members of it derive their ſole advantages from commerce, carried on through black agents, who again employ a numerous

merous band of retainers; it is notorious that, at times, the agents of the loweſt ſervants have domineered over the Ryot, and kept the officers of government in a ſtate of awe or ſubjection; and it cannot be ſuppoſed that more reſpectable names are not equally miſapplied. It would be as eaſy to change the genius and manners of the people, as to prevent the Banians, and followers of men in ſtation, from abuſing their maſters' name. Chaſtiſement may deter the oppreſſor for a moment; but, in ſuch caſes, the ſervility of the people muſt be removed, before oppreſſion can be eradicated. Perwannahs have been recalled and ſuppreſſed; excellent effects will doubtleſs flow from it, but the idea of name and authority will ſtill be held up by rapacious agents for their own ends. The concluſion I draw from it is this, that was it poſſible to form an adminiſtration totally free from commercial views and connections, reſtrictive laws would and muſt then have their courſe; whereas Banians and agents, by the ſpirit with which they act, and the force of their example, will always obſtruct their good effects, and propagate a diſreſpect and deluſion of them in others.

To form ſuch an adminiſtration, I not only think poſſible but eaſy. I would propoſe that, from the admiſſion of a member into Council, he put an entire concluſion to his trade; and, in lieu of it, that he receive a certain allowance, chargeable upon the country; which allowance ſhould be augmented in proportion to the improvements made, and its internal proſperity: a method of reward the moſt honourable that can be deviſed for thoſe that are to receive it, and the moſt beneficial to the community, being unincumbered with the conſequences, anxieties, and relations of private affairs. The members of adminiſtration will have a more undivided attention to the public, and their orders be more thoroughly reſpected, and more vigorouſly obeyed.

I am come to an obſervation which ſeems to merit your particular attention. You are no ſtrangers to a want of method which reigns in the affairs of this government. The whole weight of buſineſs is confined to two departments; the Committee and Council: our time is conſequently taken up with debating, preparing, and dictating on the ſubjects which come before us. Our deciſions are retarded, and the ſprings of government relaxed. The attention and memory are unneceſſarily burdened: neither are theſe departments thoroughly defined or underſtood, if we judge from comparing different orders and paragraphs of their general letters. The Court of Directors themſelves are at a loſs where the preciſe line of each is drawn; ſometimes attributing to the Council what belongs to the Committee, and again transferring from one to the other, without rule or diſtinction. It is well worth your conſideration, gentlemen, to adopt ſome better plan for the eaſe of adminiſtration, and for the diſpatch of buſineſs. This can only be done by dividing the burden, which now reſts upon a ſingle body, amongſt ſeparate departments, and bringing each object of deliberation into a compact compaſs. Was the number of the board encreaſed to ſixteen, the buſineſs diſtributed to diſtinct Committees, and whatever is prepared in theſe inferior departments, finally referred to the Preſident and Council, it is obvious how much utility and convenience would reſult from it. The Governor, who is the head of all departments, and ought to ſuperintend the whole, would be much relieved from that intricate diverſity of objects, which, as things are at preſent conducted, he is obliged to comprehend at one view, and that generally at a time when his conſtitution has been previouſly impaired by long reſidence in the climate. You, gentlemen, would meet, not to debate or to ſettle important forms, but at once to decide. Every member of adminiſtration would have equal and conſtant opportunities of ſeeing the whole progreſs of public affairs, and would acquire a general knowledge, which would qualify him indiſcriminately for any ſtation.

H. V.

No. XXVIII.

To John Cartier, Eſq. &c. Members of the Select Committee.

December 16, 1769.

I have ſo much enlarged on the internal ſtate of theſe provinces, in my letter to the Council, that little remains for me to communicate in this addreſs.

Our political ſecurity has been acquiring freſh ſtrength from every event which has happened around us, nor do I ſee any probability of its being ſhaken, whilſt we continue to join moderation to power. There is not a potentate in the empire but has either courted our alliance or embraced our meaſures, and, this, without unſheathing our ſword.

The King has lately affected great earneſtneſs to undertake his favourite expedition to Dehly. But the lowneſs of his finances threaten his project with a very ſudden abortion. The weakneſs of his diſpoſition is no leſs evident in the adminiſtration of his domeſtic affairs, than in the formation of his political ſchemes. Perpetual changes of his miniſters and confidants have bred an uncertainty and diſtruſt in the minds of all his adherents, which has checked public ſpirit, and produced a general turn to ſelfiſh purſuits. With a treaſury ſo ill ſupplied, and a court ſo ill affected, it is more than probable, if he ſhould advance, that he will be preyed on by his own ſervants; and, being awakened from his deluſion by a ſcene of beggary and contempt, will ultimately take protection in our provinces.

From theſe concluſions it was, I formed my opinion ſome months ago, when I acquieſced in his majeſty's requiſition of two battalions; and all circumſtances ſince have ſerved to corroborate that opinion. An occaſion of demonſtrating the ſincerity of our profeſſions, without ſubjecting us to any apparent inconvenience, were too inviting advantages to be neglected, and may be derived from our connections with his majeſty.

As the neceſſity of retaining his majeſty under our influence, or ſeparating ourſelves entirely from him, is a maxim in our ſyſtem; and as the former ſeems moſt probable, we ſhould be careful how we allow ſtrangers to aſſume the management of his councils. Our conduct towards him is plain. We muſt either contrive to guide him at a diſtance, or ſo to palliate, that, if unſucceſsful, he may conſider us as his protectors, our provinces as the place of his refuge.

All things, at preſent, ſeem tending to the latter, and it is an event moſt to be wiſhed; but I had rather his majeſty ſhould make the propoſition, than that we ſhould give the invitation. Diſappointment may correct his impatience, and difficulties may teach him prudence. The treachery of Hindoſtan profeſſions will prepare him better for the frank, plain declarations of his Engliſh allies; and there is the greateſt reaſon to believe he will return to us with repentance.

The character of the * Nabob-Vizier was never thoroughly known till his connections with us. His enterpriſing genius, his high ſpirit, his plauſible policy, are all ſullied, if not entirely obſcured, by oppoſite blemiſhes; for, with theſe, he is inconſtant, oſtentatious, and impetuous. His military ſpirit has received a ſevere mortification in the late defection of his beſt battalions: no doubt, it has abated the ardour of his expectations, and given birth to other ideas than thoſe of foreign aggrandiſement and conqueſt. Experience has ſhewn us, that this prince poſſeſſes no firm-

* Sujah al Dowlah.

neſs

neſs nor ſolidity. However high his demands, trifling conceſſions, provided they ſpeak to his paſſions, will mollify him. His expreſſions may be boaſting, but they do not lead to action. If, therefore, we ſooth his vanity, and manage his foibles in trifles, we may lead, or even dictate, in eſſentials.

There is ſomething in the conſtitution of the Rohillas which muſt ever make them weak and inconſiderable as aggreſſors. Their government is divided into chiefſhips; but no one chief has, ſingly, troops or reſources to enterprize a foreign war. Haffez Rahmet is too parſimonious. Achmed Cawn is too wiſe to quarrel, where the advantage is not clearly on their ſide; but, when attacked, their national affection will unite; the common cauſe will animate. A private conteſt will not rouſe them, nor is it practicable to engage their voice on any other motive than the general ſafety.

Domeſtic diſputes have given full employment to the Jauts, and afforded them little leiſure to look abroad. They are divided into two parties; the one headed by the widow of Surage Mull, in favour of Rutten Sing's brother; the other, headed by ſome principal chiefs, in favour of Surage Mull's grandſon. As the parties have, in a manner, divided the ſtrength of the country between them, hoſtilities are yet ſuſpended, in order, it is imagined, to gain time for ſoliciting and aſſembling their reſpective auxiliaries. In the mean time, diſtraction and diſorder reign amongſt them, with all the unhappy conſequences of a rival ſucceſſion.

The Nabob Nijib al Dowlah, is enjoying the fruits of his wiſe and provident meaſures, attending to the cultivation of his country, and ſecuring the happineſs of his people. According to preſent appearances, he has no deſigns of interrupting the public tranquility himſelf, or of encouraging others. A ſuppoſition, which I think much favoured by the perfect neutrality obſerved by him in the affair of the Jauts.

The Seiks are the Maharattas of the North. Like them, their ſole profeſſion is arms; their ſole purſuit is plunder: but, their conqueſts having been rapidly made and extenſively puſhed, they are generally employed in quelling ſudden inſurrections of the conquered, regulating what they have got, and therefore incapable of concerted expeditions. That vaſt tract between Sirhind and Lahôre, which they have over-run, ſeems yet a wide field for them to range, and they will never venture beyond the limits of it, at leaſt on this ſide, whilſt Abdalla is conſtantly impending over them on the other. The well diſciplined and veteran army of Nijib al Dowlah has hitherto been a ſufficient barrier againſt them, in the ſame manner as they have proved an inſurmountable obſtacle to Abdalla.

That prince has more to fear from his neighbour and coward enemy, Kerim Cawn, than Hindoſtan from him. His large dominions, his celebrated name, can avail him little without money in his treaſury. The figure he made in his late expedition was ſo diſgraceful, and the dangers he encountered ſo diſpiriting, that it has moſt likely checked his ſanguine views; and, beſides his poverty, he has jealouſy and faction amongſt his own ſervants to diſturb his mind, and confine him to his own dominions.

The Maharattas have been long embroiled at home; and though peace has been concluded between Janoogee and Madhu-Row, there ſtill lurks a ſuſpicion which will chiefly direct their attention to the manœuvres of each other. I once flattered myſelf, that the former would have acceded to a treaty for the ceſſion of Oriſſa, but his evaſive and artful behaviour has convinced me that the Maharattas will never deſert their old and characteriſtic manners. After three years negociation, much trouble, and ſome expence, no progreſs has been made towards a concluſion; on the contrary, he has ſtudiouſly avoided any declaration of his ſentiments. I would, therefore, recommend, that his Vackeel, who is now in Calcutta, may be immediately diſpatched to him, to demand a categorical anſwer; to which purport, I have prepared and now lay before you a letter to Janoogee.

Thus,

Thus, gentlemen, I have deſcribed the ſituation of thoſe powers by which the general tranquility can any way be endangered; and you will ſee, that perſonal weakneſs, civil diſſenſions, and political precaution, all conſpire to eſtabliſh our ſecurity on broad and moſt durable baſis. Leaving us, therefore, nothing to fear from Hindoſtan powers, there cannot be a more fortunate conjuncture for the execution of our plan, to make us proſperous and flouriſhing within ourſelves.

On this head, I have delivered my ſentiments with ſufficient explicitneſs to the Council, but I muſt here add a few words to you particularly.

You are ſenſible that our name and authority are carried to the utmoſt line, unleſs we openly take the reins of the country government into our own hands. You are equally ſenſible, that to go beyond it will be to exceed the bounds of good policy, if not affect the very privileges of the Company. This Committee holds an immediate intercourſe with the country government, and is indeed the channel of all tranſactions between it and our adminiſtration. To you, gentlemen, it conſequently belongs to inculcate the principles of a delicate conduct, to uphold a moſt ſcrupulous obſervance of every form, and to indicate apparent dependence on all occaſions.

I now take my leave of you, earneſtly praying that all your councils may be united, your meaſures ſucceſsful, and ſincerely thanking you for the aſſiſtance and ſupport which I have received from you in the management of this great and laborious government.

H. V.

No. XXIX.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated June 1ſt, 1764.

PARAGRAPH 54. For the reaſons given in our letter of the 8th of February laſt, we were then induced to ſend poſitive orders to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and all other articles whatſoever, produced and conſumed in the country. To the remarks we made in that letter, we muſt add one obſervation, which is, it appears very extraordinary that in a trade ſo extremely lucrative to individuals, the intereſt of the Company ſhould not at all have been attended to or conſidered.

55. Theſe orders were ſent, it is true, before we received the new * treaty you entered into with Jaffier Ally Cawn, upon his re-eſtabliſhment in the Subahſhip, in which it is agreed, that the Engliſh ſhall carry on their trade, by means of their own Duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes, and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which a duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly market-price; wherein, it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs, iſſued by Coſſim Ally Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

56. Theſe are terms which appear to be ſo very injurious to the Nabob and to the natives, that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart-burnings and diſſatisfactions, and conſequently there can be

* This treaty, dated in July 1763, is a ſubſequent article in this Appendix.

little

little reaſon to expect the tranquility of the country can be permanent; the orders, therefore, in our ſaid letter of the 8th of February, are to remain in force until a more equitable and ſatisfactory plan can be formed and adopted, which, it is impoſſible for us to frame here, deſtitute as we are of the informations and lights neceſſary to guide us, in ſettling ſuch an important affair.

57. You are therefore hereby ordered and directed, as ſoon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to conſult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and the other articles, produced and conſumed in the country, which may be moſt to his ſatisfaction and advantage, the intereſt of the Company, and likewiſe the Company's ſervants.

58. You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the ſaid trade, and tranſmit the ſame to us, accompanied with ſuch explanations, obſervations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our ſentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and expliçit manner.

59. In doing this, as before obſerved, you are to have a particular regard to the intereſt and entire ſatisfaction of the Nabob, both with reſpect to his revenues, and the proper ſupport of his government; in ſhort, this plan muſt be ſettled with his free will and conſent, and in ſuch a manner as not to afford any juſt grounds for complaint.

60. In the next place, the utmoſt care and attention muſt be beſtowed in forming the ſaid plan, that in ſome proper mode or ſhape, a juſt and equitable conſideration be ſecured for the Company.

61. If any inconveniencies be apprehended to ariſe to the Company's inveſtments, upon carrying on ſuch an inland trade, you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

62. You are to give us your impartial and unbiaſſed thoughts alſo, whether the carrying on this inland trade may affect the juſt rights and privileges of the French, Dutch, or any other Europeans, and tend thereby to draw on any national altercations and embroils, which are by all means to be avoided. In forming the ſaid plan, therefore, you are to be particularly careful to prevent theſe or any other evils of the like kind.

No. XXX.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated April 26, 1765.

20. We are extremely anxious for the arrival of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen who accompanied * him: as they have been ſo lately in England, they are the beſt judges of the opinion the Company and the nation entertain of the conduct of the Engliſh in Bengal, for theſe laſt four years; which, we are ſorry to ſay, is in general, that they have been guilty of violating treaties, of great oppreſſion, and a combination to enrich themſelves.

21. We do not here mean to enter into a diſcuſſion, reſpecting the political conduct of our late Governor † and Council; but muſt ſay, that an unbounded thirſt after riches ſeems to have poſſeſſed the whole body of our ſervants to that degree, that

* Lord Clive, with Meſſrs. Sumner, Sykes, and Colonel Smith, ſailed from England in June 1764, and did not arrive at Fort William in Bengal, till May 3d, 1765.

† Governor Vanſittart and his Council.

they

they have loſt all ſight of juſtice to the country government, and of their duty to the Company.

22. In reading the opinions of the ſeveral members of the late Council reſpecting legal trade, by which they mean the articles of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, we are aſtoniſhed to find thoſe among them who pretend to found their rights on the Firmauns.

23. Treaties of commerce are underſtood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then poſſible to ſuppoſe that the court of Dehly, by conferring the privilege of trading free of cuſtoms, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractiſed and unthought of by the Engliſh, to the detriment of their revenues, and the ruin of their own merchants? We do not find ſuch a conſtruction ever was heard of until our own ſervants firſt invented it*, and afterwards ſupported it by violence; neither could it be claimed by the ſubſequent treaties with † Meer Jaffier, or ‡ Coſſim Ally, which were never underſtood to give one additional privilege of trade beyond what the Firmauns expreſſed. In ſhort, the ſpecious arguments uſed by thoſe who pretended to ſet up a right to it, convince us that they did not want judgment but virtue, to withſtand the temptation of ſuddenly amaſſing a great fortune, although acquired by means incompatible with the peace of the country, and their duty to the Company.

24. Equally blameable were they who, acknowledging they had no * right to it, and ſenſible of the ill conſequences reſulting from aſſuming it, have nevertheleſs carried on this trade, and uſed the authority of the Company to obtain, by a ‖ treaty exacted by violence, a ſanction for a trade to enrich themſelves, without the leaſt regard or advantage to the Company, whoſe forces they employed to protect them in it.

25. Had this ſhort queſtion been put, which their duty ought firſt to have ſuggeſted, *Is it for the intereſt of our employers?* they would not have heſitated one moment about it; but this criterion ſeems never once to have occurred.

26. All barriers being thus broken down between the Engliſh and the country government, and every thing out of its proper channel, we are at a loſs how to preſcribe means to reſtore order from confuſion; and being deprived of that confidence which we hoped we might have placed in thoſe ſervants who appear to have been the actors in theſe ſtrange ſcenes, we can only ſay, that we rely on the zeal and abilities of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee, to remedy theſe evils: we hope they will reſtore our reputation among the country powers, and convince them of our abhorrence of oppreſſion and rapaciouſneſs.

30. We have heard of ſuch inſtances of the want of ſubordination among our ſervants, that we ſhall never think you are ſeriouſly inclined to introduce good order amongſt them, until you have made ſome examples of the moſt violent and refractory amongſt them, by diſmiſſing them our ſervice upon juſt complaints, and ſending them to Europe.

No. XXXI.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Clive, dated April 26, 1765.

We hope the expectation of your Lordſhip's arrival will have had a happy influence on our affairs, by haſtening the concluſion of that expenſive war, and leaving you at

* Vanſittart's Narrative, paſſim.

† The two treaties between the Nabob Meer Jaffier and the Company, the firſt dated in June 1757, and the ſecond in July 1763, are ſubſequent articles in this Appendix.

‡ The treaty between the Nabob Meer Coſſim Ally Cawn and the Company, dated in September 1760, is a ſubſequent article in this Appendix.

‖ Alluding to the ſecond treaty between Meer Jaffier and the Company.

full leiſure to attend to the eſtabliſhment of a firm and laſting peace, to the regulation of the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and other articles; that it may be adjuſted on ſuch a plan to the ſatisfaction, and with the concurrence of the Nabob, as may redound to the honour of the Company, and effectually prevent the confuſion and oppreſſion that have ſprung from the abuſes practiſed in it of late years, to the reduction of our enormous military expences, to the eſtabliſhment of good order among our civil ſervants, diſcipline in our army, and harmony in the ſettlements.

No. XXXII.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated December 24, 1765.

10. Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a ſcene of the moſt cruel oppreſſion, which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the Nabob's complaint, mentioned thus in your Conſultation of the 17th of * October, 1764. "The poor of this country, who uſed always to deal in ſalt, beetle-nut, and "tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread, by the trade of the Europeans, "whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company, and the government's "revenues are greatly injured." We ſhall, for the preſent, obſerve to you, that every one of our ſervants concerned in this trade, has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a diſobedience to our orders. In your Conſultation of the 3d of * May, we find, among the various extortionate practices, that moſt extraordinary one of Barjaut, or forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market-price, which you there acknowledge to have been frequently practiſed.

11. In your reſolution to prevent this practice, you determine to forbid it, but with ſuch care and diſcretion, as not to affect the Company's inveſtment, as you do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from the Firmaun, which they have always held over their weavers. As the Company are known to purchaſe their inveſtment by ready money only, we require a full explanation how this can affect them, or how it could ever have been practiſed in the purchaſe of their inveſtment, which the latter part of Mr. Johnſtone's minute, entered on Conſultation the 21ſt of July 1764, inſinuates; for it would almoſt juſtify a ſuſpicion, that the goods of our ſervants have been put off to the weavers, in part payment of the Company's inveſtment: therefore, we direct you to make a rigid ſcrutiny into this affair, that we may know if any of our ſervants, or thoſe employed under them, have been guilty of ſuch a breach of truſt, that their names and all the circumſtances may be known to us.

12. We alſo order you to give us the particular inſtances which have confirmed you in your opinion, that the Barjaut has been practiſed, that we may know whoſe agents they were, and whether the agents who practiſed it were countenanced and protected in it by their maſters.

13. Mr. Johnſtone's minute, in Conſultation the 21ſt of July 1764, cannot eſcape our notice, wherein he ſays, "The ſupport of theſe and our other privileges in their "full extent, againſt the uſurpations of the late Nabob, engaged us in this unhappy "war; and after ſo many valuable lives loſt in the defence of them, I ſhall ever be "againſt parting with them, or hazarding the loſs of them, without greater or better

* During Mr. Vanſittart's government.

"cauſe

" cauſe than has yet appeared, and till after we have found by experience that other " remedies are in vain."

14. As the privileges here meant principally relate to the unwarranted inland trade, in which our own ſervants have been ſo generally concerned, greatly to the prejudice of the Company, by involving their affairs in diſtreſs and difficulties, and manifeſtly injurious to the country government, to which every one of you cannot but be fully ſenſible, we ſay we cannot avoid taking notice of the ſaid opinion, as by it Mr. Johnſtone ſeems to perſevere, at all events, to prefer the private intereſt of individuals to the general good, ſo far as reſpects the ſaid inland trade. If Mr. Johnſtone continues in theſe ſentiments, as from the general tenor of his conduct we have too much reaſon to apprehend, he cannot but be looked upon as a dangerous ſervant; therefore, if he, or any other ſervant, ſhall perſiſt in carrying on a trade, which, as before obſerved, has been attended with ſo many bad conſequences, we would have him or them diſmiſſed the Company's ſervice.

15. We ſhall ſay nothing further at preſent on the inland trade, till that important ſubject ſhall have been taken up by Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Select Committee; only to obſerve, that the regulation propoſed in Conſultation 17th October, 1764, of confining the trade of our ſervants in the article of ſalt to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murſhed-abad, on paying the Nabob two and a half per cent. is a manifeſt diſobedience of our orders of the 8th February, then under deliberation, which poſitively forbid all trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; nor does it by any means obviate the Nabob's objections ariſing from the diſtreſs of the poor, and the injury to his revenues; for if you pay only two and a half per cent. and the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. it is as much a monopoly as ever.

No. XXXIII.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated Feb. 19, 1766.

21. No ſucceſs in carrying on the war againſt Sujah al Dowlah to give his country to the King can juſtify the * meaſure. Sujah al Dowlah's letter of the third of January, offering to withdraw his protection from Coſſim Ally Cawn, to enter into friendſhip with you, and join your army in purſuing him, was the opportunity that ought to have been embraced for putting an end to the war; that paſſed, your fatal engagements with the King were left to operate with their utmoſt force; all ſight of the Company's intereſt was from that moment loſt, and one error has plunged you into many more. The reply you make to the above offer of Sujah al Dowlah, when you demanded he ſhall put † them to death, we cannot ſuppoſe ſeriouſly meant; for if the law of hoſpitality forbad his delivering them up, ſurely it forbad his murdering them.

22. In Conſultation of the 28th of January, mention is made of ſome ſubſequent letters from Sujah al Dowlah to Major Fletcher, which are but ſlightly mentioned therein, and appear no where entered on your correſpondence; the only obſervation made on them is, that you were too far engaged with the King to recede. In the laſt letter we, in general terms, condemned this treaty with the King, and flattered

* Alludiug to the " Propoſals made by the king Shaw Allum to Major Munro, and articles propoſed " by Governor Spencer and his Council, to be executed by the King." The firſt dated November 22d, 1764, and the latter December 6th following; both inſerted ſubſequent numbers in this Appendix.

† Coſſim Ally Cawn and Somroo.

ourſelves you would have ſeen the folly thereof, or Meer Jaffier's death or the arrival of Lord Clive would have prevented the execution of it; but being diſappointed in our expectations, we now ſhall give you our ſentiments at large. The diſpoſſeſſing Sujah al Dowlah of his country, is, we apprehend, breaking down the ſtrongeſt barrier we could have had againſt the Afghan Maharattas, and all the invaders of the empire, who were checked from penetrating into the eaſtern provinces by a power ſo reſpectable as his was throughout Hindoſtan. The raiſing the King on his ruins renders this danger ſtill more ſtriking, becauſe all the northern powers are his natural enemies, being attached to the Vizier Ghazi ô din Cawn; and you own yourſelves, in the reply to Mr. Gray's minute in Conſultation 20th of Feb. 1765, that though the title to the crown is conteſted, all parties ſeem to unite in oppoſing the claim of him you acknowledge King; and it is to be feared they will come down upon him before his ſtrength is confirmed; and thus you may have drawn the wars that have ſo long diſtracted the northern countries to your own frontiers.

23. We have no opinion that the King can poſſibly maintain himſelf without your utmoſt aſſiſtance; nor do we imagine Sujah al Dowlah is ſo reduced as not to make head again; and the reſult will be, we ſhall have a war to maintain ſix hundred miles from our own ſettlements, from the ſucceſs of which no poſſible advantage can be derived, and one defeat may be the total loſs of the provinces.

24. In your * engagement with the King we remark, the ſtipulation for the charges of the war was unſettled; and we have much reaſon to apprehend the whole expence will be left on the Bengal government.

25. We now come to conſider the meaſures you † took on the death of Jaffier Ally Cawn. We could have wiſhed the ſucceſſion had been left undetermined until Lord Clive's arrival; but if it was abſolutely neceſſary to come to a ſudden determination, and that ſome one muſt be immediately acknowledged Subah, it was conſiſtent with the faith we owed the father to adopt the ſucceſſion he deſigned; and the inexperience of the young Subah conſidered, you did right to appoint him a regent; but in the choice of Mahomed Reza Cawn we think you paſſed too ſlightly over the charge urged againſt him, of being ſo very deficient in accounting for the revenues of the province of which he had been governor.

26. The ‡ appointing of independent Dewans appears highly improper to us; for it is intruding on the power of the regent, weakening his government, and tending to anarchy; nor can we conceive that any Engliſhman is maſter enough of the forms of government to undertake the dividing their departments without introducing confuſion.

27. With reſpect to the ‡ treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah it is proper here to inſert at length the 5th article, which was in theſe words: "I do ratify and confirm to "the Engliſh the privilege granted them by their Firmaun, and ſeveral Huſbulhookums, "of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duſtuck free from all duties, taxes, "or impoſitions in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of ſalt, on which "a duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly "market price." This fifth article is totally repugnant to our orders contained in our general letter, by the Kent and Lapwing, dated the 1ſt of June 1764, in which

* See "Articles propoſed by Governor Spencer and his Council, to be executed by the King, dated "December 6th, 1764." Alſo copy of the "Firmaun executed by the King, dated December 29th "following." Both inſerted ſubſequent articles in this Appendix.

† Governor Spencer and his Council. The Nabob Meer Jaffier died in February 1765, and was ſucceeded by his natural ſon Nudjum al Dowlah.

‡ See "Treaty between the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah and the Company, entered into by Governor "Spencer and his Council, dated in February 1765," a ſubſequent article in this Appendix.

we

we not only expreſſed our abhorrence of an article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, literally corresponding with the preſent fifth article, but in poſitive terms directed you, in concert with the Nabob, to form an equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade, and tranſmit the ſame to us, accompanied by ſuch explanations and remarks as might enable us to give our ſentiments and directions thereupon. We muſt remind you too, that in our ſaid general letter we expreſly directed, that our orders in our letter of the 8th of February preceding, which were to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and in all other articles produced and conſumed in the country, ſhould remain in force until an equitable and ſatisfactory plan could be formed and adopted; as therefore there is not the leaſt latitude given you for concluding any treaty whatſoever reſpecting this inland trade, we muſt and do conſider what you have done as an expreſs breach and violation of our orders, and a determined reſolution to ſacrifice the intereſt of the Company, and the peace of the country, to lucrative and ſelfiſh views.

28. This unaccountable behaviour puts an end to all confidence in thoſe who made this * treaty, and forces us to reſolve on meaſures for the ſupport of our authority, and the preſervation of the Company. We do, therefore, pronounce, that every ſervant concerned in that trade ſtands guilty of a breach of his covenants with us and of our orders; and in conſequence of this reſolution we poſitively direct, that if that treaty is now ſubſiſting, you make a formal renunciation, by ſome ſolemn act to be entered on your records, of all right under the ſaid treaty, or otherwiſe, to trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and that you tranſmit this renunciation of that part of the treaty in form to the Nabob in the Perſian language. Whatever government may be eſtabliſhed, or whatever unforeſeen circumſtances may ariſe, it is our reſolution to prohibit, and we do abſolutely forbid this trade of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the ſpirit of the Firmaun, which does not in the leaſt give any latitude whatſoever for carrying on ſuch an inland trade; and moreover we ſhall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants, and direct that he be forthwith ſent to England, that we may proceed againſt him accordingly; and every native who ſhall avail himſelf of our protection to carry this trade on, without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the reſt of the Nabob's ſubjects, ſhall forfeit that protection, and be baniſhed the ſettlements; and we direct that theſe reſolutions be ſignified publicly throughout the ſettlement.

29. With reſpect to the 11th article of the treaty, which ſettles the reſtitution for private loſſes, we gave you our ſentiments on that ſubject very fully, in our letter of the 24th December, in which we remain confirmed, and our orders relative thereto ſtand in full force. We alſo continue in the ſame ſentiments upon the donation to the navy, which we ſee is again taken up in the inſtructions to the reſident at the Durbar.

30. We repeat that we have loſt all confidence in thoſe ſervants, which nothing can reſtore but a ſtrict obedience to our orders, and a more *ſcrupulous* attention to the Company's true intereſt. In the mean time, and till their conduct ſhall have reinſtated them in our good opinion, we muſt, and do rely ſolely, on our Preſident Lord Clive, and the Select Committee, whom we do hereby inveſt with all requiſite powers for ſecuring to the Company all ſums paid on account of reſtitution till our orders are known. We further expect that they ſhall give us a clear inveſtigation of the motives that influenced the † Governor and Council to engage in a treaty with the

* See our Appendix, for copy of this treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah.

† Governor Spencer and his Council. See our Appendix for copy of this treaty.

King,

King, ſo repugnant to our true intereſt. That they ſhall examine into the reaſons of the Burdwan lands being let ſo low as thirty-two * lacks, when, by the accounts tranſmitted to us, the collections exceeded fifty † lacks. We alſo rely on the Committee to put a ſtop to the ſhameful demand made on the Nabob for the ‡ navy, and ſupported by the Council to their great diſhonour. And if any further corrupt or oppreſſive practices come to their knowledge, that they ſuſpend thoſe who ſhall appear guilty of them, and give us the fulleſt information thereof. And laſtly, we cannot avoid taking notice, that the late § Preſident and Council, neither acknowledged the receipt of the covenants, relative to the receiving preſents from the country government, nor have they taken the leaſt notice of them; we hope there is no further meaning in this neglect, than the deferring it till Lord Clive's arrival; yet when we conſider the total diſregard of our moſt ſolemn orders on the moſt important ſubjects, we know not where their diſobedience will ſtop.

31. We have received two letters from Mr. Spencer, the firſt dated the 5th February, 1765, the laſt the 14th March, copies of which we encloſe for your information; as they both urge his own merit in ſo ſtrong a manner, we find ourſelves obliged to give our ſentiments on his conduct in Bengal.

32. He came down to that ſettlement with the general good opinion of the world, and with our approbation of his conduct during his ſervice at Bombay, with this peculiar advantage, that he was free from all the embarraſſments and the party ſpirit that prevailed in Bengal, and had the plain part of the Company's intereſt before him. We ſhall, therefore, recapitulate the cenſure we have paſſed on that part of the adminiſtration of our affairs in which he was concerned, and which we take for granted he approved, as no diſſent is entered by him.

33. The very ſame letter that carried his (Mr. Spencer's) appointment to the government, carried our moſt poſitive orders to put a total and effectual ſtop to the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which we expreſſed to be the ſource of the war, and incompatible with the peace of the country and the intereſt of the Company; yet in Conſultations 17th October, wherein that order is taken into conſideration, he ſigns to a reſolution to carry on the trade of ſalt and beetle-nut, paying to the Nabob on ſalt 2 ½ per Cent. in direct breach of our orders; and in the treaty with the new ‖ Nabob, he ſtipulates for that right by an expreſs article of the treaty.

34. Although the ** treaty with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn was entered into before Mr. Spencer's arrival, yet he gave his ſanction to every part of it, particularly that which ſtipulated reſtitution for loſſes, which, we make no doubt, he knew to be moſtly ſuſtained in an illicit trade, and preferring the intereſt of the ſervants to the honour of the Company, countenanced the aggravating circumſtances which accompanied that ſhameful proſtitution of our authority, in riſing in the demand, till, by ſlinging in out-ſtanding debts, it was carried to the exorbitant ſum of †† fifty-three lacks; and Mr. Spencer, though no way intereſted therein, joined in the ungenerous proceedings, by which Meer Jaffier's conſent was extorted for the payment of theſe demands, and in the treaty with the new Nabob, makes it an act of his own, by carefully ſtipulating for it therein; and, to our great aſtoniſhment, we ſee his name to conſultation 15th November, 1764, wherein he engages the authority of the Company to obtain the ſum of twelve ‡‡ lacks and a half for the ‡ navy; though, as far as

* 400,000 *l.* † 625,000 *l.*

‡ A demand was made on the Nabob Meer Jaffier firſt by Governor Vanſittart, and afterwards by Commodore Tinker, for a preſent to be given to a ſmall ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips then in Bengal, under Mr. Tinker's command.

§ Governor Spencer and his Council. ‖ Nudjum al Dowlah.

** See copy of this treaty in our Appendix, dated in July 1763.

†† 662,500 *l.* ‡‡ 156,250 *l.*

appears

appears to us, the demanding this ſum was a private act of his predeceſſor, unknown to him, but ſo ſtrongly adopted, that, we ſee, he never loſes ſight of it, but makes the recovery of it part of the inſtructions to the reſident at the Durbar, on the acceſſion of the new Subah.

35. In the adminiſtration of our revenues, he has ſo overlooked the accounts of the province of Burdwan, that though it appears in them the Rajah collects fifty-one lacks of rupees ‡, yet he has approved the agreement with the Rajah for thirty-two lacks §, which is even lower than the preceding year; nor has he taken any notice of the ſum of eighty thouſand rupees ‖, applied to the uſe of our ſervants, under the head of Charges Reſidency.

36. In his letter the 14th March, he urges the general flouriſhing ſtate of the Company's affairs as a matter of merit to himſelf, in which we totally differ from him, as he will learn from our ſentiments in our letter of the 4th December, and the preſent; of which you will tranſmit him copies, as far as relates to the adminiſtration of our affairs during his being of our Council in Bengal.

No. XXXIV.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated May 17, 1766.

7. Equally politic and prudent are the conceſſions in favour of the King, whoſe intereſt was beſt conſidered by the reſtoring Sujah al Dowlah to his country, the only Subah in Hindoſtan who is ever likely to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the empire. The revenue agreed to be paid him, muſt be, in the eyes of the Indian powers, a mark of our reſpect to the royal blood, and an acknowledgment of his right. We approve alſo the being guarantee for Nudjeef Cawn, and finally we hope the moderation and attention paid to all thoſe who have eſpouſed our intereſt in this war, will reſtore our reputation in Hindoſtan, and that the Indian powers will be convinced no breach of treaty will ever have our ſanction. We hope alſo, the fifty lacks, * ſtipulated to be paid by Sujah al Dowlah, will be, before this reaches you, diſcharged, and his dominions entirely evacuated by our troops; and that none will remain under pretence of protection to the King's perſon, for that may lead to pretenſions to ſupport him in his claim to the empire, a meaſure quite contrary to our views, being determined to make the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, the utmoſt bounds of our political views or poſſeſſions.

8. The article in the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, ſtipulating a trade duty free, through his dominions, we direct to be confined ſolely to the Company's trade, and even in that ſenſe of it; we mean only if his dominions produce any goods fit for the European markets, or if it can be made the means of extending our trade in the woollen manufactures, or any other European goods.

9. We come now to conſider the great and important affair of the Dewanny, on which we ſhall give you our ſentiments, with every objection that occurs to us.

10. When we conſider that the barrier of the country government was entirely broke down, and every Engliſhman throughout the country armed with an authority

‡ 637,500 *l.* § 400,000 *l.* ‖ 10,000 *l.* * 625,000 *l.*

that

that owned no ſuperior, and exerciſing his power to the oppreſſion of the helpleſs native, who knew not whom to obey; at ſuch a criſis, we cannot heſitate to approve your obtaining the Dewanny for the Company.

11. When we look back to the ſyſtem which Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee found eſtabliſhed, it preſents to us a Subah diſarmed, with a revenue of almoſt two millions ſterling, (for ſo much ſeems to have been left, excluſive of our demands on him) at the mercy of our ſervants, who had adopted an unheard of ruinous principle of an intereſt, diſtinct from the Company. This principle ſhewed itſelf in laying their hands upon every thing they did not deem the Company's property.

12. In the province of Burdwan, the reſident and his Council took an annual ſtipend of near * eighty thouſand rupees per annum from the Rajah, in addition to the Company's ſalary. This ſtands on the Burdwan accounts, and we fear was not the whole, for we apprehend it went further, and that they carried this pernicious principle even to the ſharing with the Rajah of all he collected, beyond the ſtipulated Malguzarry, or land revenue; overlooking the point of duty to the Company, to whom properly every thing belonged, that was not neceſſary for the Rajah's ſupport. It has been the principle, too, on which our ſervants have falſely endeavoured to gloſs over the crimes of their proceedings on the acceſſion of the preſent Subah, and we fear would have been ſoon extended to the graſping the greateſt ſhare of that part of the Nabob's revenue which was not allotted to the Company. In ſhort, this principle was directly undermining the whole fabrick, for whilſt the Company were ſinking under the burthen of the war, our ſervants were enriching themſelves, from thoſe very funds which ought to have ſupported the war; but to Lord Clive, and our Select Committee, we owe, that the Company are at laſt conſidered as principles in the advantage, as well as the dangers.

13. We muſt now turn our attention to render our acquiſitions as permanent as human wiſdom can make them; this permanency, we apprehend, can be found only in the ſimplicity of the execution. We obſerve the account you give of the office and power of the King's Dewan, which in former times was, "the collecting of all the "revenues, and, after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a ſufficient "fund for the ſupport of the Nizamaut, to remit the remainder to Dehly." This deſcription of it, is not the office we wiſh to execute; the experience we already have had in the province of Burdwan convinces us, how unfit an Engliſhman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the ſubtle native through all his arts, to conceal the real value of his country, and to perplex and elude the payments. We therefore entirely approve of your preſerving the ancient form of government, in the upholding the dignity of the Subah.

14. We conceive the office of Dewan ſhould be exerciſed only in ſuperintending the collections, and diſpoſal of the revenues; which, though veſted in the Company, ſhould officially be executed by our Reſident at the Durbar, under the controul of the Governor and the Select Committee. The ordinary bounds of which controul, ſhould extend to nothing beyond the ſuperintending the collection of the revenues, and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treaſury to that of the Dewanny, or the Company, and this we conceive to be neither difficult or complicated: for at the annual Poonah the government ſettles with each Zemindar his monthly payments for the enſuing year; ſo the monthly payments of the whole from the Nabob's Dewan, is but the total of the monthly payment of each Zemindar; which muſt be ſtrictly kept up, and if deficient, the Company muſt trace what particular province, Rajah,

* 10,000 *l.*

or Zemindar, has fallen ſhort of his monthly payments; or, if it is neceſſary to extend the power farther, let the annual Poonah, by which we mean the time when every landholder makes his agreement for the enſuing year, be made with the conſent of the Dewan or Company. This we conceive to be the whole office of the Dewanny. The adminiſtration of juſtice, the appointment of officers, Zemindarries, in ſhort, whatever comes under the denomination of civil adminiſtration, we underſtand is to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his miniſters.

15. The Reſident at the Durbar being conſtantly on the ſpot, cannot be long a ſtranger to any abuſes in the government, and is always armed with power to remedy them. It will be his duty to ſtand between the adminiſtration and the encroachments always to be apprehended from the agents of the Company's ſervants, which muſt firſt be known to him, and we rely on his fidelity to the Company, to check all ſuch encroachments, and to prevent the oppreſſion of the natives. We gave you our ſentiments on the office of reſident in our letter of the 24th December laſt, which were what we thought ſuitable to the office as it then ſtood; but now that is become of ſo much more importance, we ſhall leave the regulating of it to you, and deſire you will be very explicit on the ſubject, and ſhall only here fling out ſome few thoughts upon it.

16. We would have his correſpondence to be carried on with the Select Committee through the channel of the Preſident. He ſhould keep a diary of all his tranſactions. His correſpondence with the natives muſt be publicly conducted. Copies of all his letters ſent and received be tranſmitted monthly to the Preſidency, with dupliplicates and triplicates to be tranſmitted home in our general packet by every ſhip.

17. In the 39th paragraph of our general letter of the 24th December laſt, we expreſſed our diſapprobation of continuing a Chief and Council at Burdwan. We ſee you have already adopted that ſentiment in withdrawing that reſidency. We have been very full in our late letters on the ſubject of the Burdwan country, and Mr. Verelſt's letter of the 13th September gives ſtill more inſight into the affairs of that province; and as it has been from the tranſactions of that province, that we have acquired the moſt experience of the nature of the collections of the revenues, we ſhall give you ſuch reflections as occur to us on the ſubject in general, and on this province in particular. We obſerve that when we firſt took poſſeſſion of the grant from Jaffier Ally Cawn, of the Calcutta lands, we immediately turned out all thoſe men who ſtood between the government and the cultivator, and put the farm of the lands up to public ſale, in which we make no doubt our ſervants acted for our intereſt, according to the beſt of their judgment; but it appears to have been deemed by the natives an act of oppreſſion, and contrary to the cuſtom of Hindoſtan. However it was then a partial evil, confined to a ſmall tract of country; and the Company had this to plead in their defence, that their whole territory, lying near Calcutta, could eaſily be kept under the general adminiſtration of the Preſidency, and this might be very juſtifiable and very proper for ſo limited an object; but when large provinces fall under our government, ſuch as Burdwan, we do not think the ſame conduct ſhould have been obſerved, but you ſhould have made the beſt terms you could with the Rajah for the Malguzarry, or land revenues: particular local circumſtances might have required deviations from the general rule, ſuch as the incapacity of the Rajah, which might have been remedied by putting proper miniſters about him; but our ſervants ſhould not have interfered in the collections or civil adminiſtrations; and experience has convinced us, they have either erred in judgment or their duty to the Company. For after all the various experiments of putting the farms up to public ſale, by which means many families ſeem to have been

utterly ruined of keeping lands in the hands of the Company, which you call Coſs, and the various methods that have been tried; we find the collections brought to the Company's credit, for the year 1764, are five * lacks leſs than what were paid in Aliverdy Cawn's time in 1752. There is a paſſage in Mr. Verelſt's letter very alarming, and which requires a full explanation; "I was greatly ſurprized to find, on my "arrival there, that it had been again expoſed to public ſale; however, purchaſers "had only been found for about twenty-two † lacks, ſo great was the prejudice taken "of the former ſale, and the whole of that very conſiderably under the Jumma-"bundy of 1769, excepting the farms lately held by Meſſrs. Johnſtone, Hay, and "Bolts, on which a greater advance was bid."

18. We have on a former occaſion, in our letter of the 13th March, 1761, paragraph 57, permitted our ſervants to bid at the public ſale of the Calcutta lands; but we could not conceive ſuch an indulgence could ever be conſtrued to admit ſervants, employed in the collection of the revenues of a province, to ſelect out the moſt profitable lands for themſelves, for ſuch is the light in which this tranſaction appears to us, and it is one more ſtriking proof of the general corruption with which all ranks were tainted, and of the ill uſe that has been made of every indulgence. We direct a ſtrict ſcrutiny into this affair; and if it proves true, that you will make a proper example of the offenders, by diſmiſſing them our ſervice.

19. This tranſaction convinces us of the neceſſity of ſhutting the door to abuſes; and we therefore poſitively order, that no covenanted ſervant, or Engliſhman, reſiding under our protection, ſhall be ſuffered to hold any land for his own account, directly or indirectly, in his own name, or that of others, or to be concerned in any farms or revenues whatſoever.

20. In the 30th paragraph of our letter of the 19th February laſt, we expreſſed our ſurprize that the covenants were not executed, nor any notice taken of them. Judge then what we feel, in learning from Mr. Leyceſter's minute on Conſultation the 11th June 1765, that they never were intended to be executed; and we preſume he ſpeaks not only his own ſentiments, but the ſentiments of his colleagues, when he ſays, the covenants were rather the effect of party than the cool ſentiments of his maſters, and that it was probable parties would unite in aboliſhing covenants that could only injure individuals and do the Company no ſervice. If our ſervants preſume thus to call in queſtion our moſt direct and poſitive orders, enforced too by the general voice of the whole body of proprietors, it is time for us to exert the authority veſted in us, and to do juſtice to the injured natives, to our own honour, and to the national character.

21. The proceedings of the Select Committee have laid open to us a moſt complicated ſcene of corruption, in which we have the unhappineſs to ſee moſt of our principal ſervants involved. Gentlemen who have ſerved us in the higheſt offices, in whom we placed the greateſt confidence, and to whom we had given the greateſt marks of our favour; yet neither the ties of honour or gratitude could controul that unbounded thirſt after riches that ſeems to have prevailed almoſt over the whole ſettlement, and threatened a total diſſolution of all government. The principle on which theſe gentlemen juſtify themſelves ſeems to be, that donations or free gifts are lawful when no intereſt of the Company is ſacrificed to attain them.

22. We do not admit that donations are in any caſe lawful, without our conſent and approbation. Our Governor and Councils abroad are entruſted with the command of our troops and with all our influence and authority, to employ them ſolely for the honour and advantage of the Company. If they pervert the power thus

* 6,250*l.* † 250,000*l.*

truſted

truſted with them for the public good to their own private advantage, they are undoubtedly guilty of a breach of that truſt.

23. Neither can we admit that the vaſt ſums obtained on this occaſion were by any means free gifts. The dependent ſituation of the Subah, is itſelf a refutation of the plea, and his letter to Lord Clive and the Select Committee, with the concurrent teſtimonies of the Seats, and Mahomed Reza Cawn, together with the depoſitions of the ſeveral people examined on this matter, amount to the cleareſt proofs, that they were exacted from the ſeveral parties as the terms of the protection granted them. And laſtly, we ſhall ſay a word or two to what thoſe gentlemen vainly imagine makes ſtrongly in their defence, that no intereſt was ſacrificed to obtain them.

24. The Company were engaged in a war, which, as far as we can judge, coſt them from ten to twelve lacks * per month; for which the Nabob had ſtipulated to pay no more than five lacks † per month, and even that fell in arrears. The Nabob was at this time preſſed for payment of the remaining thirty lacks ‡ for reſtitutions, beſides other unlawful demands on him. It cannot ſurely be pleaded that under theſe circumſtances of the Subah and the Company, no intereſt of the Company was ſacrificed to obtain them. We think theſe gentlemen ſacrificed their own honour, the intereſt and honour of the Company, and of the nation.

25. We are ſorry ſome of the gentlemen have thought fit to juſtify their breach of truſt by a breach of orders, in pleading the covenants were not executed, therefore not obligatory; but ſo totally do we differ from them, that we think them not only guilty of a breach of thoſe particular covenants, but alſo of the general covenants, which were entered into before theſe laſt were found ſo neceſſary.

26. The cavils and oppoſition of ſeveral members of the Council, to the powers and conduct of you our Select Committee, appear moſt evidently to have been calculated to ſcreen and obſtruct the enquiries into and detection of their miſbehaviour; but we are ſatisfied you have had the real intereſt of the Company conſtantly in your view, in all your reſearches into the general corruption and rapacity of our ſervants, with the ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs which do you honour, and merit our approbation.

* From 125,000 *l.*
to 150,000 *l.*
† 6,250 *l.*
‡ 375,000 *l.*

Copies

Copies of TREATIES and GRANTS from the Country Powers to the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, reſpecting their Preſidency at Fort WILLIAM, in BENGAL, from the year 1756 to 1766, both years incluſive.

No. XXXVII.

Treaty and Agreements with Serajah Dowlah.

Signed ſeven Times.

Munſur ul Malek
Serajah Dowla Shah
Kuly Khan Bahader
Hybut Jung, Servant of
King Aalum Geer the
Invincible.

LIST OF DEMANDS.

1. That the Company be not moleſted upon account of ſuch privileges as have been granted them by the King's Firmaun and Huſbulhookums, and the Firmauns and Huſbulhookums in full force.

That the villages which were given to the Company by the Firmaun, but detained from them by the Subah, be likewiſe allowed them; nor let any impediment or reſtriction by put upon the Zemindars.

Agreed to, according to the tenor of the Firmaun.

2. That all goods belonging to the Engliſh Company, and having their Duſtuck, do paſs freely by land or water in Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatſoever; and that the Zemindars, Chokeydars, Guzerbauns, &c. offer them no kind of moleſtation upon this account.

It is agreed to.

3. That reſtitution be made the Company of their factories and ſettlements at Calcutta, Coſſimbazar, Dacca, &c. which have been taken from them. That all money and effects taken from the Engliſh Company, their factors and dependents, at their ſeveral ſettlements and Aurungs, be reſtored in the ſame condition. That an equivalent in money be given for ſuch goods as are damaged, plundered, or loſt, which ſhall be left to the Nabob's juſtice to determine.

Whatever has been ſeized by the Government it is agreed ſhall be reſtored.

4. That the Company be allowed to fortify Calcutta in ſuch manner as they ſhall eſteem proper for their defence, without any hindrance or obſtruction.

It is agreed to.

5. That Siccas be coined at Allenagur (Calcutta) in the ſame manner as at Moorſhadabad, and that the money ſtruck in Calcutta be of equal weight and fineneſs with that of Moorſhad-abad. There ſhall be no demand made for a deduction of Batta.

It is agreed, that bullion imported by the Company be coined to Siccas.

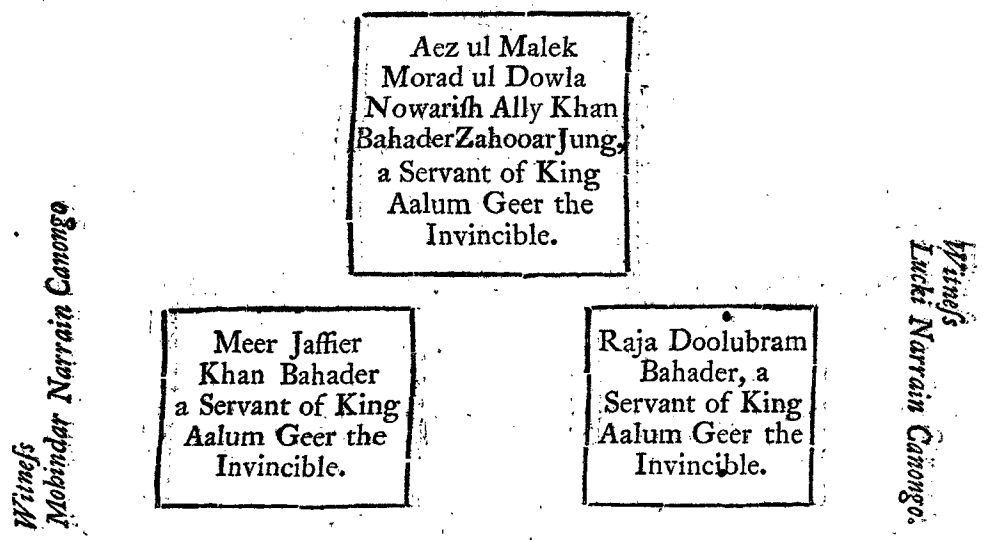
6. That theſe propoſals be ratified in the ſtrongeſt manner, in the preſence of God and his prophet, and ſigned and ſealed to by the Nabob and ſome of his principal people.

In the preſence of God and his prophet, theſe articles are ſigned and ſealed.

7. And

7. And Admiral Charles Watſon and Col. Clive, promiſe in behalf of the Engliſh nation, and of the Engliſh Company, that from henceforth all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe in Bengal, and the Engliſh will always remain in peace and friendſhip with the Nabob, as long as theſe articles are kept in force and remain unviolated.

On condition that an agreement under the Company's ſeal, and ſigned by the Company's Council, and ſworn to according to their religion, be ſent me, I agree to the articles which I have counterſigned.



Agreement of the Company, ſigned by the Governor and Committee, the 9th February, 1757.

We the Eaſt India Company, in the preſence of his excellency the Nabob Munſur ul Malek, Serajah Dowla, Shah Kuly Khan, Bahader Hybut Jung, Nazim of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, by the hands and ſeal of the Council, and by firm agreement and ſolemn atteſtation, do declare, that the buſineſs of the Company's factories within the juriſdiction of the Nabob, ſhall go on in its former courſe: that we will never oppreſs or do violence to any perſons without cauſe; that we will never offer protection to any perſons having accounts with the government, any of the King's Taalookdars or Zemindars, nor murderers, nor robbers: that we will never act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the Nabob: that we will carry on our buſineſs as formerly; and will never, in any reſpect, deviate from this agreement.

Agreement of Colonel Clive with the Nabob, dated February 12, 1757.

I Colonel Clive, Sabut Jung Bahader, commander of the Engliſh land forces in Bengal, do ſolemnly declare, in the preſence of God and our Saviour, that there is peace between the Nabob Serajah Dowla and the Engliſh: They, the Engliſh, will inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the Nabob: that as long as he ſhall obſerve his agreement, the Engliſh will always look upon his enemies as their enemies; and whenever called upon, will grant him all the aſſiſtance in their power.

Perwannah

No. XXXVIII.

Perwannah for Duſtucks from Serajah Dowla, dated 9th Rajeb Moon.

The Engliſh Company's goods having been carried backward and forward by land and water, always through the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, by the Duſtuck and ſeal of the ſaid Company, by virtue of the King's Firmaun, which is alſo now confirmed by me. Take care, on no pretence, to interrupt their carrying their goods backwards and forwards through all the Chokeys whatſoever, and not to demand any Katbarra, Manjor, &c. according to the King's Firmaun. Let them paſs and repaſs, without receiving a ſingle cowrie from any of their people, and interfere not with the Engliſh Company's Gomaſtahs on any account, but rather take care that through all your diſtricts their buſineſs be not obſtructed in any way.

Fifteen Perwannahs of the ſame tenor and date were granted under the ſeal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla to the Rajahs and Zemindars.

*Perwannah under the Seal of Nabob Munſur ul Malek, Serajah Dowla Bahader, Hybut Junk, dated 9th of Rajeb (31ſt March *) in the 3d year of the glorious reign, Mohunlol.*

All goods belonging to the Engliſh Company, which, by virtue of the royal mandate, uſed to paſs and repaſs with the ſaid Company's Duſtucks, by land or water, through the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, I have at this time granted a free currency to, in the ſame manner and with the ſame privileges as formerly: it is neceſſary that your excellency write to the officers at Dacca, Chittagong, Jugdea, Akbarnagur, Silhet, Rangamatty, Cheetmarree, Moorſhad-abad, and Purnea, that they ſuffer the ſame goods to paſs up and down the rivers without any moleſtation or impoſition of Katbarra (a tax laid upon boats) or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the ſmalleſt ſum from them, nor any ways oppreſs the Gomaſtahs or dependants. Let them be punctual in this.

Duſtuck under the ſeal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla, &c. dated † 17 Jemmaude Sauni, the 3d year of the King's glorious reign.

To all Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chokeydars, and Overſeers of the way of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa.

All goods belonging to the Engliſh Company, which by virtue of the royal mandate uſed to paſs and repaſs through the foregoing provinces, by land and water, with the Company's Duſtucks, I have at this time granted a free currency to, in the ſame manner as formerly, and with the confirmation of their former privileges. Let all goods, having the Engliſh Company's Duſtuck, paſs as before, up and down the river, without any moleſtation or impoſition of Katbarra, or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the ſmalleſt ſum from them, nor oppreſs the Company's dependents. In this be punctual, and act conformable to this writing.

Perwannah of the Nabob Serajah Dowlah to the Hon. Company, for erecting a mint in Calcutta.

From the date of the firſt of the moon Shaban, the four ſun Siccas are begun to be ſtampt, and through all the mint-houſes the new Siccas of the four ſun are coined. Take

* 1757. † About the 9th of March, 1757.

Take care and erect a mint in Calcutta (called Allenagur,) and ſtamp gold and ſilver rupees out of the bullion and gold imported by your nation, of the weight of rupees of gold and ſilver coined at Moorſhad-abad: under the name of Allenagur-Calcutta ſhall you coin your money, it ſhall paſs for land revenues, &c. and no body will aſk or ſet any Batta upon them; only take care not to coin the gold and ſilver of other nations.

No. XXXIX.

Treaty with Jaffier Ally Khan.

* *I ſwear by God, and the prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilſt I have life.*

Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader, ſervant of king Aalum Geer.

Treaty made with the Admiral and Colonel Clive [Sabut Jung Bahader] Governor Drake, and Mr. Watts.

1. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, Munſur ul Malek, Shah Kuly Khan, Bahader, Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.

2. The enemies of the Engliſh are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, (the Paradiſe of nations,) and Bahar and Oriſſa, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, nor will I ever allow them any more to ſettle in the three provinces.

4. In conſideration of the loſſes which the Engliſh Company have ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occaſioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one † crore of rupees.

5. For the effects plundered from the Engliſh inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree to give fifty ‡ lacks of rupees.

6. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Muſſulmen, and other ſubjects of Calcutta, twenty § lacks of rupees ſhall be given.

7. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the ſum of ſeven ‖ lacks of rupees. The diſtribution of the ſums allotted the natives, Engliſh inhabitants, Gentoos, and Muſſulmen, ſhall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, (Sabut Jung Bahader,) and the reſt of the Council, to be diſpoſed of by them, to whom they think proper.

8. Within the ditch which ſurrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to ſeveral Zemindars; beſides this, I will grant the Engliſh Company ſix hundred yards without the ditch.

9. All the land laying to the ſouth of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, ſhall be under the Zemindary of the Engliſh Company, and all the officers of thoſe parts ſhall be under their juriſdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the ſame manner with other Zemindars.

10. When-

* Theſe words were wrote in his own hand. † 1,250,000 *l.* ‡ 625,000 *l.* § 250,000 *l.* ‖ 87,500 *l.*

10. Whenever I demand the Engliſh aſſiſtance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

11. I will not erect any new fortifications below Houghly, near the river Ganges.

12. As ſoon as I am eſtabliſhed in the government of the three provinces, the aforeſaid ſums ſhall be faithfully paid. Dated 15th Ramzan, in the 4th year of the reign.*

Additional Article.

13. On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Bahader ſhall ſolemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above articles, which the underwritten on behalf of the honourable Eaſt India Company do, declaring on the holy goſpels, and before God, that we will aſſiſt Meer Jaffier Khan Bahader, with all our force, to obtain the Subahſhip of the province of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and further, that we will aſſiſt him to the utmoſt againſt all his enemies whatever, as ſoon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, ſhall fulfill the aforeſaid articles.

No. XL.

General Sunnud under the Seal of Jaffier Ally Khan.

To all Governors, Muttaſeddees, preſent or future, all Naibs, Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chowdrahs, Canongoos, &c. ſervants of the government in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa.

Know, that by the royal Firmaun and Huſbulhookums the Engliſh Company are pardoned (Maaf) exempt from all duties; therefore I write:

That whatever goods the Company's Gomaſtahs may bring or carry, to or from their factories, the Aurungs, or other places, by land or by water, with a Duſtuck from any of the chiefs of their factories, you ſhall neither aſk nor receive any ſum, however trifling, for the ſame. Know they have full power to buy and ſell, you are by no means to oppoſe it; you are not to require from the Company's Gomaſtahs the Settee, Manghans, or any other of the Zemindars impoſitions.

The Company's Gomaſtahs ſhall buy and ſell the Company's goods without the intervention of Delolls, unleſs the Gomaſtahs are ſatisfied to employ them; you are to aſſiſt them on all occaſions, wherever they buy or ſell. Whoever acts contrary to theſe orders, the Engliſh have full power to puniſh them. If any of the Company's goods are ſtolen, you are to recover the very effects ſtolen, or make good their amount. Any merchants or others, on whom the Company have any lawful demands, you are to ſee that the ſame be paid to their Gomaſtahs. Take care that no one wrong or oppreſs the Company's Gomaſtahs. You are not to require or ſtop their boats on pretence of the Katbarra or other duties on boats, whether they be the Company's own boats, or boats hired by their Gomaſtahs; you are to give credit to the copies of all the Sunnuds to the Company under the Kazzi's ſeal, without requiring the original. Any of the Company's debtors running from them, you are not to give them protection or plead for them, but are to deliver them up to the Company's Gomaſtahs. The Fouzdarry-Crutch, &c. impoſitions of the Fouzdars, which are forbid by the King, you ſhall not demand of the Engliſh, their Gomaſtahs or inhabitants. Whenever the Engliſh Company deſire to ſettle a new factory, beſides thoſe they are already poſſeſſed of in the province of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, you are to give them forty Begahs of the King's land. If any of the Engliſh ſhips are driven by bad weather, or wrecked in any of the ports or other places, you are to aſſiſt them all

in

in your power, and ſee that the goods are reſtored to the Company, and you are not to require the Choutarry, &c. which the King has forbid.

A mint is eſtabliſhed in Calcutta, coin Siccas and gold Mohurs of equal weight and fineneſs with the Siccas and gold Mohurs of Moorſhad-abad. They ſhall paſs in the King's treaſury.

All that I have wrote muſt be done; do as I have wrote, nor aſk a new Sunnud every year. The 27th of the moon Showall, and 4th of the King's reign, being the 15th of the month of July, 1757.

No. XLI.

Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Khan, for the Mint.

To the High and Mighty, the bold and valiant Commanders, the greateſt of Merchants, the Engliſh Company, on whom may the King's favour reſt for ever.

A mint has been eſtabliſhed in Calcutta; continue coining gold and ſilver into Siccas and Mohurs, of the ſame weight and ſtandard with thoſe of Moorſhad-abad; the impreſſion to be Calcutta; they ſhall paſs current in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and be received into the Cadganna; there ſhall be no obſtruction or difficulty for Cuſſore. Under the ſeal of Fidvir Aalum Geer Badſha Gauze, Sujah ul Muluck Hoſſam o Dowla, Meer Mahomed Jeffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, 11th Zeerlaida, 4th of the King's reign.

No. XLII.

Perwannah for the granted Lands.

Seal of the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan.

1170.
Aaulum Geer, Emperor,
fighting for the Faith, his
devoted Meer Mahomed Jaffier
Ally Khan Bahader Shujah ul
Muluck Hoſſam o Dowla
Mahabut Jung,
Anno 4.

Ye Zemindars, Chowdrahs, Taalookdars, Muckaudums, Recayahs, Marſawreans, Mootawettawahs, of the Chuckla of Houghley and others, ſituated in Bengal the terreſtial Paradiſe. Know, that the Zemindarry, Chowdrawy, and Taalookdarry of the countries in the ſubjoined liſt, hath been given by treaty to the moſt illuſtrious and moſt magnificent the Engliſh Company, the glory and ornament of trade. The ſaid Company will be careful to govern according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom and uſage, without any gradual deviation, and watch for the proſperity of the people. Your duty is to give no cauſe of complaint to the Recayahs of the Company, who on their part are to govern with ſuch kindneſs, that huſbandry may receive a daily increaſe, that all diſorders may be ſuppreſſed, drunkenneſs and other illicit practices prevented, and the imperial tributes be ſent in due time. Such part of the aboveſaid country as may be ſituated to the weſt of Calcutta, on the other ſide of the Ganges, does not appertain to the Company.

Know then, ye Zemindars, &c. that ye are dependents of the Company, and that ye muſt ſubmit to ſuch treatment as they give you, whether good or bad; and this is my expreſs injunction.

Twenty-four Mahals.
The Purgannah of Mugra.
Ditto of - Khaſſpoor.
Ditto of - Mudenmutt.
Ditto of - Ekktiarpoor.
Ditto of - Burjutty.
Ditto of - Azimabad.
Ditto of - Moodagotch.
Ditto of - Putcha Kollu.
Part of the Purgannah of Shahpoor.
Shah Nagur.
Part of the Purgunnah of Ghur.
The Purgunnah of Karee Jurree.
Ditto of - Deccan Saugeer.
Part of the Purgunnah of Calcutta.
Part of the Purgunnah of Paikan.
Part of the Purgunnah of Munpoor.
Part of the Purgunnah of Ameerabad.
Part of the Purgunnah of Mahomed Ameepoor.
Mellung Mahal.
The Purgunnah of Hattiagur.
Ditto - - Meida.
Part of the Purgunnah of Akbarpoor.
Part of the Purgannah of Bellia.
Part of the Purgunnah of Buſſindarry.

Dated the * 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto.

(In the Nabob's own hand, ſerving by way of ſign manual.) It is written Finis.

(In Maha Rajah Doolabrum's own hand as Naib) Seen.

(In Rajah Raage Bullub's own hand, as Huſſoor Neviſe) the 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto, regiſtered in the imperial regiſter.

(In Rajah Conghu Baharree's own hand, as Dewan of Bengal) the 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto, regiſtered in the Dewannee regiſter.

No. XLIII.

Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Cawn, for the Saltpetre of Bahar.

At this time, through the means of Colonel Clive, the ſaltpetre lands of the whole province of Bahar have been granted to the Engliſh Company from the beginning of the Bengal year 1165, in the room of Coja Mahomed Wazeed: you are therefore hereby directed to eſtabliſh the authority of their Gomaſtahs in all the ſaltpetre lands of the aforeſaid province, to give ſtrict orders to the ſaltpetre Picars not to ſell an ounce of ſaltpetre to any other perſon, and to receive from the Company the ſtipulated Nezzaranna and money for the aforeſaid lands.

On the 2d of the month of Rajeb of the 4th year of his Majeſty's reign, a copy was entered into the Dewan's books.

On the laſt day of the month of Jemmady-ul-Sauni of the 5th year of his Majeſty's reign, a copy was entered in his Excellency's books.

Approved.

* About the 20th of December, 1757.

No. XLIV.

Sunnud for the Zemindarry of the Honourable Eaſt India Company's lands, given under the ſeal of the Nabob Allow ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Saddoc Khan Bahader Aſſud Jung, Dewan of the Subah of Bengal.

To the Muttaſeddees for affairs for the time being and to come, and Chowdrees and Canongoes, and inhabitants, and huſbandmen of the Kiſmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengal: Be it known, that in conſequence of the Ferd Sawal, ſigned by the glory of the nobility and adminiſtration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nizam of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca, ſigned conformably thereto; the forms of which are herein fully ſet forth. The office of the Zemindarry of the Purgunnahs above written, in conſideration of the ſum of twenty thouſand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peſhcuſh, &c. to the Imperial Sircar, according to the indorſement from the month Pooſs (anno 1164) in the year eleven hundred and ſixty-four of the Bengal æra, is conferred upon the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, to the end that they attend to the rights and cuſtoms thereof as is fitting, nor in the leaſt circumſtance, neglect or with-hold the vigilance and care due thereto; that they deliver into the treaſury at proper times, the due rents of the Sircar: that they behave in ſuch manner to the inhabitants and lower ſort of people, that by their good management the ſaid Purgannahs may flouriſh and increaſe: that they ſuffer no robbers nor houſebreakers to remain within their diſtricts, and take ſuch care of the King's highways, that the travellers and paſſengers may paſs and repaſs without the leaſt moleſtation: that (which God forbid) if the effects of any perſon be plundered or ſtolen, they diſcover and produce the plunderers and thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign puniſhment; or elſe, that they themſelves be reſponſible for the ſaid goods; that they take eſpecial care, that no one be guilty of any crimes or drunkenneſs within the limits of their Zemindarry; that after the expiration of the year they take a diſcharge according to cuſtom, and that they deliver the accounts of their Zemindarry agreeable to the ſtated forms every year into the Dufter Cana of the Sircar; and that they refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the Imperial Court, the (Aſylum of the World.)

It is their (the Muttafeddes, &c.) duty to look upon the ſaid Company as the eſtabliſhed and lawful Zemindars of thoſe places, and whatſoever appertains or is annexed to that office as their right; in this particular be they ſtrictly punctual.

Dated the firſt of Rabbi ul Sauni in the * third ſun of the reign.

Let the Indorſement be wrote.

Particulars of the Indorſement.

In conſequence of the Ferd Sawal, ſigned by the glory of the nobility and adminiſtration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nizam of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca ſigned conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully ſet forth, the office of the Zemindarry of the Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in conſideration of the ſum of twenty thouſand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peſhcuſh, &c. to the

* Should be the 5th ſun.

Imperial Sircar from the month Pooſs (anno 1164) in the year one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-four of the Bengal æra, is conferred upon the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company.

27 Mahals

Deroobuſt	Kiſſmut
15 Mahals	12 Mahals.

The amount according to the account ſigned by the Canongoes of the Subah.

Form of the ſign manual.

Be the Sunnud granted.

Form of the Ferd Sawal. The Zemindarry of the Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, having been conferred on the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, the aforeſaid Company repreſent that the inhabitants will not be ſatisfied without the grant of a Sunnud, wherefore they deſire that the Sunnud may be graciouſly allowed them, for which they agree to pay the ſum of twenty thouſand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peſhcuſh, &c. to the Imperial Sircar. In this particular what are your commands?

27 Mahals.

Deroobuſt.	Kiſſmut.
15 Mahals.	12 Mahals.

The amount according to the account, ſigned by the Canongoes of the Subah.

Rupees 222,958 10 12 3

N.B. This is wrote by the Royroyan.

Peſhcuſh of the Imperial Sircar, &c. 20101 *Rupees*

Peſhcuſh of the Imperial Sircar. Nezeranna Subahdarre. Vizier's Fees.

12101 5000 3000

Kiſſmut Purgannah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum in the Diſtricts of the Chucla of Houghly

26 Mahals

Deroobuſt.	Kiſſmuttea.
15 Mahals.	11 Mahals.

Amount 220,166 14 10 1.

Kiſſmut Purgannah of Calcutta, Sircar Sautgaum Diviſion 16 Annas.

Mahal Kiſſmuttea.

Amount 28,482 6 13.

Belonging to the Company	28,361	8 10 1
Ditto to Ramcunt	120	13 2 3

Kiſſmut

Kiſſmutt Purgannah of Mugra - - - - - - - Sircar Sautgaum.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 24,504 13 16 1

Purgunnah of Khaſſpoor - - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 3,337 3 2

Pergunnah of Mundemul - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 22,199 5 5

Purgunnah of Berryhatte - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 6,149 4 13 3

Purgunnah of Ekktiarpoor - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 7,923 1 8

Pergunnah of Deccan Saugur - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 60 7 12 2

Purgunnah of Shahnagur - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 283 7 14

Purgunnah of Azimabad - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 10,000

Purgunnah of Ghur - - - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 7,420 9 15

Pergunnah of Moodagotcha - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 31,793 10

Purgun-

On the 15th of Rabbi ul Saani 5th San, a Copy was entered in the Dewanny Book.

D.

Purgunnah of Peetcha Kollie - - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 3,129 4 15

Pergunnah of Kareejuree - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt
Amount 562 8

Kiſſmut Pergunnah of Manpoor, - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 8947 10 1 1

Belonging to the Company 8856 3 1
Ditto Ramcunt 91 9 18

Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Paikan - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 12 Annas.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 6787 10 6 3

Kiſſmut Pergunnah of Amerabad - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Adjacent to Chitpoor
Diviſion 3 Annas.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 3650 10 9

Kiſſmut Pergunnah of Haveluſhehr - - - - Sircar ditto.
The village of Seenderpoor
No diviſion.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 323 11 8

Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Mahmud Ameepoor - - Sircar ditto.
The village.
No diviſion.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 184 5 10

Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Mob, ſalt and wax - - Sircar ditto.
No diviſion.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 16702 13 1

Pergunnah of Hattiagur - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 22,119 7 19 3

Purgun-

On the 12th day of Rabbi ul Saunt, a copy was entered in the books of the government.
(G Huzzoor or the Preſence)
H

Purgunnah of Meida - - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 4,199 14 10

Purgunnah of Akbarpoor - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 2,228 15 15

Purgunnah of Shahpoor - - - - - - - Sircar ditto.
Diviſion 16 Annas.
Mahal Deroobuſt.
Amount 3,470 12 2 2

Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Aboab Fouzdarree, &c. - - Sircar ditto.
No diviſion.
2 Mahals Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 1204 12 18 2

Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Aboab Fouzdarree and Peſhcuſh Congo
2 Mahals
Amount - - - - - - - 1,174 11 16 3
Bherjy (transferred) - - - 30 1 1 3

Sairs Hettiagur, Meida, and Meidonmul, and Moodagotcha, belonging to Coot Ekktiapoor.

Diviſion 3 Annas 11 Gendas.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 4,501

Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Bellia Buſſeindarree Sircar Sallemabad, named Sahebnagur in the diſtricts of the Chucla of Burdwan, containing the Monza Bhilla, and all the lands lying on the eaſt ſide of the river Ganges.

Diviſion 10 Annas.
Mahal Kiſſmuttea.
Amount 2,791 11 12 2

Form of the ſign manual.

After the receipt of the Muchulca and Zaminee, according to cuſtom.
Be the Sunnud granted.

Form of the Ferd Huckeekut.

In conſequence of the Ferd Sawal, ſigned by the Glory of the Nobility and Adminiſtration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah, the form of which is herein fully ſet forth, the office of the Zemindarry of the Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in conſideration of the ſum of twenty thouſand one hundred and one rupees (20,101) Peſhcuſh, &c. to the imperial Sircar, is conferred on the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, who have delivered a Muchulca and Zaminee into the books, and petition for the Sunnud. In this particular what are you pleaſed to decree?

27 Ma-

Form of the Ferd Sawal and particulars of the Mahals have been written above.

Peshcush of the imperial Sircars, &c. 20101 *rupees.*
Peshcush of the Sircar. 12101 rupees.
Nezzerranna Subahdarree. 5000 rupees.
Vizier's Fees. 3000 rupees.

27 Mahals.
Deroobuſt 15 Mahals.
Kiſſmuttea 12 Mahals.
Amount, according to the account ſigned by the Canongoes of the Subah,
rupees 222958 10 2 3

Form of the ſign manual.
It has been viewed.

Form of the Muchulca dated the

We the Engliſh Company do declare, that whereas the office of the Zemindarry of the Kiſſmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in conſideration of the ſum of twenty thouſand one hundred and one rupees (20,101) Peſhcuſh, &c. to the imperial Sircar, from the month Pooſs (anno 1164) in the year eleven hundred and ſixty-four of the Bengal æra, has been conferred on us, to the end that we attend to the rights and cuſtoms thereof as is fitting, nor in the leaſt circumſtance neglect or with-hold the vigilance and care due thereto; that we deliver into the treaſury in the proper times, the due rents of the Sircar; that we behave in ſuch manner to the inhabitants and lower ſort of people, that by our good management the ſaid Purgunnahs may flouriſh and encreaſe; that we ſuffer no robbers nor houſebreakers to remain within our diſtricts, and take ſuch care of the King's highways, that the travellers and paſſengers may paſs and repaſs without fear or moleſtation; that (which God forbid) if the effects of any perſon be plundered or ſtolen, we diſcover and produce the robbers or thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign puniſhment, or elſe that we ourſelves be reſponſible for the ſaid goods. That we take eſpecial care, that no one be guilty of any crime or drunkenneſs within the limits of our Zemindarry. That after the expiration of the year we take a diſcharge according to cuſtom, and that we deliver the accounts of our Zemindarry agreeable to the ſtated forms every year, into the Dufter Cana of the Sircar; and that we refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the imperial court, the aſylum of the world.

For this reaſon we have given this writing as a Muchulca and agreement, that upon any occaſion recourſe may be had thereto.

Particulars of the 27 Mahals have been written in the endorſement.

27 Mahals.
Deroobuſt. 15 Mahals.
Kiſſmuttea. 12 Mahals.
Amount 222958 10 2 3

Form of the ſign manual.
It is accepted.

Form of the Tomſook Hazir Zaminee, dated

I - - - - - - - - - - - - do declare, that whereas the office of the Zemindarry of the Kiſſimut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, has been conferred on the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company; I being appointed the perſonal ſecurity for the ſaid Company with the Sircar, do agree, and give this writing, that the aforeſaid Company ſhall be preſent, and execute the functions of their Zemindarry; if they ſhall abſent themſelves, I will make them appear; but if at any time I am not able to make them appear, I will be reſponſible for their compacts: for this reaſon I have given this writing as a Tomſook Hazir Zaminee, that upon any occaſion recourſe may be had thereto.

Form of the ſign manual.
Signed.

Form of the agreement for the Peſhcuſh, &c. to the imperial Sircar.

Account of the agreement for the Peſhcuſh, &c. made for obtaining the grant of the Sunnud, for the Zemindarry of the Kiſſimut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. in the name of us the Engliſh Company, for the year 1165, of the Bengal æra.

20101 Rupees Peſhcuſh
Peſhcuſh of the Imperial Sircar, 12101
Nezeranna Subahdarree, 5000 rupees.
Vizier's Fees,
3000
Rupees 222,958 10 2 3

Mem. Here follows, in the original, a deſcription of the particulars of the ſeveral Purgunnahs as before ſpecified.

No. XLV.

Sunnud for the free Tenure of the Town of Calcutta, &c. to the Honourable Eaſt India Company, given under the Seal of the Nabob Allah ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Saddoc Khan Bahader Aſſud Jung, Dewan of the Subah of Bengal.

To the Muttaſeddees for the affairs for the time being and to come, and to the Zemindars, and Chowdrahs, and Taalookdars, and Canongoes of the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the diſtricts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala. Be it known, that, in conſequence of the Ferd Sawal, ſigned by the glory of the nobility and adminiſtration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah, and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca ſigned conformable thereto, the forms of which are herein fully ſet forth, the rents of the aforeſaid Mouzas, &c. which adjoin to the factory of the moſt noble of merchants, the Engliſh Company, amounting to eight thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſix rupees, and ſomething more, from the * 1ſt of Rabbi ul Sauni 5th Sun, according to the endorſement, are forgiven, to the end that they provide for the defence of their factory, and the ſafeguard of the

* Beginning of December, 1758.

ſea-ports herewith. It is their (the Muttaſeddees, &c.) duty to deſiſt from all claims for the rents, nor in any way, nor by any means, oppreſs or diſturb them. In this particular be they punctual.

Dated as above.

† Let the endorſement be wrote.

Particulars of the Endorſement.

In conſequence of the Ferd Sawal, ſigned by the glory of the nobility and adminiſtration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah and the Ferd Huckeekut and Muchulca, ſigned conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully ſet forth; the rents of the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the diſtricts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, and dependent on the Khalſa Shereeſa, and the Jaghire of the Sircar, which adjoin to the factory of the nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, amounting to eight thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſix rupees and ſomething more, from the ‡ latter ſeaſon of Oodaeel, in the year eleven hundred and ſixty-four (1164) of the Bengal æra, are forgiven the nobleſt of merchants aforeſaid.

Mouzas and Mahals 22 ½

Mouzas 20 ½, Mahals (2 Markets) 2

The amount according to the Ferd ſigned by the Canongoes of the Subah.

Form of the ſign manual.

Be the Sunnud granted.

Form of the Ferd Sawal.

The nobleſt of merchants, the Engliſh Company, repreſent, that the factory for carrying on their trade in the Purgunnah of Calcutta, lying near the ſea, and being liable to continual alarms and interruptions from the enemy, for their defence they have made a tank of water round their factory, and left an eſplanade on all ſides at the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot, and that the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the diſtricts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar of Sautgaum, belonging to the Paradiſe of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, dependent on the Khalſa Shereeſa and Jaghire of the Sircar, adjoin thereto; they requeſt that a Sunnud, exempting them from the payment of the rents thereof, be granted them. In this particular what are your commands?

Mouzas 20 ½. Mahals (2 Markets) 2

Amounting, according to the account ſigned by Canongoes of the Subah, to 8836 4 3 2 rupees.

Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Calcutta. Mouzas with Kiſſmutteas. 12.

In all 6 ½ Mouzas. Amount 2542 14 2 3.

† This is wrote by the Roy-royan.

‡ In the original Feſſet Kruff.

Kerria

Kerria Kiſſmutt of Govindpoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 338 11 16 2 Jaghire.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Mirzapoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 131 10 17 3.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Gunniſpoor, in the bounds of the Molunga of the Khalſa
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 171 13 19 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Chowrungee of the Jaghire
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 44 8 2 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhulland
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 227 11 12 2.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Jella Colunda
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 266 2 13 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhela Danghee of the Jaghire
Mouza of 12 annas—Amount 582 15 6 3.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Anhattee of the Jaghire
Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 184 13 16 1.
Kerria Salduah of the Jaghire
One Mouza—Amount 355 13 11 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Birjhee
Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 63 2 4 2.
Kerria Kiſpoorperra of the Jaghire
One Mouza—Amount 191 0 5 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Serampoor of the Jaghire
Mouza of 4 annas—Amount 34 5 17 1.
Kiſſmutt Mouza of Dhellunt, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Paikan
Twelve Mouzas, including Kiſſmutteas, in all 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ Mouzas of the Khalſa—Amount 1894 4 2 0.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhellunt
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 253 10 12 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Soota Lootee
Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 113 7 1 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt Govindpoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 161 3 13.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Chowrungee
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 97 7.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Mirzapoor
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 150 8 8 1.
Kerria Hocul Koorea
One Mouza—Amount 178 12 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Deccan Paikparra
Mouza of 2 annas—Amount 15 9 15.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Dhela Danghee
Mouza of 4 annas—Amount 156 13 6.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Anhattee
Mouza 10 annas—Amount 218 10 12
Kerria Kiſſmurt of Jella Colunda
Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 147 2 16 1.
Kerria Kiſſmutt of Bharee Birjhee
Mouza of 10 annas—Amount 227 2 2.

Kerria Kiſſimutt of Bharee Serampoor
Mouza of 12 annas—Amount 123 12 7.
Mouza of Shimla, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Manpoor
Three Mouzas entire of the Khalſa—Amount 331 15 11.
Kerria Shimla one Mouza—Amount 121 15 3 2.
Kerria Maukhund one Mouza—Amount 180 4 13 2.
Kerria Audinghu one Mouza—Amount 29 11 14.
Mouza of the town of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Ameer-abad
Six and a half Mouzas and Mahals—Amount 4008 10 11.
Kerria of the * town of Calcutta
One Mouza—Amount 1376 13 7 2.
Kerria Kiſſimutt of Soota Lootee
Mouza of 10 annas—Amount 1392 9 14 2.
Kerria Kiſſimut of Deccan Paikparra
Mouza of 14 annas of the Jaghire—Amount 479 2 2.
Kerria of Birjhee
One Mouza of the Jaghire—Amount 114 7 2 2.
Kerria of Serampoor
One Mouza of the Jaghire—Amount 50 13 15 2.
Market of Soota Lootee
One Mahal of the Khalſa—Amount 272 2 2.
Market of Govindpoor
One Mahal of the Khalſa—Amount 322 12 5 2.
Kerria Kiſſimutt of Aboab Fouzdaree of the town of Calcutta, &c.—Amount 8 3 18 1.

Form of the ſign manual,

The Muchulca being taken according to the form.
Be the Sunnud granted.

Mem. Here follows the Ferd Huckeekut, and alſo the Muchulca of the Company, which are in the ſame form as thoſe in the Sunnud foregoing for the Company's Zemindarry.

No. XLVI.

A Treaty between the Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan, and the Company.

Company's Seal.

Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader's Seal.

Two treaties have been written of the ſame tenor and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles undermentioned, between Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, and the †Nabob Shums ô Dowla Governor, and the reſt of the Council for the affairs of the Engliſh Company, and during the life of Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, and the duration of the factories of the Engliſh Company in this country, this

* In the original it is Dhee Calcutta.

† Governor Vanſittart.

agreement

agreement ſhall remain in force. God is witneſs between us, that the following articles ſhall in no wiſe be infringed by either party.

1. The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader ſhall continue in poſſeſſion of his dignities, and all affairs be tranſacted in his name, and a ſuitable income ſhall be allowed for his expences.

2. The Neabut of the Subahdarree of Bengal,* Azim-abad, and Oriſſa, &c. ſhall be conferred by his excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader; he ſhall be veſted with the adminiſtration of all affairs of the provinces, and, after, his Excellency ſhall ſucceed to the government.

3. Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, a firm friendſhip and union is eſtabliſhed, his enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

4. The Europeans and Telingas, of the Engliſh army ſhall be ready to aſſiſt the Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, in the management of all affairs; and in all affairs dependent on him, they ſhall exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their abilities.

5. For all charges of the Company and of the ſaid army and proviſions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, ſhall be aſſigned, and Sunnuds for that purpoſe ſhall be written and granted. The Company is to ſtand to all loſſes, and receive all the profits of theſe three countries, and we will demand no more than the three aſſignments aforeſaid.

6. One half of the Chunam produced at Silhet for three years, ſhall be purchaſed by the Gomaſtahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the cuſtomary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts ſhall receive no injury.

7. The ballance of the former Tuncaw ſhall be paid according to the Kiſtbundee agreed upon with the Roy-royan; the jewels which have been pledged, ſhall be received back again.

8. We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to ſettle in the lands of the Engliſh Company, neither ſhall the tenants of the Company be allowed to ſettle in the lands of the Sircar.

9. We will give no protection to the dependents of the Sircar in the lands or in the factories of the Company, neither ſhall any protection be given to the dependents of the Company in the lands of the Sircar; and whoſoever ſhall fly to either party for refuge, ſhall be delivered up.

10. The meaſures for war or peace with the Shah-zada, and raiſing ſupplies of money, and the concluding both theſe points ſhall be weighed in the ſcale of reaſon, and whatever is judged expedient ſhall be put in execution; and it ſhall be ſo contrived by the joint counſels, that he be removed from this country, nor ſuffered to get a footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shah-zada, or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader, we will (by the grace of God) inviolably obſerve as long as the Engliſh Company's factories continue in this country.

Dated the 17th of the month Seffer in the 1174th year of the Hegira, or 27th September, 1760.

Sign manual of Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan.

This was ſealed on the 18th of the month Seffer, in the eleven hundred and ſeventy-fourth of the Hegira, and the propoſals are agreed to.

* Or Bahar.

No.

No. XLVII.

Sunnud under the ſeal of the Nabob Naſſer u. Muluck Imteaz o Dowla Neſſerat Jung, Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan Bahader.

To the Zemindars, Canongoes, Taalookdars, tenants, huſbandmen, and chiefs of the villages of the Purgunnah of Burdwan, &c. the Zemindarry of the Rajah Tilluckchund, in the diſtricts of the Subah of Bengal. Be it known, that whereas divers wicked people have traiterouſly ſtretched forth their hands to plunder the ſubjects and waſte the royal dominions; for this reaſon, the ſaid Purgunnah, &c. is granted to the Engliſh Company, in part of diſburſement of their expences, and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horſe, two thouſand European foot, and eight thouſand Sepoys, which are to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions; let the above officers quietly and contentedly attend and pay to the perſons appointed by the Engliſh Company, the ſtated revenues, and implicitly ſubmit in all things to their authority. And the office of the collector of the Engliſh Company is as follows: They ſhall continue the Zemindars and tenants in their places, regularly collect the revenues of the lands, and deliver them in monthly for the payment of the expences of the Company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready, chearfully and vigorouſly to promote the affairs of the king. Let this be punctually obſerved.

Dated the 4th of the moon Rabbi ul Awuul, 1ſt ſun, anſwering to the 1ſt of the month Cartic, 1176, Bengal ſtyle.

N. B. The Sunnuds for the Chuckla of Midnapoor in the diſtricts of the Subah of Oriſſa, and for the Tannah of Iſlamabad or Chittagong appertaining to the Subah of Bengal, are worded as the above.

Sunnud under the ſeal of the Nabob Naſſer ul Muluck, &c.

To the Droga of Chunam, to the Naib of Silhet. Be it known, that whereas the Engliſh Company are conſtructing a fort in Calcutta, and meet with great obſtacles in finiſhing that work, in the want of ſtone Chunam; for this reaſon it is ordered, that of whatever quantity of Chunam is produced at that place, one half (the price thereof being received agreeable to the rate of that place) be delivered to the Gomaſtahs of the Engliſh Company for the term of three years, that no delays may be occaſioned in finiſhing the fort aforeſaid; and the other half is to be ſent for the Sircar. Let this be punctually obſerved.

Dated the 4th of the moon Rabbi ul Awuul, 1ſt ſun, anſwering to the 1ſt of the month Cartic, 1176, Bengal ſtyle.

No. XLVIII.

Articles of an intended Treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan Bahader, drawn up by a Committee of the Council in Mr. Vanſittart's government, and dated July 6, 1763.

1ſt, To confirm to the Company the ceſſion of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made by Meer Coſſim, either by Jagheeree, Sunnuds, or ſuch

ſuch deeds as may ſecure the property of them, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to the Company for ever.

2dly, To ratify and confirm to the Engliſh, the privilege granted by their Firmaun, and ſeveral Huſbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which, according to a reſolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of two and a half per Cent. on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

3dly, That he do grant to the Company, the excluſive right of purchaſing the ſaltpetre of the province of Poornea; that he do alſo grant to them, for the ſpace of five years, the ſole privilege of making Chunam, in the province of Silhett; half whereof ſhall be delivered to the Fouzdar there, for the Nabob's uſe, at the rate which the prime coſt and charges may amount to.

4thly, That the troops of the Engliſh army ſhall always be ready to be employed in the ſervice of the Nabob, for the ſupport of his government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part ſhall agree, that he will maintain in his pay, no greater number of troops than 6000 horſe, and 12000 effective foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collection of his revenues.

5thly, That wherever he ſhall think proper to fix his court, he ſhall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his perſon, for the ſecurity thereof, and protection of his government; and that a Company's ſervant ſhall reſide at his court, to tranſact any affairs between the Company and the government.

6thly, That the late Perwannahs iſſued out by Coſſim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, as they are detrimental to the revenues of the government, and highly deſtructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaun.

7thly. That the Nabob ſhall engage to cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta, to paſs in every reſpect throughout his government without any deduction, equally the ſame with the rupees ſtruck in his own mint.

8thly, That he ſhall defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the Company from the war, and ſtoppage of their inveſtment, and reimburſe to all private perſons, the amount of the authenticated loſſes, which they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country.

9thly, That for the former purpoſe, he ſhall give thirty lacks of rupees; for the latter, ten lacks of rupees.

10thly, That the moſt authentic account of theſe loſſes ſhall be laid before a Committee of the Board; and that all ſums of money which may exceed the loſſes ſuſtained by the Company and private perſons, ſhall be faithfully reſtored to the

[illegible]r, That whatever treaſure or effects may be ſeized at Mongheer or elſewhere, [illegible]ng to Coſſim Ally Khan, the Nabob ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of, to enable [illegible]make good the ſtipulations in the ninth article.

[illegible]y, That if we ſhould not be ſo fortunate as to ſeize Coſſim Ally Khan's treaſ[illegible]ffects, the Nabob ſhall aſſign over the revenues of certain lands for making good the ſums ſtipulated.

13thly, That the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch, in the year 1760, to which we, by the deſire of both parties, ſigned as guarantees, ſhall, after his reſtoration to the government, be renewed; and with regard to the French, he ſhall engage, that when they come to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in Bengal, they ſhall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, excluſive of their trading factories.

No.

No. XLIX.

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and the Nabob Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung.

Company's Large Seal.

The Seal of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, &c.

On the part of the Company.

We engage to reinſtate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader, in the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, by the depoſal of Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan; and the effects, treaſure, and jewels, &c. belonging to Meer Mahomed Coſſim Khan, which ſhall fall into our hands, ſhall be delivered up to the Nabob aforenamed.

On the part of the Nabob

1. The treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company upon my acceſſion to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, their Governor, and Council, as my own, granting Perwannahs for the currency of the Company's buſineſs; the ſame treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2. I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the ſame purpoſe.

3. I do ratify and confirm to the Engliſh the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and ſeveral Huſbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impoſitions, in all parts of the country, except the article of ſalt, on which a duty of 2½ per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

4. I give to the Company half the ſaltpetre which is produced in the country of Poornea, which their Gomaſtahs ſhall ſend to Calcutta. The other half ſhall be collected by my Fouzdar, for the uſe of my offices; and I will ſuffer no other perſ[on] make purchaſes of this article in that country.

5. In the Chuclah of Silhet for the ſpace of five years, commencing with th[e] gal year 1170, my Fouzdar and the Company's Gomaſtah, ſhall jointly prepare Ch[unam] of which each ſhall defray half the expences; and half the Chunam ſo made ſ[hall be] given to the Company, and the other half ſhall be for my uſe.

6. I will maintain twelve thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot in the th[ree pro]vinces. If there ſhould be occaſion for any more, the number ſhall be increaſed by conſent of the Governor and Council proportionably to the emergency. Beſides theſe, the forces of the Engliſh Company ſhall always attend me when they are wanted.

7. Wherever I ſhall fix my court, either at Murſhed-abad, or elſewhere, I will adviſe the Governor and Council; and what number of Engliſh forces I may have occaſion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they ſhall be allowed.

ed me; and an Engliſh gentleman ſhall reſide with me to tranſact all affairs between me and the Company: and a perſon ſhall alſo reſide on my part at Calcutta, to negociate with the Governor and Council.

8. The late Perwannahs iſſued by Coſſim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

9. I will cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta, to paſs in every reſpect equal to the Siccas of Moorſhed-abad, without any deduction of Batta; and whoſoever ſhall demand Batta, ſhall be puniſhed.

10. I will give thirty lacks of rupees, to defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the Company from the war and ſtoppage of their inveſtment; and I will reimburſe to all private perſons the amount of ſuch loſſes proved before the Governor and Council, as they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country; if I ſhould not be able to diſcharge this in ready money, I will give aſſignments of land for the amount.

11. I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

12. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they ſhall pay tribute and carry on their trade as in former times.

13. Some regulations ſhall be hereafter ſettled between us, for deciding all diſputes which may ariſe between the Engliſh agents and Gomaſtahs in the different parts of the country, and my officers.

In teſtimony whereof, we the ſaid Governor and Council have ſet our hands and affixed the ſeal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob aforenamed hath ſet his hand and ſeal to another part hereof; which were mutually done and interchanged, at Fort William, the 10th day of July 1763.

Signed,

HENRY VANSITTART. JOHN CARNAC. WILLIAM BILLERS. WARREN HASTINGS. RANDOLPH MARRIOTT. HUGH WATTS.

Demands made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, and agreed to by the Council, at the time of ſigning the Treaty.

1. I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement and kindneſs, with preſents: I now make this requeſt, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and alſo to the King of England, the particulars of our friendſhip and union, and procure for me writings and encouragement, that my mind may be aſſured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the Engliſh, and that every Governor, Counſellor, and Chiefs of the Engliſh, that are here or may hereafter come, may be well diſpoſed and attached to me.

2. Since all the Engliſh gentlemen aſſured of my friendly diſpoſition to to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut, I requeſt that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and aſſent, nor regard the ſtories of deſigning men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with ſucceſs, and no occaſion may ariſe for jealouſy or ill-will between us.

3. Let no protection be given by any of the Engliſh gentlemen to any of my dependents, who may fly for ſhelter to Calcutta, or other of your diſtricts; but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I ſhall ſtrictly enjoin all my Fouzdars and Aumils on all accounts, to afford aſſiſtance and countenance to ſuch of the Gomaſtahs of the Company as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the ſaid Gomaſtahs ſhall act otherwiſe, let them be checked in ſuch a manner as may be an example to others.

4. From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of their Purgunnahs bordering upon each other, it happens that on complaints being made, people go againſt the Taalookdars, Ryots, and tenants of my town, to the prejudice of the buſineſs of the Sircar; wherefore let ſtrict orders be given that no perſon be ſent from Calcutta on the complaints of any one upon my Taalookdars or tenants; but on ſuch occaſions let application be made to me or the Naib of the Fouzdarry of Hoogly, that the Company may be ſubject to no loſs or devaſtations. And if any of the traders which belonged to the Buckſbunder and Azimgunge, and have ſettled in Calcutta, ſhould be deſirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their buſineſs there as formerly, let no one moleſt them. Chandernagore and the French factory were preſented to me by Colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Khan: for this reaſon, let ſtrict orders be given that no Engliſh gentleman exerciſe any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly under the juriſdiction of my people.

5. Whenever I demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my aſſiſtance, let them be immediately ſent me, and no demand made on me for their expences.

The demands of Nabob Shujah ul Muluck Hoſſam ô Dowlah, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, written in five articles, we, the Preſident and Council of the Engliſh Company, do agree, and ſet our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th July, 1763.

Signed,

HENRY VANSITTART. WILLIAM BILLERS. JOHN CARTIER. WARREN HASTINGS. RANDOLPH MARRIOTT. HUGH WATTS.

No. L.

Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note, for the payment of five lacks of rupees per month, for the expences of the Company's troops during the war with Shujah ul Dowlah. Dated September 16th, 1764.

Account of money ſettled for the expences of the European and Sepoys, the artillery, and the raiſing of the cavalry, which ſhall be paid a month ſooner or later, according to the particulars under-mentioned, from the beginning of the month Seffer (31ſt July, 1764, of the 5th year of the reign,) till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier; viz.

In the province of Bengal, at Moorſhed-abad	—	—		300,000
In the province of Bahar, at Patna	—	—	—	200,000
			Total rupees	500,000

Written

Written the 19th of Rabbi ul Awvul, the 5th year of the Jaloos, (16th September 1764.)

N. B. I will include in the aforeſaid ſum, whatever balance may be due from me on account of my former agreement with the Company.

No. LI.

A.

Propoſals made by the King Shah Aalum, and encloſed in a letter from Major Hector Munro to the Preſident and Council at Bengal, dated from the camp at Benâres, the 22d of November, 1764.

If this country is to be kept, put me in poſſeſſion of it, and leave a ſmall detachment of the troops with me, to ſhow that I am protected by the Engliſh, and they ſhall be at my expence, that if any enemy come at any time againſt me, I will make ſuch connections in the country that with my own troops, and the aforementioned ſmall detachment, will defend the country, without any farther aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, and I will pay them of the revenues of the country what ſum they ſhall demand yearly. If the Engliſh will, contrary to their intereſt, make peace with the Vizier, I will go to Dehly, for I cannot think of returning again into the hands of a man who has uſed me ſo ill. I have no friends I depend on more than the Engliſh; their former behaviour to me will make me ever reſpect and regard them; now is their time to be in poſſeſſion of a country abounding with riches and treaſure: I ſhall be ſatisfied with whatever ſhare they pleaſe of it. The Rohillas were always enemies to the imperious Vizier, they are all my friends.

B.

Articles to be executed by the King, incloſed in a letter from the Preſident and Council at Bengal, to Major Hector Monro, commander in chief of the army; ſent the 6th December 1764.

In conſideration of the aſſiſtance and fidelity of the Engliſh Company, which has freed us from the inconveniencies we laboured under, and ſtrengthened the foundations of the empire which God has given us, we have been graciouſly pleaſed to grant to the Engliſh Company our royal favours according to the following articles, which ſhall remain firm both in preſent and in future.

As the Engliſh Company have been put to a great expence, and their affairs expoſed to danger, by the war which the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, unjuſtly and contrary to our royal pleaſure waged againſt them; we have therefore aſſigned to them the country of Ghazepoor, and the reſt of the Zemindarry of Bulwant Sing, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the regulation and government thereof, we have given to their diſpoſal, in the ſame manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla's. The aforeſaid Rajah having ſettled terms with the chiefs of the Engliſh Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company; and the amount ſhall not belong to the books of the royal revenue, but ſhall be expunged from them. The army of the Engliſh Company having joined our ſtandard, ſhall put us in poſſeſſion of Allah-abad, and the reſt of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the revenues, excepting thoſe of Rajah Bulwant Sing's Zemindarry, ſhall be in our entire management and diſpoſal.

As the Engliſh Company will be at a further expence in putting us in poſſeſſion of Allaha-bad, and the reſt of the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, we will therefore, as we get poſſeſſion, grant to them out of our treaſury, ſuch a proportion of the revenues as the exigencies of our affairs will admit of; and when we are put in full poſſeſſion, we will reimburſe the whole expences of the Company in this buſineſs, from the time of their joining our royal ſtandard.

C.

Firmaun, executed by the King. Dated December 29th, 1764.

As the Engliſh Company have been put to great expence, and their affairs expoſed to danger by the war which the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla unjuſtly and contrary to our royal pleaſure waged againſt them; we have therefore aſſigned to them the country of Ghazepoor, and the reſt of the Zemindarry of Rajah Bulwant Sing, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the regulation and government thereof we have given to their diſpoſal, in the ſame manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla's. The aforeſaid Rajah having ſettled terms with the chiefs of the Engliſh Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company.

The army of the Engliſh Company having joined our ſtandard, ſhall put us in poſſeſſion of Allah-abad and the reſt of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the revenues, excepting thoſe of Rajah Bulwant Sing's Zemindarry, ſhall be in our entire management and diſpoſal.

It becomes the Company to ſhew their grateful ſenſe of our royal favours, and to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in the proper management and regulation of the country, to encourage and befriend our ſubjects, to puniſh the contentious, and expel the rebellious from their territories. They muſt uſe their beſt endeavours to promote the welfare of our people, the Ryots and other inhabitants, to prohibit the uſe of things of an intoxicating nature, and ſuch as are forbidden by the law of God; in driving out enemies, in deciding cauſes, and ſettling matters agreeably to the rules of Mahomed and the law of the empire, ſo that the inhabitants may apply themſelves, with peace of mind and ſatisfaction, to the cultivation of the country, and the exerciſe of other their profeſſions, and that the weak may not labour under oppreſſion and violence. They will conſider theſe as our ſtrict injunctions.

Written on the 4th day of Rejub, the 6th year of the reign. December 29th, 1764.

No. LII.

Articles of a treaty and agreement concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla. Dated in February 1765.

On the Part of the Company.

We the Governor and Council do engage to ſecure to the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, the Subahdarree of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and to ſupport him therein with the Company's forces againſt all his enemies. We will alſo at all times keep up ſuch force as may be neceſſary, effectually to aſſiſt and ſupport him in the defence of the provinces; and as our troops will be more to be depended on than any the Nabob can have, and leſs expenſive to him, he need therefore entertain none but

ſuch

ſuch as are requiſite for the ſupport of the civil officers of his government, and the buſineſs of his collections through the different diſtricts.

We do further promiſe, that, in conſideration the Nabob ſhall continue to aſſiſt in defraying the extraordinary expences of the war now carrying on againſt Shujah ul Dowla, with five lacks of rupees per month, which was agreed to by his * father, that whatever ſums may be hereafter received of the King, on account of our aſſiſtance afforded him in the war, ſhall be repaid to the Nabob.

On the Part of the Nabob.

In conſideration of the aſſiſtance the Governor and Council have agreed to afford, in ſecuring to me the ſucceſſion in the Subahdarree of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, heretofore held by my father, the late Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, and ſupporting me in it againſt all my enemies, I do agree and bind myſelf to the faithful performance of the following articles.

1ſt. The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company † upon his firſt acceſſion to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company and of their Governor and Council as his own, and granting Purwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the ſame treaty, as far as is conſiſtent with the articles hereafter agreed to, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

2. Conſidering the weighty charge of government, and how eſſential it is for myſelf, for the welfare of the country, and for the Company's buſineſs, that I ſhould have a perſon who has had experience therein to adviſe and aſſiſt me, I do agree to have one fixed with me, with the advice of the Governor and Council, in the ſtation of Naib Subah, who ſhall accordingly have, immediately under me, the chief management of all affairs: And as Mahomed Reza Khan, the Naib of Dacca, has in every reſpect my approbation, and that of the Governor and Council, I do further agree, that this truſt ſhall be conferred on him; and I will not diſplace him without the acquieſcence of thoſe gentlemen: And in caſe any alteration in this appointment ſhould hereafter appear adviſeable, that Mahomed Reza Khan, provided he has acquitted himſelf with fidelity in his adminiſtration, ſhall, in ſuch caſe, be reinſtated in the Naibſhip of Dacca, with the ſame authority as heretofore.

3. The buſineſs of the collections of the revenues ſhall, under the Naib Subah, be divided into two or more branches as may appear proper: And as I have the fulleſt dependence and confidence on the attachment of the Engliſh, and their regard to my intereſt and dignity, and am deſirous of giving them every teſtimony thereof, I do further conſent, that the appointment and diſmiſſion of the Muttaſeddees of thoſe branches, and the allotment of their ſeveral diſtricts, ſhall be with the approbation of the Governor and Council. And conſidering how much men of my rank and ſtation are obliged to truſt to the eyes and recommendations of the ſervants about them, and how liable to be deceived, it is my further will, that the Governor and Council ſhall be at liberty to object and point out to me when improper people are entruſted, or where my officers and ſubjects are oppreſſed; and I will pay a proper regard to ſuch repreſentations, that my affairs may be conducted with honour, my people every where be happy, and their grievances be redreſſed.

4. I do confirm to the Company, as a fixed reſource for defraying the ordinary expences of their troops, the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in as full a manner as heretofore ceded by my father‡. The ſum of five lacks of Sicca rupees per month for their maintenance, was further agreed to be paid by my father; I agree to pay the ſame out of my treaſury, whilſt the exigency for keeping up ſo large an army continues. When the Company's occaſions will admit a diminution of the

* Appendix, No. 50. † Appendix, No. 49. ‡ Appendix, No. 49.

the expences they are put to, on account of thoſe troops, the Governor and Council will then relieve me from ſuch a proportion of this aſſignment, as the increaſed expences incurred by keeping up the whole force neceſſary for the defence of the provinces will admit of; and as I eſteem the Company's troops entirely equal thereto and as my own, I will only maintain ſuch as are immediately neceſſary for the dignity of my perſon and government, and the buſineſs of my collections throughout the provinces.

5. I do ratify and confirm to the Engliſh the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and ſeveral Huſbulhookums of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duſtuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impoſitions in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of ſalt, on which a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

6. I give to the Company the liberty of purchaſing half the ſaltpetre produced in the country of Purnea, which their Gomaſtahs ſhall ſend to Calcutta: the other half ſhall be collected by my Fouzdar for the uſe of my offices; and I will ſuffer no other perſons to make purchaſes of this article in that country.

7. In the Chucklah of Silhet for the ſpace of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1171, my Fouzdar, and a Gomaſtah on the part of the Company, ſhall jointly provide Chunam; of which each ſhall defray half the expence, and half the Chunam ſo made, ſhall be given to the Company.

8. Although I ſhould occaſionally remove to other places in the provinces, I agree that the books of the Sircar ſhall be always kept, and the buſineſs conducted at Moorſhed-abad, and that ſhall as heretofore be the ſeat of my government: And wherever I am, I conſent that an Engliſh gentleman ſhall reſide with me to tranſact all affairs between me and the Company; and that a perſon of high rank ſhall alſo reſide on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

9. I will cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta to paſs in every reſpect equal to the Siccas of Moorſhed-abad, without any deduction of Batta; and whoſoever ſhall demand Batta, ſhall be puniſhed. The annual loſs on coinage by the fall of Batta, on the iſſuing of the new Siccas, is a very heavy grievance to the country; and after mature conſideration, I will, in concert with the Governor and Council, purſue whatever may appear the beſt method for remedying it.

10. I will allow no Europeans whatever to be entertained in my ſervice; and if there already be any, they ſhall be immediately diſmiſſed.

11. The Kiſtbundee for payment of the reſtitution to the ſufferers in the late troubles, as executed by my father, I will ſee faithfully paid; no delays ſhall be made in this buſineſs.

12. I confirm and will abide by the treaty which my father formerly made with the Dutch.

13. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they ſhall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

14. Some regulations ſhall be hereafter ſettled between us, for deciding all diſputes which may ariſe between the Engliſh Gomaſtahs and my officers in the different parts of the country.

In teſtimony whereof, we the ſaid Governor and Council have ſet our hands, and affixed the ſeal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob before named has ſet his hand and ſeal to another part.

(A true copy.)

W. MAJENDIE, Secretary.

Mem. This treaty was executed by the Preſident and Council of Fort William, on the 20th February 1765, and by the Nabob on the 25th of the ſame month.

No.

No. LIII.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, to the Company. Dated Auguſt 12th, 1765.

At this happy time our royal Firmaun, indiſpenſibly requiring obedience, is iſſued, That whereas in conſideration of the attachment and ſervices of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from * the beginning of the Fuſſul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift, and Ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, and with an exemption from the payment of the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, which uſed to be paid to the court; it is requiſite that the ſaid Company engage to be ſecurity for the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which ſum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader, and regularly remit the ſame to the royal Sircar; and in this caſe, as the ſaid Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatſoever may remain out of the revenues of the ſaid provinces, after remitting the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requiſite that our royal deſcendents the Viziers, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſineſs of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid office in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption, and they muſt regard them, as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos.
(the 12th Aug. 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign manual, our royal commands are iſſued, That in conſideration of the attachment and ſervices of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from the beginning of the Fuſſul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, and with an exemption from the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, which uſed to be paid to the court, on condition of their being ſecurity for the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees a-year, for our royal revenue; which ſum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader; and after remitting the royal revenue, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut, whatſoever may remain we have granted to the ſaid Company.

The Dewannee of the Province of Bengal.
The Dewannee of the Province of Bahar.
The Dewannee of the Province of Oriſſa.

Fir-

No. LIV.

Firmaun from the King Shah Allum, for the Dewannee of the Province of Bengal.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun indiſpenſibly requiring obedience, is iſſued, That in conſideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun from the beginning of Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of Khalſa Shereefa, of the province of Bengal (the Paradiſe of the Earth), with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the aſſociation of any other perſon. It is requiſite that our royal deſcendents the Viziers, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſineſs of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid office in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption, and they muſt regard them as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos,
(the 12th of Aug. 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign-manual, we have granted the office of the Dewannee of the Khalſa Shereefa of the province of Bengal, (the Paradiſe of the Earth) with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau to the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year, 1172.

Fort William, 30th September 1765.

(A true Copy)

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LV.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, for the Dewanny of the province of Bahar.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indiſpenſably requiring obedience, is iſſued, That in conſideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of

of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalſa Shereefa of the province of Bahar, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the aſſociation of any other perſon. It is requiſite that our royal deſcendents, the Viziers, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſineſs of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid office in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption; and they muſt regard them as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.
(the 12th of Auguſt, 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign-manual, we have granted the office of Dewannee of the Khalſa Shereefa of the province of Bahar, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau, to the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LVI.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, for the Dewannee of the Province of Oriſſa.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indiſpenſibly requiring obedience, is iſſued, That in conſideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun, from the beginning of Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalſa Shereefa of the province of Oriſſa, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the aſſociation of any other perſon. It is requiſite that our royal deſcendents, the Viziers, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſineſs of the Sultanut, Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their con-

conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid office in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption; and they muſt regard them as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.
(the 12th of Auguſt, 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign-manual, we have granted the office of the Dewannee of the Khalſa Shereefa of the province of Oriſſa, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau, to the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(A true Copy.)

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S.S.C.

No. LVII.

Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, confirming to the Company the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. before ceded to them by the Nabobs Meer Coſſim Ally Khan, and Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, dated Auguſt 12th, 1765.

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indiſpenſibly requiring obedience, is iſſued, That the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and alſo the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh Company) which were granted to the ſaid Company in the time of Meer Mahomed Coſſim and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, deceaſed; we, in conſideration of the attachment of the ſaid Company, have been graciouſly pleaſed to confirm to them, from the beginning of the Fuſſul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon. It is requiſite that our royal deſcendents, the Viziers, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſineſs of the Saltanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid diſtricts and Purgunnahs in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption, and they muſt regard them as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all manner of cuſtoms and demands.

mands. Knowing our orders on this ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos. (the 12th Auguſt, 1765.)

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign-manual, our royal commands are iſſued, that the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and alſo the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the Engliſh Company) which were granted to the ſaid Company in the time of Meer Mahomed Coſſim, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, deceaſed, be confirmed to the ſaid Company, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon.

Chuclah of Burdwan.
Chuclah of Midnapore.
Chuclah of Chittagong.

The twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the Engliſh Company.)

Fort William, September 30th, 1765,

(A true Copy.)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S.S.C.

No. LVIII.

Treaty between the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the Engliſh Company, executed at Illah-abad, Auguſt 16th, 1765.

(Sealed and approved by the King.)

Whereas the right honorable Robert Lord Clive, Baron Clive of Plaſſey, Knight companion of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, major-general and commander of the forces, Preſident of the Council, and Governor of Fort William, and of all the ſettlements belonging to the united Company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and John Carnac, Eſquire, brigadier-general, colonel in the ſervice of the ſaid Company, and commanding officer of their forces upon the Bengal eſtabliſhment, are inveſted with full and ample powers, on the behalf of his excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and likewiſe on behalf of the united Company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, to negociate, ſettle, and finally to conclude a firm and laſting peace with his highneſs the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, Vizier of the empire: Be it known to all thoſe, to whom it may or ſhall in any manner belong, that the above named plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles, with his highneſs.

1. A perpetual and univerſal peace, ſincere friendſhip, and firm union ſhall be eſtabliſhed between his highneſs Shujah ul Dowla and his heirs on the one part, and his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the Engliſh Eaſt India Company on the other, ſo that the ſaid contracting powers ſhall give the greateſt attention to main-

tain between themſelves, their dominions and their ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip, without permitting on either ſide any kind of hoſtilities to be committed from henceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever; and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union now happily eſtabliſhed.

2. In caſe the dominions of his highneſs Shujah ul Dowla ſhall at any time hereafter be attacked, his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the Engliſh Company, ſhall aſſiſt him with a part or the whole of their forces, according to the exigency of his affairs, and ſo far as may be conſiſtent with their own ſecurity; and if the dominions of his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, or the Engliſh Company, ſhall be attacked, his highneſs ſhall in like manner aſſiſt them with a part, or the whole of his forces: in the caſe of the Engliſh Company's forces being employed in his highneſs's ſervice, the extraordinary expence of the ſame is to be defrayed by him.

3. His highneſs ſolemnly engages never to entertain or receive Coſſim Ally Khan, the late Subahdar of Bengal, &c. Sombroo the aſſaſſin of the Engliſh, nor any of the European deſerters within his dominions, nor to give the leaſt countenance, ſupport, or protection to them: he likewiſe ſolemnly engages to deliver up to the Engliſh whatever Europeans may in future deſert from them into his country.

4. The King Shah Aalum ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion of Korah, and ſuch part of the province of Illah-abad as he now poſſeſſes, which are ceded to his Majeſty as a royal demeſne for the ſupport of his dignity and expences.

5. His highneſs Shujah ul Dowla engages in the moſt ſolemn manner to continue Bulwant Sing in the Zemindarrees of Benâres, Ghazepore, and all thoſe diſtricts he poſſeſſed at the time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, and the Engliſh, on condition of his paying the ſame revenue as heretofore.

6. In conſideration of the great expence incurred by the Engliſh Company, in carrying on the late war, his highneſs agrees to pay them (fifty) 50 lacks of rupees in the following manner, viz. (twelve) 12 lacks in money, and a depoſit of jewels, to the amount of (eight) 8 lacks, upon the ſigning of this treaty; (five) 5 lacks one month after, and the remaining (twenty-five) 25 lacks by monthly payments, ſo as that the whole may be diſcharged in (thirteen) 13 months from the date hereof.

7. It being firmly reſolved to reſtore to his highneſs the country of Benâres, and the other diſtricts now rented by Bulwant Sing, notwithſtanding the grant of the ſame from the King to the Engliſh Company; it is therefore agreed, that they ſhall be ceded to his highneſs in manner following, viz. They ſhall remain in the hands of the Engliſh Company with their revenues, till the expiration of the agreement between Bulwant Sing and the Company, being on the 27th November next; after which his highneſs ſhall enter into poſſeſſion, the fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated, until the 6th article of this treaty be fully complied with.

8. His highneſs ſhall allow the Engliſh Company to carry on a trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions.

9. All the relations and ſubjects of his highneſs, who in any manner aſſiſted the Engliſh during the courſe of the late war, ſhall be forgiven, and no ways moleſted for the ſame.

10. As ſoon as this treaty is executed, the Engliſh forces ſhall be withdrawn from the dominions of his highneſs, excepting ſuch as may be neceſſary for the garriſon of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the King in the city of Illah-abad, if his majeſty ſhould require a force for that purpoſe.

11. His

11. His highneſs the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, his excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the Engliſh Company promiſe to obſerve ſincerely and ſtrictly, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid contracting powers generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

Signed, ſealed, and ſolemnly ſworn to, according to their reſpective faiths, by the contracting parties at Illah-abad, this 16th day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1765, in the preſence of us,

CLIVE (L. S.)

JOHN CARNAC. (L. S.)

EDMUND MASKELYNE,
ARCHIBALD SWINTON,
GEORGE VANSITTART.

SHUJAH and (L. S.) al DOWLA's Seal Ratification.

Fort William, September 30th 1765.

(*A true Copy*)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

MIRZA COSSIM KHAN,
RAJAH SEETABROY,
MEER MUSSHALA.

No. LIX.

Articles of Agreement between the King Shah Aalum, and the Company, relating to the tribute to be paid to him from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, dated Auguſt 19th, 1765.

The Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah agrees to pay to his majeſty out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, the ſum of 26 lacks of rupees a-year, without any deduction for Batta, on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments, amounting to rupees 216,666 10 9 per month; the firſt payment to commence from the 1ſt of September of the preſent year; and the Engliſh Company, in conſideration of his majeſty's having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant them the Dewannee of Bengal, &c. do engage themſelves to be ſecurity for the regular payment of the ſame. It ſhall be paid month by month from the factory at Patna, to Rajah Seetabroy, or whomſoever his majeſty may think proper to nominate, that it may be forwarded by him to the court: but in caſe the territories of the aforeſaid Nabob ſhould be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the ſtipulated revenues, proportionable to the damage that may be ſuſtained.

In conſideration of Nudjeef Khan's having joined the Engliſh forces, and acted in his majeſty's ſervice in the late war; his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to allow him the ſum of two lacks of rupees a-year, to be paid by equal monthly payments; the firſt payment to commence from the 1ſt of September of the preſent year; and in default thereof, the Engliſh Company, who are guarantees for the ſame, will make it good out of the revenue allotted to his majeſty from the territories of Bengal. If the territories of Bengal ſhould at any time be invaded, and on that account a deduction be made out of the Royal revenue, in ſuch caſe a proportionable deduction ſhall alſo be made out of Nudjeef Khan's allowance.

Dated the 19th of Auguſt, 1765.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(*A true Copy.*)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. LX.

No. LX.

Agreement between the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla and the Company, relating to the allowance to be paid him for the ſupport of the Nizamut of Bengal, &c. dated September 30th, 1765.

The King having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant to the Engliſh Company the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, with the revenues thereof, as a free gift, for ever, on certain conditions, whereof one is, that there ſhall be a ſufficient allowance out of the ſaid revenues for ſupporting the expence of the Nizamut; be it known to all whom it may concern, that I do agree to accept of the annual ſum of Sicca rupees 5,386,131 9, as an adequate allowance for the ſupport of the Nizamut, which is to be regularly paid as follows, viz. the ſum of rupees, 1,778,854 1, for all my houſehold expences, ſervants, &c. and the remaining ſum of rupees 3,607,277 8, for the maintenance of ſuch horſe, Sepoys, Peons, Bercundaſſes, &c. as may be thought neceſſary for my Sewaury, and the ſupport of my dignity only, ſhould ſuch an expence hereafter be found neceſſary to be kept up, but on no account ever to exceed that amount; and having a perfect reliance on Maeen ul Dowla, I deſire he may have the diſburſing of the above ſum of rupees, 3,607,277 8, for the purpoſes before-mentioned. This agreement by the bleſſing of God, I hope will be inviolably obſerved, as long as the Engliſh Company's factories continue in Bengal.

Fort William, the 30th September, 1765.

(*A true Copy.*)

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. 61.

To the Honourable the Mayor's Court, at Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal.

The intended Petition of the Honourable Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, of Calcutta, Eſqrs.

In the cauſe { Parſeek Arratoon, by his Attorney, - - Plaintiff, againſt Tom Lewis and others, - - - - - - Defendants,

SHEWETH,

That Tom Lewis, of Calcutta, merchant, ſome time paſt was employed as agent by your petitioners up the country in buying and ſelling of goods and merchandize, and, in the courſe of trade, purchaſed a quantity of ſalt of the plaintiff's agents, or Gomaſtahs, at Nattoor, on account of your petitioners; and ſome time paſt, a ſuit was commenced in this Honourable Court by one Parſeek Arratoon, by his attorney Petruſe Arratoon, of Calcutta, Armenian, againſt the ſaid Tom Lewis and Ramſunder, and ſeveral others by name, and others who ſhould afterwards appear to be any ways intereſted or concerned regarding the legality of the bargain made for the ſaid ſalt; to which ſaid bill the ſaid Tom Lewis and Ramſunder were ſerved with proceſs to appear and anſwer, who accordingly appeared and put in their anſwers, to which the plaintiff

tiff replied and the ſaid defendants, Lewis and Ramſunder, rejoined; and the plaintiffs proceeded to an examination of divers witneſſes, without any regard to the ſaid other defendants, who were on the ſpot, and had never been ſerved with proceſs.

And your petitioners further ſhew, that when the plaintiff was about examining his witneſſes, he applied to your petitioner, Harry Verelſt, in order to have the matter ſettled by an amicable determination of ſome gentlemen of this place, in order, as he ſaid, to ſave expence and trouble to this Honourable Court; and, at the ſame time, gave your petitioner to underſtand, that the ſaid ſuit ſhould be ſtayed until the ſaid arbitration ſhould be finally agreed upon. That your petitioner, Harry Verelſt, has ſince been indiſpoſed; and the arrival of the Europe ſhips hath prevented him from attending to the ſaid ſuit, of which the plaintiff took an unfair advantage, by getting the ſaid cauſe ſet down to be heard, when, at the ſame time, he was treating with your petitioner about an amicable determination; and your petitioner had ordered the witneſſes proofs and vouchers to be ſought for, in order to be examined into by the arbitrators; but your petitioner was greatly ſurpriſed on hearing of the proceedings of the plaintiff, and the means he uſed to bring on the cauſe to a trial.

That your petitioner has ſince had the peruſal of the plaintiff's bill, and is adviſed, that the allegations therein ſet forth are falſe and groundleſs, and that the witneſſes by him produced are of mean and low degree, and hath reaſon to believe that the oaths adminiſtered unto them are not binding to their caſt; and, notwithſtanding the plaintiff's having deceived you petitioner in manner before ſet forth, yet, as this Honourable Court are the guardians of our laws and liberties in theſe parts, and will not hear and determine matters of this moment without giving the concerned a hearing, when proofs and evidences are ready to be brought, and which your petitioners are ready to produce:

Therefore humbly pray, that they may be at liberty to lay the ſaid proofs before this Honourable Court, and examine one or more witneſs or witneſſes; that the defendants and all concerned, as well as the plaintiff's may be heard, and the truth of the matter brought to light for the ſatisfaction of all parties, and that judgment of this Court may be had thereon.

And your petitioners will ever pray &c.

(Signed) Whittall, Attorney.

Calcutta, Auguſt, 1768.

No. 62.

To the Honourable the Mayor's Court, at Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal,

Between Petruſe Arratoon, adminiſtrator of Coja Parſeek Arratoon, deceaſed, } Complainant,

And Ramnarrain, otherwiſe Mozundâr, Tom Lewis, Ramſunder Dewan, Sunker Seal, Rhadakiſtna Chowdry, Radacanto Mozundâr, Dindoyal Roy Ranſhaw, Kittinarrain Boſe, Mocheram Tagore, and Bolleram Tagore, } Defendants,

The humble Petition of the Defendant Tom Lewis, and alſo of Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, Eſqrs.

SHEWETH,

That the ſaid Coja Parſeek Arratoon did, on or about the fifteenth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven, prefer his bill of complaint in this Honour-

Honourable Court, againſt your petitioner Tom Lewis and the other defendants above named, for a pretended demand of Arcot rupees ſixty thouſand four hundred and thirty-two, on account of a purchaſe of ſalt at Nattoor, or ſome other place or places up the country, which the complainant would inſinuate was forced from his Gomaſtahs there; to which bill of complaint your petitioner Tom Lewis filed his anſwer, and other proceedings in the ſaid cauſe were had in this Honourable Court, wherein the ſame is ſtill depending.

And your petitioners humbly ſhew, that they were each of them concerned one third in the ſalt purchaſed at Nattoor, or the other place or places up the country, as aforeſaid, and that the ſame was fairly bought and purchaſed at the then price at that Aurung, of ſome black merchants there, whoſe property the ſame appeared to be, and no ways connected with the ſaid Coja Parſeek Arratoon. That ſoon after the bargain was made, a ſudden riſe of ſalt happening in the market, the proprietors were deſirous of being off their bargain, which occaſioning a difference, the ſame was ſubmitted to arbitration at Nattoor, and given in favour of the purchaſer. But the proprietors not ſatisfied with the award (although they had ſigned bonds to abide by the ſame) ſought protection under the ſaid Coja Parſeek Arratoon, who preferred the bill of complaint herein before mentioned, in this Honourable Court, againſt your petitioner Tom Lewis and the other defendants above named, for a greater quantity of ſalt than was delivered, and at a higher price than the market ever bore. That on hearing that the ſuit was about to be brought to a hearing, without your petitioner, Tom Lewis, or his attorney, properly ſupporting the ſame by the teſtimony of witneſſes who were acquainted with the juſt tranſaction; and your petitioners Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, being each (as aforeſaid) one third intereſted therein, your petitioner, Harry Verelſt, requeſted the hearing of the cauſe might be poſtponed until proper enquiries could be made into the true ſtate of the caſe. That your petitioner, Harry Verelſt had ſeveral conferences on the occaſion with the preſent complainant Petruſe Arratoon, who ſaid he would readily conſent to an amicable arbitration of the matter, and repeatedly offered and requeſted your petitioner, Harry Verelſt, to decide the ſame himſelf, which he objected to, being a party concerned, but told the ſaid Petruſe Arratoon, that he would call down the witneſſes from Nattoor, when he ſhould be glad to have the matter ſettled by arbitration; and the ſaid Petruſe Arratoon quite approving thereof, the witneſſes, namely Kiſtna Sarran of Nattoor, Vakeel, Ramſan of Nattoor, merchant, and Kittinarrain Boſe of Chandernagore, were ſent for down to Calcutta, and their depoſitions there taken by Mr. John Bryer, the late examiner of this Honourable Court; after which your petitioner, Harry Verelſt, requeſted the ſaid Petruſe Arratoon would himſelf nominate the arbitrators, and he did accordingly nominate Thomas Cooke and Joſeph Price, of Calcutta aforeſaid, merchants; and arbitration-bonds were thereupon prepared, and one of them executed by your petitioner Harry Verelſt, and the attorney of your petitioner Francis Sykes; but, on their being preſented to the ſaid Petruſe Arratoon, he refuſed to execute his, unleſs the matter was to come before the Court upon the depoſitions only which were in favour of the complainant; upon pretence, that although the depoſitions of the ſaid three witneſſes were taken by the examiner, yet that the interrogatories were not properly filed, or marked *filed*, in this Honourable Court, or that they were taken without the complainant's having an opportunity of croſs-examining them; which circumſtances (if they were true) your petitioners were totally unacquainted with, and cannot conceive from whence the ſame could ariſe, but which, your petitioners humbly apprehend, can by no means be attributed to them, who cannot be ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the forms required or preſcribed by a court of judicature, but who were deſirous that every fair ſtep ſhould be taken for the benefit of all parties, and the proceedings

ſhould

ſhould be conducted with the greateſt regularity and uprightneſs. That, notwithſtanding what has been alledged by the oppoſite party, your petitioners humbly aver, that the complainant knew that the ſaid three witneſſes were preſent in Calcutta for a conſiderable time, and that therefore he muſt have had every opportunity of croſs-examining them; but to obviate every objection which the complainant can make, as far as is in the power of your petitioners, your petitioners are ready and willing, at their own expence, to call the ſaid three witneſſes down again to Calcutta, that the complainant may have an opportunity of croſs-examining them, and in order to do the complainant every juſtice in their power, and to aſcertain a true ſtate of facts.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray, the depoſitions of the ſaid three witneſſes, ſo taken by Mr. John Bryer, the late examiner of this Honourable Court as aforeſaid, may be deemed and taken as part of the proceedings had in this cauſe, and that your petitioners may have the benefit thereof at the day of hearing; and that, if this Honourable Court ſhall ſo think proper, the ſaid witneſſes may be, at your petitioner's expence, again called down to Calcutta, in order that the complainant may croſs-examine them, or avail himſelf of every advantage he can of their preſence; and that your petitioners may have all ſuch further and other relief in the premiſes as unto this Honourable Court, after due conſideration had thereof, may think meet or agreeable to equity.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

Calcutta, the 4th May, 1770.

(Signed) Sealy, Attorney.

True Copy.

No. 63.

To the Honourable John Spencer, Eſq; Preſident and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.

The humble PETITION of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, together with the Merchants, Banyans, and others, whoſe eſtates, intereſts, or habitations, are in any part of the kingdom of Bengal, Bahar, or Oriſſa, within the juriſdiction of the Engliſh.

SHEWETH,

That whereas on, or about the 27th day of February laſt paſt, Radachurn Metre, grandſon of Govindram Metre, heretofore of Calcutta, Jemmautdar, (whoſe ſteady attachment and ſervices to the Engliſh are too eminent to be ſoon forgot) was condemned to death at the general quarter ſeſſions of the town of Calcutta, there held on the day and date aforeſaid, being indicted for and convicted of a crime of which he is intirely innocent; but for want of being acquainted with the laws by which he was tried, as well as the manner of defending himſelf, and proving his innocence, is now fallen a victim to the malice of his proſecutors and his own ignorance.

Your petitioners, therefore, beg leave to ſet forth the general conſternation, aſtoniſhment, and even panic, with which the natives at all parts, under the denomination of the Engliſh, are ſeized by this example of Radachurn Metre; they find themſelves ſubject to the pains and penalties of laws to which they are utter ſtrangers, and are liable, through ignorance, unwillingly to incur them; as they are no ways intereſted in thoſe laws, they cannot tell when they tranſgreſs them, many things being, it ſeems, capital by the Engliſh laws, which are only fineable by the laws of your petitioner's

forefather's, ſubject to which they have hitherto been bred, lived, and been governed, and that, till very lately, under the Engliſh flag.

Your petitioners ſhew, that from their extreme ignorance of the laws to which they are but ſo lately ſubjected, they are in danger of ſuffering much, from not knowing how to apply for thoſe benefits and indulgencies which they are adviſed are by law allowed, and which they ought to have; and that the laſt proceedings againſt the unhappy Radachurn Metre were, in many points, defective and premature, and the ſentence precipitate; as there were many circumſtances that required the niceſt and moſt ſcrupulous examination, and the moſt attentive conſideration, before condemnation paſſed: And your petitioners are farther adviſed, that ſuch ſentence ought not to have been paſſed till after the expiration of four days, a term allowed the priſoner by law for arreſting judgment, and bringing his writ of error: and that it is, on that account, when a priſoner is brought to the bar to receive ſentence, the judge always aſks him—What he has to ſay why judgment ſhould not paſs? A queſtion that has more than mere matter of form in it; for if he can ſhew good and ſufficient cauſe, they will, on his proper repreſentation, rehear the matter, of which benefit in law the unhappy culprit was deprived, by the ſentence immediately following the verdict.

And farther your petitioners are adviſed, that the ſaid indictment was very erroneous and naught, and that the ſaid priſoner could not have been arraigned thereon, had he been verſed in the laws to make his exceptions thereto. Lord Chief Juſtice Hales ſaying, "that there is great exactneſs required in indictments where life is at ſtake," and therefore very nice exceptions are allowed thereto; and your petitioners farther ſhew, that the whole of the evidence tended to prove a negative, which in law is held impoſſible to be done. Farther your petitioners are adviſed, that the priſoner was tried for felony, though his crime, when proved to the full, is no more in law than a miſdemeanor; for the forgery of a deed of gift, of mere perſonal chattles, is no way within the ſtatute. "Again, he who writes a deed in another name, and ſeals it in "his preſence, is not guilty of forgery, becauſe the law looks on this as the other's "own act;" and that, when the jury recommended the priſoner to the mercy of the court, a due forbearance of the ſentence would have enabled him to have ſet theſe and many other circumſtances in their true light; an advantage which he has loſt through his ignorance of the laws by which he was tried, and which muſt ever be the caſe in future, unleſs the greateſt care and circumſpection be uſed by the judges, who are ſaid in law to be a council for the priſoner.

Your petioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable Board to grant them a reverſal of the ſaid ſentence, as it was pronounced out of time, and grant the priſoner a rehearal; or, if that cannot be obtained, that they will, at leaſt, reſpite the execution of the unhappy condemned creature, till report be made to his Majeſty of Great Britain, and his moſt gracious pleaſure be known thereon; and farther your petitioners pray, that the laws to which they are to be ſubject, may be tranſlated into the Bengally tongue, that they may be enabled to know what will make them obnoxious thereunto.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Dated Calcutta,
March, 1765.

Signed by 95 of the principal native inhabitants of Calcutta.

Extract

No. 64.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 8, 1764.

PAR. 23. As no agents or Gomaſtahs are to reſide, on account of private trade, at any of the inland parts of the country, all buſineſs, on account of licenſed private trade, is to be carried on by and through the means of the Company's covenanted ſervants, reſident at the ſeveral ſubordinate factories, as has been uſual.

24. We are under the neceſſity of giving the beforegoing orders, in order to preſerve the tranquility of the country, and harmony with the Nabob; they are rather outlines than complete directions, which you are to add too and improve upon, agreeable to the ſpirit of, and our meaning in them, as may be neceſſary to anſwer the deſired purpoſes. And if any perſon or perſons are guilty of a contravention of them, be they whomſoever they may, if our own ſervants, they are to be diſmiſſed the ſervice; if others, the Company's protection is to be withdrawn, and you have the liberty of ſending them forthwith to England, if you judge the nature of the offence requires it.

No. 65.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated May 3d, 1764.

It is the opinion of the Board, and—Reſolved, That all the Europeans, Portugueſe natives, and Armenian agents, who are now up the country, ſhall have notice given them to ſettle their concerns, ſo as to return to Calcutta by the 30th of November next; and that, after that time, no European ſhall be permitted to go up the country, under any pretence whatſoever, or any other agents be employed in our trade but Bengal natives.

No. 66.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated May 11th, 1765.

The Select Committee obſerving with regret the contempt ſhewn for the poſitive and repeated orders of the Governor and Council, for recalling free merchants reſiding up the country,—

Reſolved, that the former orders on that head be now enforced, and letters diſpatched to the chiefs of the ſeveral ſubordinates, requiring of them, at the expiration of one month after notice given, to convey in ſafety to Calcutta all who refuſe to comply with a meaſure ſo ſalutary to the Company, and neceſſary to the peace and good order of the country.

Being informed alſo, that a great number of Europeans, ſtragglers from ſhips, and others, who have no claim from indentures to any ſhare of the Company's protection, are variouſly employed up the country, and diſperſed all over the Nabob's dominions, to the great prejudice of the Company and moleſtation of the natives;—

Reſolved, They be immediately ſecured, and brought to Calcutta. The Committee, finding ſome difficulty in procuring an exact account of the names of ſuch Euro-

peans,—Agreed, that the chiefs of the ſubordinate factories be made acquainted with the reſolution of the Committee, and required to tranſmit, without delay, the moſt accurate liſts in their power of all Europeans not immediately in the Company's ſervice, who reſide in or about their reſpective diſtricts.

No. 67.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated May 13th, 1765.

The Preſident lays before the Board an extract of the proceedings of a Select Committee, held the 11th inſtant, containing their reſolutions for enforcing the orders of the Board for recalling to the Preſidency the free merchants and others, reſiding up the country.

No. 68.

Extract of Ditto, dated the 20th following.

Agreed and ordered, in conſequence of the proceedings of the Select Committee laid before the Board laſt council day, That public advertiſement be made, enforcing our orders already given for the return of the Engliſh, Portugueſe, and Armenian agents, employed in the different parts of the country, to the Preſidency; and requiring all whoever moſt ſtrictly to arrive by the firſt of Auguſt, and their conſtituents to give them due notice accordingly.

No. 69.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated June 11th, 1765.

Received a letter from the chief and Council at Dacca, dated the 8th inſtant, ſetting forth the prejudice that muſt ariſe to the affairs of the gentlemen of that factory, ſhould the order for recalling free merchants be immediately enforced.

Agreed, That four months beyond the time limited in thoſe orders, be allowed to their ſeveral agents, and that we write them to this effect.

No. 70.

Extract of Ditto, dated the 21ſt following.

Meſſrs. Vanſittart and Plowman ſetting forth in a letter to the Committee, the loſs that muſt ariſe to * Mr. Henry Vanſittart, ſhould his agent, Mr. Hargrave, at Rungpoor, be recalled at the time required by the late order of the Committee, and requeſting that an indulgence of three or four months longer may be granted :—

Agreed, that the ſecretary acquaint them that Mr. Hargrave will be allowed four months from this date, for collecting Mr. Vanſittart's affairs; and that he likewiſe inform all, who may apply in future, that the Committee are reſolved to ſee the Company's orders rigidly enforced at the expiration of this period.

Mr. Skinner ſends in a letter on the ſame ſubject;—

Ordered, his requeſt be granted, and that the ſecretary acquaint him of the abovementioned reſolution.

Received a letter from Mr. Scotney at Patna, repreſenting to us the prejudice it would be to his own affairs, as well as thoſe of his conſtituents, ſhould he be obliged to return to Calcutta in the ſpace of one month. Mr. Scotney's repreſentation being thought diſrepectful and improper;—

Ordered,

* late Governor Vanſittart.

Ordered, The ſecretary write him in anſwer, that ſuch applications, it is expected, ſhould be made in terms more moderate and reſpectful; but that, influenced by no conſideration of the manner in which he choſe to aſk for an allowance of time, we agree to grant him four months longer from this date, for collecting his affairs; at the expiration of which he is required to repair to Calcutta, without farther notice.

No. 71.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated Auguſt 10th, 1765.

On the 26th ultimo, the ſecretary was directed to write to all the chiefs of the ſubordinates, enclofing an advertiſement for recalling all free merchants, and other Europeans, by the 21ſt October next, and alſo to fix up the ſaid advertiſement on the Court-houſe, and other public places in Calcutta.

No. 72.

Extract of Ditto, dated October 5th, 1765.

Obſerving that our orders to the chiefs of the ſubordinates, to ſend liſts to the Committee of all Europeans reſiding within their ſeveral diſtricts who are not in the Company's ſervice have been neglected;——

Reſolved, That we now repeat the above orders, requiring them poſitively not only to ſend the moſt accurate liſts in their power, but the perſons themſelves to Calcutta, by the 21ſt inſtant, at which time the Company's protection will abſolutely ceaſe, and they muſt ſtand to all the conſequences of being left entirely in the power of the country government.

No. 73.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors, to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated December 24th, 1765.

PAR. 16. We think it neceſſary to eſtabliſh, that all trade to be carried on within provinces where factories are eſtabliſhed, ſhall be carried on by our ſervants at ſuch factories, and their agents only, who ſhall tranſact the buſineſs of our other ſervants, on receiving the eſtabliſhed commiſſion; and on any refuſal to accept ſuch commiſſion, or any tendency to monopolize, the ſervants of Calcutta, or other parts, are at liberty to ſend their own black Gomaſtahs; who are, nevertheleſs, to be accountable for their conduct to the Company's ſervants, within whoſe juriſdiction they reſide. All diſtricts not comprehended within the juriſdiction of each ſubordinate, ſhall be conſidered as within the juriſdicton of the Board of Calcutta.

No. 74.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 19th, 1766.

Read the following letter from Mahomed Reza * Cawn, to the Right honourable lord Clive, Preſident and Governor, &c. gentlemen of the Select Committee.

"MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

"The Zemindars of the Purgunnahs of Radſhy, and other diſtricts of the Subah of Bengal, complain that the factories of Engliſh gentlemen in the Purgunnahs are many,

* Acting miniſter to the Nabob of Bengal.

ny, and their Gomaſtahs are in all places, and in every village almoſt throughout the province of Bengal; that they trade in linen, chunam, muſtard-ſeed, tobacco, turmeric, oil, rice, hemp, gunnies, wheat, &c. in ſhort, in all ſorts of grain, linen, and whatever other commodities are produced in the country. That, in order to purchaſe theſe articles, they force their money on the Ryots; and having, by theſe oppreſſive means, bought their goods at a low rate, they oblige the inhabitants and ſhopkeepers to take them at a high price, exceeding what is paid in the market. That they do not pay the cuſtoms due to the Sircar, but are guilty of all manner of ſeditious and injurious acts; for inſtance, when, at any time, the Malguzarry is demanded of the Taalookdars, Ryots, &c. ſubjects of the Sircar, the aforeſaid Gomaſtahs, under pretence of debits due, or accounts to be ſettled, do not let them go, or ſuffer the revenue to be taken from them; and upon complaints, and at the inſtance of lying informers, and baſe men, they place their Peons over the Ryots, and involve them in a variety of troubles. That by preſſing people into their ſervice, and impoſing many and divers commands on the officers of government, the inhabitants, the tradeſmen, and others, they ruin every body, and reduce the villages and Gunges to a ſtate of deſolation.

"It is by theſe iniquitous practices that the people of the country have been ruined and driven to flight, and that the revenues of the Sircar have been injured. There is nothing of worth left in the country. If juſtice be not done in this caſe, how will it be poſſible, in future, to collect the duties of the government or its revenues?

"All the Zemindars make the ſame complaint; and what I have herein written, is only an abridgment of the accounts given at large by them of violence and oppreſſion.

"As it is requiſite for the proſperity of the country, and the well-being of the inhabitants, alſo for the obtaining the full revenues and duties, that the poor, &c. have juſtice done them, and that diſturbances be put an end to; I have, therefore, repreſented theſe matters to you, gentlemen of the Committee, that whatever ſhall appear equitable, you will conſider on and put in execution."

It appearing from this repreſentation of facts, ſupported by a number of corroborating circumſtances, that the buſineſs of government has ſuffered great obſtruction, and the public revenue been conſiderably injured, from the privileges aſſumed and exerted by Gomaſtahs, employed in different parts of the country by the Company's covenanted ſervants;—

Agreed, therefore, that we recommend to the Board, to prohibit, under the ſevereſt penalties, all Company's ſervants, whether reſiding at the preſidency, the ſubordinates, or the Aurungs, from yielding countenance, ſhelter, or protection, to any of their Gomaſtahs, who ſhall interfere directly or indirectly with the affairs of government; or, upon any pretence whatever, give impediment or obſtruction to the officers of the revenue, in levying the collections of the ſeveral diſtricts committed to their charge; and that in all matters of diſpute or difference, whereby the revenues can poſſibly be affected, their Gomaſtahs, or conſtituents, ſhall apply to the government for redreſs; and, in caſe of refuſal, to the reſident at the Durbar, or the chief of the neareſt ſubordinate, who ſhall apply through the regular channel, the Governor and Council, or the Select Committee.

No. 75.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to lord Clive, dated May 17th, 1766.

PAR. 9. We have had too much occaſion to remark the tyrannic and oppreſſive conduct of all European agents who have got away from under the eye of the Preſidency; and we wiſh your lordſhip would make it an object of your conſideration how to confine the

the ſaid Europeans as much as poſſible to the Preſidency, and to thoſe ſubordinates where the largeneſs of the inveſtment may require it to be conducted by covenanted ſervants preferable to Gomaſtahs.

No. 76.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated June 9th, 1766.

Ordered, That notice be affixed at the uſual places of advertiſement, requiring all perſons entitled to Duſtucks to ſend in to the Preſident liſts of their Gomaſtahs in the different parts of the country, diſtinguiſhing the place of their reſidence, the ſervice they are employed on, with the time required for that ſervice, that they may be furniſhed with Purwannahs accordingly.

No. 77.

Extract of ditto, dated Auguſt 25th, 1766.

Letter from the reſident at Benâres, dated the 12th inſtant, read, acknowledging the receipt of our letter of the 28th ultimo, encloſing a letter from Mr. Bolts, in anſwer to our orders regarding him, acquainting us, that as he is not ſenſible it is in his power to comply with that part of our inſtructions which requires him to take care Mr. Bolts does not exceed the time preſcribed, he ſhall wait our farther commands before he ventures to take any ſtep in ſo delicate an affair.

Letter from Mr. Bolts, incloſed in the above letter from Mr. Sage, read, ſetting forth his reaſons for having ſtaid at Benâres beyond the time we limited him to, and requeſting us to indulge him with a longer ſtay to ſettle his own and the affairs of his conſtituents, which he repreſents to be extremely intricate.—

Agreed, we write in anſwer to Mr. Sage, that we did not imagine him ſo little acquainted with the nature of our orders as to be in doubt how far it behoved him to put them into execution; that, notwithſtanding what Mr. Bolts alledges in his letter, we are well aſſured, that, inſtead of making it his buſineſs to ſettle his affairs at Benâres, which was the ſole reaſon for his being permitted to return thither, *he entered into new concerns*; that he is, therefore, to inform Mr. Bolts, that we are determined our orders ſhall not be trifled with, and that he is to conſider himſelf as ſuſpended the Company's ſervice, from the 28th of this month, for not complying with our poſitive injunctions for his return to Calcutta. However, in conſideration of the plauſible reaſons which he now, for the firſt time, aſſigns, he is farther to acquaint Mr. Bolts, that, provided he arrives in Calcutta by the 10th of October, his ſuſpenſion will be taken off; and, if for this purpoſe, he does not leave Benâres by the 1ſt of October, he is to ſend him away by force.

No. 78.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated September 10th, 1766.

Daily complaints arriving of violence and inſults offered to the ſervants of the Government, and the agents of private merchants, by the Company's ſervants reſiding at the different Aurungs,——

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that we call down from the Aurungs all Company's ſervants and other Europeans, as the only means of ſecuring the neceſſary authority to the government, and protection to individuals; and that we ſuffer only the ſervants employed at the factories of Patna, Dacca, Coſſimbazar, and Chittagong, with the aſſiſtants to the Supervifor of Burdwan and Midnapore, to remain up the country.

No. 79.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated October 3d 1766.

Having, in our proceedings of the 19th of February laſt, Reſolved, That no Gomaſtahs employed by the Company's ſervants, or other Europeans trading under licences from the Company, ſhould in future interfere directly or indirectly with affairs relating to the government; and alſo that ſuch Gomaſtahs ſhould, in all diſputes with the country people, apply for redreſs and juſtice to the chief of the neareſt ſubordinate, to the miniſters, to the reſident at the Durbar, or to the Council, or Select Committee.

And it being now the intention of this Committee to fulfil, in the moſt effectual manner, the honourable Company's inſtructions reſpecting the inland trade, and to remove all cauſe of diſturbance and oppreſſion committed in the interior country under ſanction of the Engliſh name:——

Reſolved, That in future all Gomaſtahs, whether employed on account of the Company or individuals, ſhall ſtrictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections, or diſturb the buſineſs of the government.

That they ſhall ſcrupulouſly avoid taking cognizance of any diſputes or differences that they may have with the country people, or aſſuming to themſelves any degree of judicial authority.

That in all ſuch points of difference and diſpute, whether with reſpect to trade or otherwiſe, they ſhall appeal firſt to the neareſt officer of the government; and, in caſe of delay or refuſal of redreſs from him, they ſhall then lay their complaint before Mahomed Reza Cawn, or the reſident at the Durbar, or the Council, or the Select Committee.

That whoever ſhall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this Reſolution, (a copy of which will be ſent to Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to the reſident at the Durbar) ſhall immediately forfeit their employment and the Company's protection, and likewiſe be ſubject to ſuch farther puniſhment as the Council or Committee may think proper to inflict.

That, to prevent any interruption to trade, Mahomed Reza Cawn be deſired to iſſue orders to all officers of the government, to yield every poſſible encouragement to licenſed trade, and to the buſineſs of thoſe Gomaſtahs who ſhall duly confine themſelves to the above reſtrictions.

Alſo that Mahomed Reza Cawn be deſired to direct the officers of the government to call upon all Gomaſtahs to regiſter their Perwannahs, or licences of trade, and Duſtucks, at the head Cutcherree of the Aurung, or diſtrict, where they reſide; and likewiſe to order the public officers of each Aurung, or diſtrict, to ſend him a regular monthly return of all Perwannahs or Duſtucks ſo regiſtered.

Notice having already been given, purſuant to our reſolution of the 19th of February laſt, that all Gomaſtahs ſhould apply to the Preſident for Perwannahs, and the allowance of time for that purpoſe being now deemed fully ſufficient,—

Agreed,

Agreed, That Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to issue orders to the officers of the government, to call upon the Gomastahs in the different parts of the provinces immediately for their Perwannahs; and to send all persons, who cannot produce a proper authority for their trade and residence, without delay to Calcutta.

And, farther, to prevent all frauds arising from counterfeit and forged Dustucks,—

Agreed, The custom-master be directed to make a monthly return to the resident at the Durbar, of all Dustucks and Perwannahs entered in his office; the same to be communicated to the ministers, whereby they may be able to detect all imposition and fraud, by comparing the monthly returns from the custom-house with those made from the Aurungs, &c.

No. 80.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee, at Fort William, in Bengal, dated November 21st, 1766.

PAR. 14. We are well pleased to remark your attention to our orders, in calling down the free merchants. Their proper employment is in the sea-service, as Captains and Supra-cargoes in the country trade, or settled as merchants at Calcutta; and if hereafter we find any infringement of our orders in this respect, we shall assuredly send for them home, and testify our displeasure at those who have protected them, or permitted them to go up the country. We are determined to have as few Europeans as possible about the country. You are to keep to the spirit of these our resolutions as much as possible; for we have the strongest sense of the injuries the natives have suffered from having Englishmen exercising an authority over them.

No. 81.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 11th, 1767.

Upon revisal of the proceedings of the 31st October last, relative to the regulation of Gomostah's,—

Agreed, We make the following addition to our former orders, viz. That the resident at the Durbar be directed to recommend to the ministers their obliging all the officers of the several districts to specify, in the returns they make to the government, such Perwannahs as have expired, in order that the ministers may be able to ascertain the number of Perwannahs now in force, without which it will be difficult to prevent frauds and impositions.

Repeated orders having been issued for recalling to the Presidency all Europeans who are not employed by the honourable Company, or furnished with a licence from the Council or the Governor; and information being now received that divers vagrants are dispersed over the country in contempt of the above orders,—

Resolved, That we write to the subordinate settlements and the commanding officers of the brigades, to seize, and send down under a guard, all Europeans who are not duly authorised by a written licence from the Board or the Governor, to reside out of the Presidency.

No. 82.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Smith to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Head-Quarters, near Keir-abad, January 3d, 1768.

" There is one circumſtance which it is neceſſary I ſhould now juſt touch on, becauſe it requires a ſpeedy remedy; I ſhall enlarge upon it hereafter. The Nabob repreſented to me the great inconveniences which ariſe from the Gomaſtahs and dependents of Engliſh gentlemen reſiding in his dominions, particularly at Gurackpore, Mirzapore, and in the Zemindarry at Benares and Ghazepore; that he was extremely tender in exerting his authority over any of thoſe who even aſſumed the Engliſh name, notwithſtanding, that theſe people were guilty of many impoſitions and extortions on his ſubjects, as well as defrauding him of his duties. Now, as he had received repeated aſſurances from the Preſidency, that no private trade ſhould be carried on in his dominions, ſo he requeſted, that I would not only exert my power to free his country from the Armenians and Bengals in the ſervice of individuals, but that I would alſo repreſent the ſame to you, ſo that effectual means might be taken for their expulſion. Senſible of the juſtice of this repreſentation, I did not heſitate to aſſure him, that nothing was farther from the deſign or approbation of the Engliſh Sirdars; that I had heard our Preſident made it a point neither to grant Duſtucks nor Perwannahs into his excellency's dominions; that no conſideration whatſoever could induce the Engliſh chiefs to ſuffer the advantages or emoluments of individuals to be the means of giving him the moſt diſtant cauſe of uneaſineſs or concern. I aſſured him of my ready concurrence in every meaſure to ſuppreſs this growing evil, and would repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt manner to the Committee, that effectual meaſures might be taken to remove it; and deſired that he would apprehend all thoſe who were guilty of any impoſition in our name, which, ſo far from giving umbrage to the Engliſh Sirdars. would be eſteemed a favour conferred on us. I farther added, that, to convince his excellency how deſirous I was to ſtrike at the root of this evil, on my return to Allah-abad, it ſhould be my care, that the Perwannah he himſelf had granted to Iſhmael Beg, (one of his own ſubjects) for the excluſive privilege of making ſaltpetre on account of the Engliſh gentlemen, and upon condition that he furniſhed the Nabob with whatever quantity he wanted at prime coſt, ſhould be returned, that he might be convinced no private advantage whatſoever could weigh with an Engliſhman, which might, in the remoteſt degree, affect the public. The Nabob ſaid, in anſwer, " That he eſteemed " this as a freſh inſtance of attention and regard."

" As I have been informed of theſe circumſtances not only from the Nabob, but Rajah Bulwant Sing has alſo repreſented to me the late frequency of Engliſh Duſtucks and Engliſh Perwannahs, it is but too apparent, notwithſtanding the reſolutions of the Preſidency, that there is an abuſe in this matter. I do, therefore, moſt earneſtly recommend to the Committee, that they will enter upon the moſt vigorous meaſures for entirely aboliſhing a ſyſtem ſo fraught with pernicious conſequences, and which very ſyſtem had ſo lately proved almoſt fatal to the Company's welfare in Bengal."

Extract

No. 83.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 16th, 1768.

Notwithſtanding the orders which have been iſſued to the chiefs and reſidents of ſubordinate factories, and to the commanding officers of the brigades for apprehending and ſending down to the preſidency every European they may find trading about the country without permiſſion, the Committee with aſtoniſhment obſerve that there are ſome perſons ſtill purſuing this practice without moleſtation; it is, therefore, Reſolved to iſſue poſitive orders to the ſubordinates and brigades, and to enjoin them to a ſtrict obedience to our honourable maſters commands.

No. 84.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 23d, 1768.

The Committee being determined to put an effectual ſtop to the granting of Duſtucks and Perwannahs for conveying of private merchandize into Sujah al Dowlah's dominions under the ſanction of the Engliſh:——

Agreed, we write to the chiefs of Coſſimbazar and Patna, forbidding them to grant either Duſtucks or Perwannahs to any perſon whomſoever, and directing them to recall all the Gomaſtahs without delay, who may be trading therein with ſuch Duſtucks or Perwannahs given them from thoſe factories.

No. 85.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, February 27th, 1768.

I am much ſurprized to learn from Colonel Smith, that divers people, taking the name of Engliſh Gomaſtahs, have been guilty of great villanies and extortions in your excellency's country; of this I was entirely unacquainted, or I would have endeavoured to have remedied it; nor has any one any authority from me, nor will I in future give any, either for trade or reſidence in your excellency's country. I muſt, therefore, make it my particular requeſt that, ſhould any one take the Engliſh name as a ſcreen for his mal-practices, you will immediately cauſe him to be apprehended and ſent hither, that his falſhood may meet its due puniſhment. You cannot oblige me more than by detecting theſe impoſtors. I write this ſo poſitively and ſtrongly, that you may ſee how very attentive I am to cut off all occaſion of uneaſineſs to you.

No. 86.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Rajah Bulwant Sing, dated Fort William, February 27th, 1768.

I cannot help being aſtoniſhed to find, from Colonel Smith's letters, that Duſtucks and Perwannahs, under the Engliſh name, are current in your diſtricts, and that

Gomaſtahs commit frequent extortions and oppreſſions under that ſanction. After the plain directions which I gave your Vakeel at Murſhed-abad, I am very much ſurprized that you ſhould have neglected to inform me of theſe practices. I now, therefore, poſitively write to you, that I will neither grant myſelf, nor ſuffer others to grant, any Duſtuck with the Engliſh ſeal, for the conveyance of goods to any part of Sujah al Dowlah's territories, only for ſuch neceſſaries as may be occaſionally going to the army: and I muſt farther direct you to tranſmit me a copy of all Duſtucks for neceſſaries, the inſtant they come to your hands, that no room for evaſion or pretext may remain. As I have frequent complaints from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, that divers people aſſume the name of Engliſh Gomaſtahs; I therefore require that you would iſſue poſitive orders throughout your diſtricts, for all ſuch people to withdraw themſelves without delay; and you will immediately cauſe Coja Alycombe, and Coja Gregory, and a Bengally, named Ram Setcher, to be ſent down under confinement to Maha Rajah Seetabroy; for none of theſe people have any title to reſidence within the territories of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah.

No. 87.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Hare (then ſecond of the Engliſh factory at Patna, and ſince a member of the Council in Calcutta) to Mr. Verelſt, dated Patna, January 16th, 1768.

A.

Long before theſe gentlemen (Meſſrs. Alexandet and Jekyll) had any Gomaſtah in Bulwant Sing's country, the Rajah had farmed the ſaltpetre buſineſs in the Sircar of Ghazepoor to *my Gomaſtah*, COJA GREGORY.

Extract of ditto to ditto, dated February 2d, 1768.

B.

I did myſelf the honour of addreſſing you, under date the 16th ultimo, ſince which Bulwant Sing has taken a Mutchulcah from COJA GREGORY, *my Gomaſtah at Chowſa*, not to buy ſaltpetre.

Extract of ditto to ditto, dated March 12th, 1768.

C.

Till the receipt of your order, under date the 24th ultimo, I was utterly a ſtranger to this trade's having been prohibited either by the Company or the Select Committee, to the regulations of both which I have, at all times, paid the ſtricteſt obedience; and what confirmed me in an opinion that it could not have been illicit, was the eagerneſs with which it was proſecuted by ſeveral Company's ſervants at the ſame time, and in the ſame places. As to *my having employed Armenian Gomaſtahs in my ſervice*, I did not imagine that the Company's orders relating to them were meant to extend beyond the provinces, *eſpecially as theſe very Gomaſtahs were known to be employed by Mr. Bolts.* In obedience to your commands, I have immediately ordered them down; but as a large ſum of money is already advanced for different articles of trade in that country, mu

must entreat your permiſſion to ſend a Bengal Gomaſtah to collect in my outſtanding debts, and diſpatch ſuch goods as are already purchaſed down to me *.

No. 88.

Extract of a letter from Captain Harper to Mr. Vereſt, dated Faiz-abad, March 14th, 1768.

The Nabob has acquainted me that ſome people at Gurrackpore having taken upon them to ſay they are Gomaſtahs to Engliſh gentlemen, are guilty of many irregularities, to the prejudice of his ſervants; he has, therefore, applied to me for a guard of Sepoys to apprehend and bring them to Faiz-abad, that their behaviour may be enquired into. I have complied with the Nabob's deſire, by ſupplying him with a Jemadar and twenty Sepoys. It will not be improper, here, to acquaint you, that there are ſeveral Armenians at Benâres, and one or two at this place, who often make uſe of the Engliſh name for a ſanction to the behaviour which they would not otherwiſe dare to practiſe. The Nabob has often told me that he would expel them his dominions, but I apprehend he will be tardy in doing this, as I learn that they are very communicative in what they hear from Calcutta; and which, with their own embelliſhments, is conveyed to the Nabob through Meer Muſhallah, who was formerly Coſſim Ally Cawn's, and now his excellency's phyſician; and that it is by his influence the Nobob is diverted from putting his former deſign of turning them out of his territories into execution. It is well known how deſigning and intriguing a ſet of people the Armenians are, and I do not think it improbable that if they are permitted to reſide in the Nabob's country, they may be the cauſe of diſputes with him. If you approve of writing to the Nabob on this ſubject, I dare ſay he will expel them, as he has already expreſſed to me how glad he ſhould be to have them turned away.

No. 89.

Copy of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Vereſt, received April 3d, 1768.

I have received your friendly letter by the hands of Captain Harper, and was rejoiced thereby. It is plain that my friendſhip with the Engliſh Sirdars, and particularly with your excellency, is firm; neither does it need the common phraſes of the world to ſet it off. You alſo have ſhewn yourſelf ſo profuſe of favours towards me, that I cannot find any expreſſions equal to my ſenſe thereof. I can only wiſh that the Almighty may give our connection daily ſtrength, and our friendſhip hourly warmth. Conſidering what you write on the ſubject of the Armenians, as proceeding from your perfect cordiality, I am delighted therewith. What can be more ſuitable to our intereſts, than that we ſhould mutually exert ourſelves in diſarming all

* Theſe extracts of Mr. Hare's letters are given to teſtify the attention and ready obedience that gentleman paid to the reſolutions and public orders of the Select Committee of Fort William, for the recall to the preſidency of all Armenians, Europeans, &c. employed as Engliſh agents in the inland provinces; in contradiſtinction to Mr. Bolts's behaviour on the like occaſion. It is alſo worthy notice, that one of Mr. Hare's agents at this time, in Bulwant Sing's country, was the very Armenian (Coja Gregory, or Gregore) that Mr. Bolts alſo employed, and has ſince inſtigated to come to England, to ſupport, with others, his own proſecutions by a pretended accumulation of grievances: an Armenian who has endeavoured to impoſe a belief before the Committee of the houſe of Commons, that he never acted as an Engliſh Gomaſtah or agent in Bulwant Sing's dominions. Such is the credit due to Armenian faith.

ſuch

ſuch as may be the abettors or authors of evil? In the affair of the ſaltpetre, which was the firſt, every inquietude was removed, and every thorn extracted at once; but by a momentary adverſion of your excellency's regard, and now that you have written regarding Rafael and Eſtevan, that matter is done. As they have ſome outſtanding debts incurred in the courſe of their buſineſs here, they petitioned earneſtly for two or three days reſpite to ſettle their accounts, after that they will no more preſume to reſide here. Rajah Bulwant Sing has acquainted me with your excellency's orders about the Armenians in thoſe diſtricts, and I have inſtructed him to give implicit obedience to whatever you ſhall ſignify on the occaſion; as whatever is agreeable to you, cannot fail of being ſatisfactory, I ſay of being ſatisfactory to me. For the reſt, conſider me as one ſolicitous after your welfare, and favour me with frequent accounts thereof.

No. 90.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Vereliſt to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, April 26th, 1768.

I am ſorry to inform your excellency that, in conſequence of my letters to you, concerning the Engliſh Gomaſtahs, and your orders thereupon, I find your officers have exerciſed a ſeverity beyond what either of us intended; they have ſeized and ſent away many, without allowing them the ſhorteſt time to adjuſt their affairs; and others, from this kind of treatment, find it impoſſible even to receive the debts lawfully due to them. As theſe loſſes muſt fall heavy on many individuals, I think it but juſt to requeſt your excellency to indulge them with two months licence to withdraw their effects, and ſettle their affairs; and, at the ſame time, give ſuch orders to the officers of your dominions, that they may lend them all aſſiſtance for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of the matter.

No. 91.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated April 27th, 1768.

The Preſident informs the Committee, that orders have been iſſued to the officers at the Chokeys, to ſuffer all merchandize belonging to the natives of this country to paſs, on their paying the cuſtomary duties.

The Board being ſenſible of the great diſadvantages reſulting from an immediate recall of all Gomaſtahs of individuals, trading in the countries of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah and Rajah Bulwant Sing, under the ſanction of the Engliſh name; it is Reſolved, to allow them to reſide there for the ſpace of two months, for the adjuſtment of the affairs of their conſtituents, and the collection of their outſtanding ballances: that they ſhall, on no account whatſoever, be allowed to engage in any new concerns, and that they ſhall quit thoſe countries immediately after the expiration of the time limited for their reſidence.

And, in order to facilitate the adjuſtment of their affairs, as well as to prevent the frauds and other abuſes to which ſuch a reſtriction might otherwiſe expoſe them, it is farther Reſolved and Agreed, that the Preſident do inform Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, of theſe injunctions laid on all Gomaſtahs in their countries, and to requeſt they will grant them every reaſonable aſſiſtance they may require, for the ſpeedy regulation of their concerns.

Agreed,

Agreed, that the foregoing reſolution be laid before the Preſident and Council, and that we do recommend to them, to iſſue their orders for effectually preventing any trade being carried on beyond the provinces, by Gomaſtahs aſſuming the Engliſh name.

Ordered, That all the chiefs of ſubordinates be apprized of the Committee's reſolutions, concerning the recall of private Gomaſtahs from the countries of Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing.

No. 92.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated May 18th, 1768.

"The foregoing extract of Committee Proceedings being laid before the Board, and the Council unanimouſly concurring in the ſame opinion, they directed an advertiſement to be publiſhed accordingly."

Note. In reply to the charge of inconſiſtency and partiality in theſe orders of the Select Committee, adduced by Mr. Bolts, we muſt obſerve, that permiſſion was given to that gentleman, at his own requeſt, to return to Benâres in March 1766, and to reſide there till the month of October following, which was two months more than the time he firſt ſolicited. That in March 1767, he applied for letters to Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, to aſſiſt his Gomaſtahs in cloſing his mercantile concerns, which were readily granted by Mr. Verelſt; and that, notwithſtanding theſe and other repeated indulgencies, his Armenian agents remained in the territories of Ghazepore and Oud to March 1768, when they were at length ſeized, after the moſt undoubted proofs had been received, that Mr. Bolts was, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, entering upon freſh engagements. Proofs which have been ſince farther confirmed by his own confeſſion before a Committee of the honourable houſe of Commons. Surely a juſt diſtinction was made betwixt the agents of Mr. Bolts, and thoſe of other gentlemen, who had not incurred any ſuſpicion of entertaining dangerous projects, and who had not inſulted the Board, by a contempt of repeated orders.

No. 93.

Extract of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelſt, received Auguſt 1ſt, 1768.

I cannot expreſs my thanks for the favour you have done me in putting an end to the Engliſh trade in my territories. May the Almighty long preſerve you, for I have ſtill greater expectations from your friendſhip.

No. 94.

Tranſlation of a letter from Meſſrs. Johnſtone, Hay, and Bolts, to Meer Sheer Ally Cawn, the Fouzdar of Purnea; recorded on Fort William Conſultations, December 27th, 1762.

Our Gomaſtah Ramchurn-Doſs, being gone into thoſe parts, meets with obſtructions from you, in whatever buſineſs he undertakes; moreover, you have publiſhed a prohibition to this effect, that whoever ſhall have any dealing with the Engliſh, you will ſeize his houſe, and lay a fine upon him. In this manner have you prohibited the people under your juriſdiction. We were ſurprized at hearing of this affair, because

cauſe that the royal Firmaun, which the Engliſh nation is poſſeſſed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the Engliſh will by no means ſuffer, with patience, their Firmaun to be broke through. We therefore expect that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the Ryots; and, in caſe of your not doing it, we will certainly write to the Naboh, in the name of the Engliſh, and ſend for ſuch an order from him, that you ſhall reſtore, fully and entirely, whatever loſs the Engliſh have ſuſtained, or ſhall ſuſtain, by this obſtruction; and that you ſhall repent having thus interrupted our buſineſs, in deſpite of the royal Firmaun. After reading this letter, we are perſuaded you will deſiſt from interrupting it, act agreeably to the rules of friendſhip, and ſo that your amity may appear, and by no means ſtop the Company's Duſtucks.

No. 95.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 8th, 1764.

PAR. 7. The conduct and behaviour of Mr. William Bolts, a factor, falling next under our conſideration, they appear, ſo far as he was connected with Meſſrs. Johnſtone and Hay, to be very improper; eſpecially in joining with them in an audacious and impertinent letter to the Fouzdar of Purnea, as it ſtands on your Conſultations of the 27th December 1762, and for which the Preſident recommended it to the Council to paſs ſome cenſure upon him. He appears, likewiſe, to have been guilty of irregular practices, in reſpect to carrying on his private trade: let him be called into Council, and reprimanded according to his deſerts; and inform him, if his conduct is not more ſatisfactory for the future, we ſhall diſmiſs him from the ſervice.

No. 96.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated February 24th, 1766.

Mr. Bolts ſends in a letter, requeſting permiſſion to return to Benâres in his former ſtation.

The Board do not think Mr. Bolts entitled to the indulgence he requeſts, from his late conduct at Benâres, but that he may have permiſſion to return thither in a private capacity to ſettle his affairs, till the 1ſt of July next.

Agreed, he be adviſed in anſwer accordingly.

No. 97.

Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated May 17th, 1766.

PAR. 48. You will obſerve by the general letter to the Preſident and Council accompanying this, the very ample powers we have entruſted you with, for preſerving peace, tranquility, diſcipline, harmony, good order, and ſubordination in Bengal; powers which, we doubt not, you will make uſe of in ſuch a manner, as will, in all circumſtances, be moſt for the Company's intereſt, as well as reflect honour upon yourſelves.

Extract

No. 98.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated July 28th, 1766.

Mr. Bolts having exceeded the time limited in Conſultation the 24th February laſt for his return to Calcutta from Benâres;—

Ordered, that Mr. Sage, the reſident at that factory, be directed to inform him, that the Board are diſpleaſed with the neglect he has ſhewn to their orders; that he is, therefore, to ſend him down immediately; and that, unleſs Mr. Bolts arrives in Calcutta by the 28th Auguſt, he will ſtand diſmiſſed the ſervice.

No. 99.

Extract of Mr. Bolts's letter to the Governor and Council of Fort William, dated November 10th, 1766.

I propoſe going to Europe as ſoon as I can ſettle my private concerns; which buſineſs, together with the employment to which your lordſhip, &c. gentlemen have been pleaſed to appoint me, as alderman in the Mayor's Court, will engroſs the whole of my time; I therefore humbly requeſt permiſſion to reſign the ſervice of the honourable Company.

No. 100.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated January 5th, 1767.

Mr. Bolts having had permiſſion to reſign the honourable Company's ſervice, in conſequence of his letter to the Board (of the 10th November laſt) and entered on the proceedings of the 24th following;—

Ordered, That intimation be given to him by the ſecretary, that as he cannot claim any title to remain longer in India, he is poſitively required not to engage farther in commercial concerns, and to prepare to embark for England in one of the Company's returning ſhips of this ſeaſon.

No. 101.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Bolts to the Preſident, &c. members of the Select Committee.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

I have ſeveral very conſiderable out-ſtanding balances within the provinces now under the management the honourable Company, the recovery of which, without the favourable interpoſition of your authority over the country government being altogether impoſſible; and the late regulations of the honourable Board, making my preſent application neceſſary, I hereby requeſt to be favoured with your aſſiſtance, and that you will be pleaſed to grant me Perwannahs upon the different Zemindars, &c. of the diſtricts where they lay, directing them to ſummons the Aſſammys to their Cutcherrys, to confront them with my Gomaſtahs, and, after proof of the juſtice of the demands to enforce the payment. The ſums, as per particular liſts, are, viz.

In the diſtricts of Purnea — — — Current Rupees	10,939	13	6
Goragaut Sheeb Gunge — — —	6,029	12	6
Rungpore — — — — —	1,777	9	6
Dinagepore — — — — —	2,320	10	6
Shawpore, Purg Santoſe, Kriſndeeb, and Govindibaug — — — —	151	9	6
Current rupees	21,219	7	6

The following are balances due from the Zemindars themſelves of ſundry diſtricts much nearer at hand; but being balances ariſing upon accounts of mercantile tranſactions, which may be liable to altercation, and being more immediately under the inſpection of your honourable Board, I ſhould be glad you would be pleaſed to appoint in Calcutta ſome perſon or perſons, either Europeans or black merchants, verſed in the tranſactions of the country, to examine into the juſtice of the demands, which are as follows:

Due from the Zemindar of Jeſſore, Nilcanto Roy,	S. rupees	13,029	12	0
Ditto of Tumlook, to the 13th November paſt,		2,501	1	6
Ditto of Sujah-mootah, ditto, — —		10,938	7	0
Fouzdar of Ragimaul — —	A. rupees	636	4	0
	Rupees	27,106	1	6

I ſhall very readily abide by the deciſion of the perſons you may be pleaſed to appoint.

After the letter which the late honourable Preſident and Council were pleaſed to write me, relative to my commercial affairs, it may not, on this occaſion, be improper to ſay ſomething on the ſubject, that you, Gentlemen, may be able to judge what an arduous, nay, I may ſay, an impoſſible taſk has been impoſed upon me. I have, by ſea and land, of my own and other people's, about eight * lacks of rupees now out, and actually employed in lawful trade, which no way interferes with any part of the honourable Company's inveſtment. Amongſt this, there is above one hundred and ſixty thouſand † rupees of woollens, &c. goods which I bought at the Company's laſt outcry, and which were only diſpatched up the country about two months ago. In the mean time, to comply as nearly as poſſible with what ſeems to me to be the intention of the order of the honourable Board, *I aſſure you, Gentlemen, upon my honour, that I have not lately, and ſhall not enter into any new inland concerns; and that I ſhall hold none, but ſuch as I have been already ſome time engaged in*, and which I am obliged to proſecute to bring in outſtanding balances. Farther, I will engage, under any penalty, that no part of my trade ſhall, within the three Subahs, in any ſhape, interfere with any part of the honourable Company's inveſtment.

I farther beg leave to aſſure you, Gentlemen, that I ſhall never be guilty of any infringement of the laws of Great Britain, or the bye-laws of the honourable Company, where their juriſdiction extends; and that, out of their juriſdiction, I ſhall freely ſubmit to the cuſtoms and laws of the country. In this ſituation, I hope, I ſhall not fail of giving ſatisfaction; and I ſhall chearfully ſubmit to whatever you, Gentlemen, may eſteem juſt, and require only an equitable allowance of time, to be indulged with thoſe privileges which have ever been allowed, not only to gentlemen who have reſigned, but thoſe who have been diſmiſſed the ſervice.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect, &c.

WILLIAM BOLTS.

Fort William, the
11th February, 1767.

No. 102.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated March 3d, 1767.

Mr. Bolts ſends in a letter to the Committee, (dated 11th of February, 1767) requeſting our aſſiſtance in collecting ſeveral balances due to him in different parts of the provinces:—

* 100,000 *l.* † 20,000 *l.*

Agreed,

Agreed, We recommend to the Preſident to grant Mr. Bolts Perwannahs upon the Zemindars in the manner he deſires; alſo, that the court of Cutcherry be directed to examine into his claims on the Zemindars, as ſpecified in his letter; but that we ſtrictly enjoin him to enter into no freſh concerns, as the Board will expect implicit obedience to the orders he has already received, although they diſpenſe with the immediate execution, in conſideration of the particular ſituation of his affairs.

No. 103.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, March 9th, 1767.

Mr. Bolts having repreſented to me, that he has ſeveral out-ſtanding ballances unſettled in your excellency's territories, on which account he employs a Gomaſtah, I requeſt he may be indulged with liberty to conclude his affairs. I muſt, however, hope, that as the ſending of Gomaſtahs into thoſe parts may give occaſion to many altercations, your excellency will, in future, withdraw your protection from them.

No. 104.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Rajah Bulwant Sing, of the ſame date.

I am informed by Mr. Bolts, that ſome Gomaſtahs of his, whom he employed in his concerns at Meerzapore, have not yet collected the out-ſtanding ballances due to that gentleman; I therefore requeſt, that no interruption may be given theſe Gomaſtahs.

No. 105.

Extract of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelſt, received April 17th, 1767.

In regard to Mr. Bolts's money, which you deſire me to interpoſe my aſſiſtance in collecting with all expedition; and that in future I ſhould forbid all others from reſiding, and on no account permit the Engliſh gentlemen to carry on a commerce within my territories, in order to prevent all poſſibility of a diſpute; by the bleſſing of God, I will, even with redoubled diligence, apply to the ſpeedy collection of Mr. Bolts's concerns, and, inſiſting on the juſt demands from all parties, cauſe payment of the ſame. For the reſt, my friendſhip for you is impreſſed on my heart, and the ſtrong aſſurances you write me of invariable regard, give me the greateſt confidence that all affairs will have a happy and ſucceſsful concluſion.

No. 106.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated the 24th Auguſt, 1767.

Ordered, that the Secretary do inform Mr. Bolts, that the Lord Holland will be diſpatched for England in the courſe of next month; and that we poſitively inſiſt on his proceeding by that ſhip.

No. 107.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated October 1ſt, 1767.

Mr. Bolts, in two letters, one to the Board, the other to the Secretary to the Council, aſſigns the ſituation of his private affairs to be ſuch as renders his immediate departure impoſſible; but aſſures the Board, that, as ſoon as they are adjuſted, he ſhall with pleaſure obey the order.

Ordered, The Secretary do acquaint Mr. Bolts, that, after the indulgence he has already had, his private concerns are no inducement for us to recede from our orders: and we therefore expect, that he will embark in the next ſhip that ſails for Europe. Farther, that we hear he is carrying on an improper intercourſe with the Dutch, to the prejudice of the honourable Company's affairs, and, on that account, poſitively forbid his leaving Calcutta, without our expreſs permiſſion.

Ordered, alſo, That the Mayor's Court be acquainted herewith, that they may apply for another alderman in his room.

No. 108.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Kelſall, chief of the Engliſh factory at Dacca, to to the Preſident, dated September 18th, 1767.

In a letter I had the honour to addreſs you in the month of May laſt, I mentioned, though in a curſory manner, the footing on which the Dutch had then newly re-eſtabliſhed their factory at Dacca, not, as the event has ſhewn, to tranſact buſineſs on behalf of their Company, but, under the ſanction of public authority, to fulfil a private compact of Meſſrs. Vernet and Bolts.

The late Dutch reſident, Mr. Lankeet, diſdained to accept a commiſſion on ſuch terms, whereupon he was ſuperſeded. His ſucceſſor, when he found, inſtead of a repreſentative of the Company, that he was ſent up in the capacity of a mere Gomaſtah, to fulfil a private engagement, in like manner declined it. Both theſe gentlemen have ever ſince been violently perſecuted by Mr. Vernet.

Here is an Armenian, one Coja Miguel Sarties, a man that has before done buſineſs for Mr. Bolts, who, not ſo ſcrupulous as either of the Dutch gentlemen, has made no difficulty of accepting the commiſſion. The buſineſs is now in his hands, and, to fulfil it, he has had made over to him a ſum to the amount of near * *ſeven lacks of rupees*: ſo enormous a ſum I ſhould have thought even beyond the conſcience even of an Armenian to preſume to inveſt, and ſhould have doubted my information, if I had not received it from the beſt authority, *one of the Dutch gentlemen.*

I have thought it my duty to give you this intelligence, and truſt, ſir, you will take meaſures for defeating the intentions of Meſſrs. Vernet and Bolts, and of the Armenian their agent, which muſt materially prejudice our Company's buſineſs and the trade in general, ſince, in order to get in their inveſtment, they muſt neceſſarily purchaſe at an advanced price.

* 87,500 l.

Extract

No. 109.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Smith to the Select Committee, dated Head-Quarters at Allah-abad, October 23d, 1767.

I remember to have mentioned in Committee, that Monſ. Gentil was a very improper perſon to be with Sujah al Dowlah. I am fully convinced of this, and wiſh ſome mode could be thought on to have him removed. The perſon who has had the eſtabliſhment of Sujah al Dowlah's artillery is one of Monſ. Gentil's comrades, and formerly was an officer in the French ſervice.

No. 110.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Maddiſon to Mr. Verelſt, dated Patna, October 23d, 1767.

A fleet of thirty boats arrived here yeſterday laden with opium, ſaltpetre, &c. which took my name, and a Peon came twice to Noon-golah, to apply for Polwars, ſaying, he was ordered to apply to Mr. Mudie for that purpoſe. Upon enquiry, I find they belong to Mr. Bolts, whoſe time of a Duſtuck being expired, may probably have given his people this order, to have them paſs unmoleſted. I thought it neceſſary to make you acquainted with this, leſt I might fall under any ſuſpicions of paſſing other people's goods under my name.

No. 111.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated November 5th, 1767.

The Preſident lays before the Board the following letters from Mr. Bolts, on which he requeſts their ſentiments, after they have peruſed his Minute, which he delivers in upon the ſubject, viz. an Addreſs from Mr. Bolts to the Court of Directors, ditto to this Board, ditto to the honourable the Mayor's Court, ditto to Meſſrs. Becher and Alexander.

To Harry Verelſt, Eſq. Preſident, &c. gentlemen of Council at Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,

I requeſt you will be pleaſed to tranſmit the accompanying addreſs to the Court of Directors by the next conveyance. It is partly in vindication of myſelf from the groundleſs and reproachful accuſations with which your Preſident has been pleaſed to charge me, through the channel of the Select Committee, and partly on other affairs, in which the intereſt of the honourable Company is deeply concerned.

It is doubtleſs a hardy taſk for me, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to make a public attack on the Preſident, when the majority of his Secret Committee and Council are alſo parties concerned, but a regard for my own character obliges me to it; and as I have on my ſide truth and facts, which are obſtinate and ſcorn to bend, I dare, in this impolitic and uncuſtomary manner, brave the envenomed ſhafts of future oppreſſion and injuſtice, which cannot in malignancy exceed thoſe I have already unconcernedly ſuſtained.

As the majority of the members ſitting at the Board are gentlemen who have been but a ſhort time in this country, and are doubtleſs as unacquainted with the political wiles and cuſtoms of the Banyans, who have been the principal engines employed throughout

throughout the affairs concerning me, as they are unacquainted with that more especially-requiſite the country languages, they muſt have been expoſed to great impoſitions; and it is very probable they have been miſled in theſe affairs by the artifice of a veteran, upon whoſe integrity they placed am implicit reliance. It is, therefore, but juſt that I ſhould attribute the concurrence of ſome of thoſe gentlemen to their having been deceived.

If any explanations or proofs be required upon any part of my addreſs to the honourable the Court of Directors, upon intimation thereof from your honourable Board, I will readily deſcend to particulars, and hope to give every ſatisfaction that can be required.

I am Gentlemen, &c.

Calcutta, October 18th, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS.

To Thomas Woodward, Eſq. Mayor, and the Gentlemen Aldermen of the honourable Mayor's Court of Calcutta.

SIRS,

I am acquainted with the extraordinary ſtep the Governor and Council have taken towards effecting my removal from my ſeat at your honourable Board, in open defiance of his Majeſty's moſt gracious charter, and I congratulate myſelf, as well as the community, upon the juſt diſregard with which you have been pleaſed to treat this glaring attempt to an infringement of the Britiſh liberties; an attempt which, had it been given way to, would have been of the moſt dangerous conſequence, as a precedent for rendering your Court dependent, and of courſe uſeleſs to ſociety, for whoſe relief our moſt gracious ſovereign and parliament have been pleaſed to eſtabliſh it, whereby Britiſh ſubjects would have been as eaſily deprived of their property and fortunes, as in the preſent deſpotic reign they have been of their liberties and every Britiſh privilege. Though the letter to your honourable Court appears under the ſanction of the Governor and Council, I conſider it only as the act of Governor Verelſt alone, as I ſhall make it hereafter appear to the world. Conſider in this light how deplorable would be our ſituation if, at the bare deſire of a Governor, or even a Governor and his Council, the expreſs orders of the charter ſhould be ſet aſide, and a *free Britiſh ſubject* expoſed to be deprived of his honour and liberty. A malicious man, high in ſtation, who boaſts that he is beyond puniſhment, and that juſtice cannot reach him, would have it always in his power to ſpread ruin into every family againſt which he had any averſion; but where law and liberty reign, where men hold not their property or honour at the mercy of one or few, this ſecurity begets in them a diſpoſition which is inconſiſtent with ſervility and adulation.

Let us not then ſuffer our liberties to be invaded by fraud or will, or deſtroyed by force; if we do, a diſmal confuſion muſt then quickly enſue, and villainous accuſation, public and private rapine and plunder, illegal impriſonments, confiſcations and proſcriptions, diffuſing univerſal miſery, will become the common law of the land.

I defy the Preſident and Council legally to diſqualify me from holding my honourable ſeat at your Court; and I am confident that you, gentlemen, will never ſuffer me otherwiſe to be diſmiſſed; permit me at the ſame time to aſſure you, Sirs, that I would not miſs a ſingle day's attendance at your Court, even when it is not my turn of rotation, was I not neceſſitated to do it ſometimes in conſequence of the oppreſſion with which I have been treated, as I hope in due time to evince to the ſhame of my oppreſſors.

Yet as I ſhould be glad to know upon what this extraordinary requeſt has been founded, and to have ſo curious a document by me, I requeſt you will be pleaſed to order me an authenticated copy of the letter from the Preſident and Council.

Permit me to offer my ſincereſt wiſhes for the proſperity of the honourable Court, and the ſucceſs of your endeavonrs to ſecure the happineſs of the community, by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

Who am with great reſpect, &c.

Calcutta, October 8th, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS, Alderman.

TO ALL who ſhall ſee theſe preſents or hear them read. I Thomas Woodward, Eſq. Mayor of the town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, do hereby make known and certify, that John Holme, who hath ſigned and atteſted the certificate hereunto annexed, is regiſter of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta aforeſaid, legally ſworn and admitted, dwelling in this town of Calcutta aforeſaid; and that to acts, inſtruments, procurations, and other writings by him ſigned and atteſted, is full faith and credit given in Court and without.

IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof, I the ſaid Mayor have cauſed the ſeal of the office of mayoralty of the ſaid town of Calcutta to be hereunto put and affixed, and the copy of the letter mentioned in the ſaid certificate hereunto alſo annexed. Dated in Calcutta aforeſaid, this 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven.

(Signed) THO. WOODWARD, Mayor. (L. S.)

I John Holme, Regiſter of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, do hereby certify and atteſt, that the within written is a true copy of a letter from Mr. William Bolts, one of the Aldermen of the ſaid Court, directed to Thomas Woodward, Eſq. Mayor, and the gentlemen Aldermen of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, carefully collated by me with the original, at preſent in my poſſeſſion, as Regiſter of the ſaid Court.

IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand at Calcutta aforeſaid, the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſeven.

(Signed) JOHN HOLME, Regiſter.

To Richard Becher and James Alexander, Eſqrs.

GENTLEMEN,

I have this day ſent in to the Board an addreſs to the honourable the Court of Directors, in vindication of myſelf from the unjuſt accuſations laid to my charge in the proceedings of the Select Committee; and as you, gentlemen, are the only members at the Board who are not more or leſs parties concerned, I can pretty well foreſee the treatment I am like to meet with on the occaſion.

As you, gentlemen, were not upon the ſpot during the tranſactions of which I complain, you muſt of neceſſity have formed your opinions from the partial proceedings of the Committee, and from the more partial repreſentations of thoſe in whoſe company you daily are. In this ſituation, I am not a ſtranger to the malignant accounts with which your ears muſt have been continually tingling, and which, like water continually dropping upon a ſtone, muſt no doubt have made ſome impreſſion, and have diſpoſed you to believe every thing you heard againſt me, eſpecially as you heard nothing on the other ſide of the queſtion from me, who, depending on the rectitude of my actions, have hitherto been ſilent.

From

From my addreſs to the Court of Directors you will be acquainted with every thing in which I have been concerned, on which the unjuſt ſentence of the Committee has been pronounced againſt me unheard; hear all, then, and let juſtice hold the ſcale.

Do not think, gentlemen, that the intent of this addreſs is to ſue for favour; that I ſcorn: I ſpeak only to your conſciences as men of integrity, and to ſet you upon your guard againſt the artifices of many combined againſt me alone, without any reaſonable cauſe, or other foundation, than what is built upon their private intereſts, perſonal connections, and piques.

All I wiſh for is, from a principle of gratitude to the Company, that the partiality with which I may be treated may not force me, in my own defence, to print and publiſh to the world at home, what may add to the national odium againſt the Company.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Calcutta, Oct. 18, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS.

The Preſident's Minute.

This addreſs to the honourable Court of Directors, which is now before you, is, in my opinion, the moſt convincing proof that could be brought of the propriety and neceſſity of the Committee's reſolutions regarding Mr. Bolts. The miſrepreſentations and falſhoods that fill this production, appear too obvious to require being particularly pointed out. In regard to the invectives levelled againſt me, I flatter myſelf that my principles, my character, and my conduct, are too well known to the whole ſettlement to give room for the leaſt belief of the truth of one of them.

For my reaſons for bringing the complaints againſt Nobkiſſen before the Select Committee, I muſt beg leave to refer you to my Minutes on that occaſion, which are entered on the face of their proceedings.

But as amongſt the numerous falſities in Mr. Bolts's letter, there happen to be two facts, which he has artfully miſrepreſented and obſcured, I muſt intrude upon your patience whilſt I give a plain recital of them.

You may remember, gentlemen, that in conſequence of the reſolutions of the Select Committee, Ramnaut was to be delivered up to the government, to be made accountable for the numberleſs extortions and villanies he had been guilty of at Maulda, and other places in the government's juriſdiction.

Mr. Bolts inſerts in his letter that Ramnaut, during his confinement, had no demands made upon him, except for ſome ſalt, and for a parcel of boats, which had been ſold him by me upon very advantageous terms.

I allow that Ramnaut did purchaſe theſe articles belonging to me; but that the terms on my part were advantageous, or that a ſingle demand was made upon him on my account during his confinement, I do moſt ſolemnly deny.

The caſe was as follows:

Ramnaut, ſome time ſince, employed a relation of his to purchaſe, under a feigned name, a quantity of ſalt, which I had conſigned to Mr. Barwell at Maulda; by the ſame method, he bought of my Baniân a parcel of boats, which I had before purchaſed of Mr. Burdett at a leſs price than I had given for them, though they were in a much better condition when I ſold them than when I bought them. When the money for theſe things was demanded, Ramnaut declared himſelf the purchaſer, but pleaded poverty, and claimed my protection, that he might be enabled to raiſe the money.

By

By this villainous artifice he was in hopes to have ſcreened himſelf from the power of the government, and to have evaded reſtitution of the money he had extorted from the natives. But, on the contrary, it was my repeated requeſt to the miniſters that they would make him accountable for every rupee of his extortions from the unhappy people at Maulda, who had been ruined by his villainy; and I poſitively forbid any demands being made upon my account, until full and ample reſtitution had been obtained for the ſufferers.

Of the truth of this relation I call upon the miniſters, upon Mr. Sykes, and I could name many others to bear teſtimouy; a teſtimony which muſt entirely overſet Mr. Bolts's aſſertion, that Ramnaut was confined at the city upon account of the debt he owed me: nay I can go ſtill farther; I can declare upon honour that I have not yet received a ſingle rupee, or rupee's worth, of the debt; nor will I receive any, untill all the unhappy ſufferers by Ramnaut's extortion, whom I cannot too much compaſſionate, are fully indemnified.

In regard to the queſtion which Mr. Bolts has put for me to Ramnaut, about the Denagepore Zemindars, he, as the author, can only anſwer it; that I was not, I ſolemnly declare. I never had any concerns at Dinagepore, nor do I know that Ramnaut had any, except ſome extortions he was guilty of; and I very likely might have aſked him, Whether he had made reſtitution?

Another aſſertion of Mr. Bolts's I cannot but reply to, in vindication of my character. He ſays, that when Gocul Sonar preferred his complaints at the general quarter *ſeſſions*, in a petition to the grand jury, it is remarkable that I, the then chief juſtice upon the bench, put the paper into my pocket; and he aſſigns a reaſon, that I declare never occurred to me: on the jury ſending the petition into the court, it was as well my opinion as that of the other gentlemen upon the bench, that it ought to be referred for trial to the court of Zemindarry, where all criminal cauſes betwixt native and native, when no Britiſh life or property is concerned, have uſually been tried. It was in conſequence of this opinion referred to the Zemindar, whoſe proceedings thereupon have already been reported to you, and where the infamy of the proſecution, ſo warmly eſpouſed by Mr. Bolts, ſo plainly appears.

My opinion in this method of juſtice is not, as Mr. Bolts endeavours to inſinuate, particular in this inſtance; my ſentiments therein ſtand recorded long ſince upon the face of the Conſultations.

I now leave to you, gentlemen, to take ſuch notice of this inſult upon the perſon and character of your Preſident as you may deem neceſſary for the ſupport of his government. I forbear giving my own opinion, as Mr. Bolts has already declared that all the reſolutions againſt him have been formed entirely by me.

Fort William, Nov. 5, 1767.

(Signed) HARRY VERELST.

The ſeveral letters from Mr. Bolts, and the Preſident's Minute, in reply to thoſe parts of the above letters, which relate to himſelf, being attentively conſidered,—

Reſolved, unanimouſly, that we expreſs in the ſtrongeſt terms to the Preſident our entire approbation of his conduct in the whole courſe of the proceedings relative to Mr. Bolts, and the keeneſt reſentment of this Board at the inſolent and libellous attack on his character and ſtation, as well as the inſult offered to our authority, and to this government, from the factious attempt of an incendiary to ſow the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſtruſt in our Council, to diſturb the harmony and confidence that ſo happily ſubſiſted among the ſeveral members of the Board, and to deſtroy thoſe bleſſings

which the public confeſſedly enjoy under the mild and upright adminiſtration of our honourable Governor.

Reſolved, That we ſupport with all our weight and influence the juſt and neceſſary exerciſe of the Governor's authority, and the authority of the Board, for the preſervation of peace, order, and tranquility in this ſettlement, and throughout the honourable Company's poſſeſſions in * Bengal; and that we puniſh, to the utmoſt extent of our power, the unparalleled endeavours of Mr. Bolts to ſap the foundation of all government, to ſubvert, by the factious cry of liberty, the principles of ſubordination, and to looſen all thoſe ſacred ties whereby men are united together.

Reſolved, That our former orders to Mr. Bolts for proceeding to England ſhall be repeated; and that in caſe of diſobedience to, and contempt of our authority, his perſon ſhall be ſeized, and forcibly ſent home a priſoner in one of the ſhips of this ſeaſon.—And laſtly it is

Reſolved, That the ſeveral letters written by Mr. Bolts ſhall be entered after this conſultation, and tranſmitted to the honourable Court of Directors, as the ſtrongeſt proof that can be exhibited of the neceſſity of the meaſures we have purſued for the ſupport of government, and the moſt abſolute conviction to our honourable maſters, that unleſs they will vindicate their own authority, as exerciſed in unavoidable acts by their repreſentatives in India, and aſſert the privileges of their royal charter, their ſettlements and government muſt infallibly be precipitated into anarchy and confuſion.

It is farther agreed, That we fully expreſs our ſentiments on this important ſubject in our next advices to the honourable the Court of Directors.

Mr. Fflover lays before the Board the following minute upon the above ſubject:

As Mr. Bolts, in his letter to the Court of Directors, has placed a part of my conduct in a falſe point of view, I think it a piece of juſtice due to my own reputation, to lay before you, gentlemen, the matter on which he treats, in its real light; leſt my honourable maſters ſhould deem me guilty of an impropriety of conduct, when I only inadvertently committed a miſtake.

In the month of March laſt, when I was the acting juſtice and Zemindar, the Preſident delivered to me a complaint which had been preferred to the grand jury at the quarter ſeſſions, by one Gocul Sonar againſt Nobkiſſen, and deſired me to enquire into it as Zemindar. I did ſo; but, on atteſting the depoſitions which had been taken by me, I ſigned them as juſtice of the peace, inſtead of Zemindar. I was not ſenſible of the miſtake until the next morning, when I acquainted the Preſident with it; and, as a confirmation thereof, referred him to the officers of the Cutcherry, who were the only perſons made uſe of by me, during the whole courſe of the enquiry. My report to the Preſident, which has been laid before this Board, and the records of the court of Zemindarry, will, I hope, ſufficiently evince, that I acted therein in the judicial capacity of Zemindar only, and not as one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace. But when I conſider the tenor of Mr. Bolts's conduct, I am not ſurpriſed to find him willing to ſupport himſelf by every piece of artifice he can deviſe.

Every member of this Board, who has acted in theſe two offices, (which have generally centered in one perſon) muſt be ſenſible that complaints are often made at the ſame time, ſome of which require the exertion of a Zemindar's authority, and others are cognizable only by a juſtice of the peace. In ſuch a ſituation, can a miſtake be wondered at; and can any unprejudiced perſon, upon a review of theſe circumſtances, conclude that I have been intentionally culpable?

I ſolemnly declare it was a miſtake, occaſioned in the manner herein related; and, I truſt, that the honourable the Court of Directors, upon a conſideration of Mr. Bolts's conduct, will be inclined to credit this declaration in preference to his inſinuations.

* Appendix, p. 192. No. 97.

(Signed) CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. 112.

Extract of the Select Committee's letter to Colonel Smith, dated Fort William, November 17th, 1767.

The Committee have recommended to the President the taking effectual steps for removing Monsieur Gentil and his associates from the court and councils of Sujah al Dowlah, which we hope to effect without laying a disagreeable restraint on the Nabob's inclinations. The measure becomes necessary, but we are desirous of observing on this, as upon all other occasions, the most punctilious delicacy towards his highness.

No. 113.

Extract of General Smith's letter to the Select Committee, dated December 11th, 1767.

The nature of the intelligence transmitted from Calcutta, by Sujah al Dowlah's Vakeel, is without limits; the Nabob is almost as fully acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings, concerning the Company's affairs, as I am. How far the importance and dignity of the Company, and the weight and influence of administration are lessened in his esteem by this communication, may be easily conceived. Whilst a Vakeel is so easy and so sure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men will be found so hardy as to maintain a direct correspondence with the Nabob; but there is a man who has obliquely offered so great an insult to our President, that, was I present at the Board, I would move for the exertion of our authority to the utmost extent, to free the settlement from so dangerous an inhabitant. I mean Mr. Bolts: and the enclosed copy of a letter to Mousieur Gentil, (the original is in my possession) residing in Sujah al Dowlah's court, wherein he asserts an absolute falshood, which tends to lessen that essential dignity and necessary influence of our President, is surely deserving of your severest resentment. Nor is this the only letter he wrote; for the Nabob acquainted a person of undoubted honour, that Mr. Bolts had wrote the same to Meer Mushallah, formerly physician and confidant of Coffim Ally, from whom the Nabob heard it. Hereafter, I may lay before you other proofs of the extent of the intelligence communicated through the Vakeel.

No. 114.

Etract of a letter from Mr. William Bolts to Mr. Gentil, dated Calcutta, June 19th, 1767.

J'ai écrit une lettre au Navab à qui je vous prie de faire mê tres humble respects : nous avons eu un vaisseau d'Europe Anglois, et un autre François : les affaires de notre Compagne sont dans une grande agitation devant le Roi and le parlement d'Angleterre ; et selon les lettres que j'ai reçu il a grande apparance qui mon *Associé* Monsieur Johnstone viendra *Gouverneur de la part du Roi.* Je serai charmè de recevoir de temps en temps de vos nouvelles qui suis avec une parfait considération,

Mon cher Monsieur,

Votre tres humble Serviteur,

GUILLAUME BOLTS."

No. 115.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Maddiſon to Mr. Verelſt, dated Allah-abad, November 26th, 1767.

As the fleet of boats, I mentioned in my laſt, left Patna a day or two after I had the honour of tranſmitting you an account of them, your orders there will probably arrive too late; but as there are more fleets to be diſpatched, they will certainly be in time for them.

During my ſtay at Faiz-abad, I caſually got into my hands a letter from Mr. Bolts to Monſieur Gentil, in his own writing; where, beſides ſome other circumſtances, (which are not perhaps unexceptionable) he acquaints him, that "the affairs of the "Company were in great agitation before the King and parliament; and that, ac- "cording to the letters he had received, there was great appearance that his aſſociate, "Mr. Johnſtone, would come out governor on the part of the King." Finding from the letter, &c. that he had wrote to the Nabob, I ſet myſelf to diſcover the contents of that letter, but in vain. At laſt I took occaſion, one day, when the Nabob was enquiring what news from Europe, to tell him, that we had no news which could be depended on; and that the intelligence Mr. Bolts had communicated to him, concerning Mr. Johnſtone's coming out governor on the part of the King, was certainly erroneous. He anſwered me with precipitation, "No, no, he did not write it to me, "he wrote it to Meer Muſhallah, and I had it from him." I delivered the letter to Colonel Smith, and ſuppoſe he has, ere this, acquainted you fully of this matter.

Permit me, however, to ſuggeſt to you another channel of intelligence to the Nabob, which Mr. Bolts has been inſtrumental in forming, and which ſtill remains open, I mean his Armenian Gomaſtahs. He had one at Faiz-abad, Coja Rafael; another at Benâres, Coja Melcombe; and a third near Ghazipore, Coja Gregory; theſe people have been perpetually filling the country and the Nabob's court with lying rumours; have reported that Mr. Bolts was returning to Benâres with greater power than before, that he was even ſet out, and a variety of other falſhoods, in order to miſlead the Nabob, and beſt anſwer their own purpoſes. Coja Melcombe, in particular, had a conſtant correſpondence at Calcutta; and I have intelligence, which I believe may be depended on, that he has lately reported at the Nabob's court, "that "he was going to enter into Mr. Rumbold's ſervice, or had entered into it, and would "bring a letter from the Council, that no Engliſh Gomaſtah ſhould be licenſed ex- "cept himſelf;" every circumſtance of which is utterly falſe, and the news is not four days old. The Armenians, indeed, in general, ſeem to have adopted a ſyſtem of fixing themſelves in the Nabob's dominions, as they were formerly at Murſhed-abad; and though the Nabob has, on account of ſome of their mal-practices, forbid them his province, yet, as Engliſh Gomaſtahs, he is, perhaps, cautious of expelling them. How far this circumſtance may be worthy of your attention, you will be the moſt proper judge; but, as a fact, I thought it neceſſary to lay it before you.

I learnt a circumſtance at Benâres, concerning Mr. Bolts's manner of paſſing his fleets, which may not be improper to communicate; he procured, laſt year, a conſiderable number of Duſtucks from Mr. Middleton, for ſaltpetre, tincal, &c. and as ſome of theſe Duſtucks have lately been ſeen in Coja Melcombe's hands, it is probable he avails himſelf of theſe.

No.

No. 116.

Extract of a letter from the Preſident and Council of Fort William, in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated December 10th, 1767.

We are now come to a ſubject which calls for your moſt ſerious conſideration: it relates to the conduct of Mr. William Bolts, lately in your ſervice, and we think it proper to introduce it here, as it requires a full exertion of the privileges granted in the royal charter to you, and delegated to your repreſentatives in India, to repreſent, in a proper manner, the inſult given to our government in the perſon of our Preſident, and the daring attempt not only to leſſen our influence in the country, whereby your intereſt would infallibly ſuffer, but alſo to deſtroy that harmony which now ſo happily prevails in your councils. Theſe purpoſes, ſo unnatural to a Britiſh ſubject, who had acquired an opulent fortune in your ſervice *, Mr. Bolts has attempted to effect by perſonal addreſſes to our Board, and ſecret correſpondences carried on through the means of Armenian agents, at the courts of Sujah al Dowlah, and of other princes †.

We acquainted you, in our laſt letter, that, in conſequence of a reſolution taken by the Select Committee regarding Mr. Bolts, we had ſent him poſitive orders to return to Europe this ſeaſon. Some time after, we received a long letter from Chinſura, at which place he frequently reſided for ſome time paſt, informing us, with much freedom of ſtyle, that, if we would take his concerns, and thoſe of his conſtituents, off his hands, he would comply with our directions.

The inſolence of his reply induced us not only to repeat our orders, but, on his return to town, to forbid him quitting the colony until the time of his embarkation arrived; in defiance of which he immediately withdrew from the Preſidency, and returned to Chinſura, from whence he ſent us a moſt inſulting letter, reflecting upon the character of our Preſident, and of ſeveral of the members of our Board. This was accompanied by a long addreſs to you, the abſurdity and malice of which is too evident to require any ſtrictures from us; we ſhall therefore forward it without remarks a number in the packet. The meaſures we had recourſe to on this occaſion were theſe; firſt, unanimouſly to aſſure the Preſident, that we approved of the whole of his conduct, during the courſe of his proceedings with regard to Mr. Bolts, and that we entertained the warmeſt reſentment againſt Mr. Bolts for preſuming upon ſo libellous and unjuſt an attack upon the character of our Governor ‡; and next to determine on repeating our peremptory orders to him to proceed to Europe without delay; with which if he refuſes compliance, we ſhall ſeize him by force, and ſend him priſoner on one of the ſhips of this ſeaſon. The expediency of fulfilling this reſolution becomes more evident from the intelligence which we have ſince received of his informing Monſieur Gentil, a Frenchman at the court of Sujah al Dowlah, by letter, that the Company's affairs in Europe were in the utmoſt confuſion; and that his aſſociate Mr. Johnſtone, as he terms him, would be appointed Governor here on the part of his majeſty. An atteſted copy of this letter appears on our Conſultations, and the original is now in the hands of Col. Smith. Several other letters to different people in power at the Hindoſtan courts have been ſeen.

* Mr. Bolts was little more than ſix years a ſervant to the Company in Bengal, during which he acquired a fortune of 90,000l.—Vide Conſiderations, p. 12.

† Appendix, p. 204. No. 115. &c. &c. ‡ Appendix, p. 201 and 202.

No.

No. 117.

Extract of a letter from the Select Committee to Colonel Smith, dated Fort William, December 22d, 1767.

We very much approve of the information you have ſent us, regarding Mr. Bolts's conduct in the carrying on a correſpondence with Monſieur Gentil at the court of Sujah al Dowlah, and have laid the ſame before the Council; whoſe ſentiments, as well as ours, we with pleaſure obſerve, entirely concur with thoſe you have expreſſed on that ſubject. We requeſt you will uſe your endeavours with the Nabob, to remove Mr. Bolts's Gomaſtahs from his dominions.

No. 118.

Extract of a letter from General Smith to Mr. Verelſt, dated Meer Abzuls', March 9th, 1768.

After the very ſtrong repreſentations made by Sujah al Dowlah to me, concerning Armenians and other Gomaſtahs, you will be ſurpriſed when I tell you, that to one of thoſe very men whom, two months ſince, he intended to chaſe from the country by a guard of Engliſh Sepoys, he has lately granted a penſion of three hundred * rupees per month. I have heard that † Purſeet Roy has ſome communication with ‡ Coja Petruſe.

No. 119.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Harper to Mr. Verelſt, dated Faiz-abad, March 20th, 1768.

His excellency deſired me to acquaint you, that he eſteems himſelf much obliged for the care you are at to prevent any perſons taking on them the Engliſh name to the prejudice of his ſervants. His excellency's reply to your letter I have juſt received, and now incloſe. Coja Rafael, the § Armenian, was lately taken into the Nabob's ſervice, through the influence of the phyſician Meer Muſhallah, and allowed three hundred * rupees per month. I ſhall take particular care, to ſee that his excellency's order for ſending the two Armenians away be properly enforced.

No. 120.

Extract of ditto, dated Faiz-abad, March 29th, 1768.

I had the honour to addreſs you on the 20th inſtant, on the ſubject of the Armenians, and encloſing a ſtatement of the Nabob's military force. I am now to acquaint you, that his excellency being informed that the two Armenians, Rafael and Eſteven, intended, inſtead of complying with his orders to go down, to remove from hence to Ferruck-abad, applied to me the day before yeſterday for a guard to apprehend them. I immediately ſent Sepoys, and the Armenians are now in cuſtody. His excellency has deſired me to let them remain ten days to ſettle their buſineſs, and then ſend them priſoners to Patna, which I ſhall accordingly do.

* 37 *l.* 10 *s.* † Sujah al Dowlah's Vakeel at Calcutta.

‡ A principal Armenian inhabitant of Calcutta, mentioned in the caſe of Parſeek Arratoon; ſee Introduction, p. 24. and brother to Coja Gregore, one of Meer Coſſim's moſt active generals, in his war with the Engliſh in the year 1763.

§ One of Mr. Bolts's agents, now in England.

No.

No. 121.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Mr. William Bolts, dated Calcutta, March 31ſt, 1768.

SIR

I have received your letter of the 30th inſtant, and am to acquaint you that I know of no orders for impeding the buſineſs of your Gomaſtahs in particular, in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah or Bulwant Sing. Repeated complaints have been received from thoſe two princes of the oppreſſive conduct of Gomaſtahs taking the Engliſh name and carrying on trade in their countries. The honourable Company have been pleaſed to expreſs their orders for the poſitive prohibition to their ſervants of all trade whatever in thoſe provinces, and the Preſidency of Fort William have reſolved to put a ſtop to it in future, by a recall of all ſuch Gomaſtahs. How far, or by what right, your Gomaſtahs can be allowed to continue there after the time already allotted you for the adjuſtment of your concerns, muſt be determined by the government here.

I am your moſt obedient ſervant

(Signed) H. VERELST.

No. 122.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelſt to Mr. William Bolts, dated Calcutta, April 9th, 1768.

SIR,

I have your letters of the 2d and 7th inſtant, and am again to repeat to you that the reſolutions taken and the orders given for recalling the Engliſh Gomaſtahs in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, were general, not particular; but that as the names of ſuch perſons came to my knowledge, it became neceſſary to point them out.

No. 123.

Extract of Fort Willium Conſultations, dated the 4th May, 1768.

Colonel Smith delivers the following minute:

Colonel Smith having peruſed the Proceedings of the Select Committee, as well as the Reſolutions of Council, concerning Mr. Bolts, he now takes this firſt opportunity of expreſſing in perſon to the Board, thoſe ſentiments he wrote to the Select Committee in his letter of December 11th, 1767*. It appears from the Conſultations of the 5th of November, 1767 †, that you determined to repeat the former orders for Mr. Bolts to proceed to England; and, in caſe of diſobedience to thoſe orders and contempt of your authority, that his perſon ſhould be ſeized, and ſent home priſoner in one of the ſhips of laſt ſeaſon.

I have carefully examined your records, in order to diſcover if the poſterior conduct of Mr. Bolts had been ſuch as to induce you to poſtpone your former reſolution, but find your reſolution ſtands unrevoked and unexecuted.

It appears alſo from the Proceedings of the Select Committee, that Mr. Bolts, ever ſince your reſolution of the 5th November, has been correſponding with the country powers; this correſpondence is wiſely and expreſly prohibited to individuals by the orders of our honourable maſters‡. If you had not already entered into a reſolution of ſending Mr. Bolts to Europe, moſt undoubtedly I would have made ſuch a motion; but when I read an unanimous decree of your Board for taking ſuch meaſures on this

* Appendix, p. 203. No. 113. † Appendix, p. 201 and 202. ‡ Introduction, p. 38.

occaſion

occaſion as appear abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſervice, I cannot but conjure you, gentlemen, to enforce obedience to your reſolutions, to ſupport the dignity of government; for, ſhould we ſuffer Mr. Bolts with impunity to bid defiance to our authority, the conſequences are ſo very obvious, that to mention them is unneceſſary. I do therefore move, That the reſolution of the Board of the 5th November, 1767, ſhall be carried into execution, and, in caſe of diſobedience to your orders on the part of Mr. Bolts, that he ſhall poſitively be ſent priſoner to Europe on the firſt ſhip which ſhall be diſpatched from this Preſidency.

(Signed) RICHARD SMITH.

The Board ſtill adhere to their former reſolution of ſending Mr. Bolts to England,——

It is therefore Agreed and Reſolved, That he ſhall be ſent to England by the firſt ſhip that is diſpatched this ſeaſon.

No. 124.

Copy of a letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn (acting miniſter to the Nabob of Bengal) to Mr. Verelſt; incloſing Mr. Bolts's Proclamation. Recorded on Fort William Conſultations, the 15th of Auguſt, 1768.

Coja Rafâel and Coja Eſtevân, two Armenians, who were under the cuſtody of Captain Harper, and ſent by him to Colonel Barker, and by the Colonel delivered to Maha Rajah Seetabroy, and by Seetabroy conducted hither to me, are now at Murſhed-abad. Mr. Bolts iſſues a writing in the ſtyle of a public order, or proclamation, to all ranks of people; and affixes his ſeal upon the face thereof, in manner of a Firmaun, and ſends it hither. The ſenſe of it is, that whoſoever ſhall impriſon or moleſt the aforeſaid Armenians, ſhall be anſwerable for all his ballances and outſtanding concerns. A copy of the writing is incloſed for your peruſal, and the original is depoſited with Mr. Sykes. I cannot comprehend what Mr. Bolts could propoſe by ſuch a writing. The Armenians are both here; conſequently, what Mr. Bolts has written is directly levelled at the Nizâm, (Nabob) and the executive officers of the government acting under me; and there never was an inſtance yet of any one who wrote in ſuch a ſtyle to the Nizâm, and the officers of the government.

Copy of a PROCLAMATION *under Mr. Bolts's Hand and Seal.*

"BE IT KNOWN AND SIGNIFIED—Whereas I have appointed Coja Rafâel Uſannes Padry to collect my ballances and outſtanding debts, and to get together all my concerns in trade, which are now diſperſed abroad in divers places. The aforeſaid perſon will collect in the ballances from the ſeveral Aſſammies, according to juſtice and equity, and will alſo get together and bring away all ſuch concerns in trade as are there outſtanding on my account. Whoever, therefore, ſhall, without cauſe or pretence, impede and hinder this buſineſs, or any way moleſt the aforeſaid perſon, he ſhall become reſponſible for my ballances and outſtanding concerns, and I will take due account of my affairs from him. I have written this by way of declaration."

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS. (L. S.)

No.

No. 125.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated Auguſt 26th, 1765.

The Preſident acquainted the Board, as a farther proof of the miſconduct of Mr. Bolts, that Mr. Baber, when ſub-ſecretary, had reported to him that Mr. Bolts, inſtead of duly executing the covenants ſent out by the Company, prohibiting any of their ſervants receiving preſents, did elude their orders, and, inſtead of executing them himſelf, employed a writer to ſign his name for him, who was alſo one of the ſubſcribing witneſſes to the deed.

The Board calling upon Mr. Baber to give his information in this point, he acquainted them as follows:—When I was ſub-ſecretary, Mr. Bolts came to me at the ſecretary's office in the council houſe, and after telling me he had ſomething of importance to ſay to me, he took me aſide, and aſked me, "if I could let him ſee his "covenants ſent out by the Company, prohibiting their ſervants accepting preſents; "to which I replied I could." He then deſired me to go into a room where there were not any gentlemen writing; I took him into the council room, and after ſhewing him his covenants, he requeſted me, in the moſt earneſt manner, "*to execute them* "*afreſh*;" alledging, as a reaſon for making this requeſt, "that the ſigning was not "his own but his writer's; and this circumſtance was known to Mr. Sage, who he "was apprehenſive would make it public." I told him, "it was not in my power "to grant him ſuch a requeſt," and peremptorily refuſed him; after this denial he then requeſted, "*I would keep this matter a profound ſecret*;" I told him, "as long "as I could do it conſiſtently with my duty to my employers I would; but if it "ſhould ever be of conſequence to diſcloſe this matter I muſt look upon this pro-"miſe to be void."

No. 126.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated September 5th, 1768.

Mr. Baber delivered in his information upon oath as follows:

That in or about the month of September, which was in the year of our Lord 1766, he, the ſaid Edward Baber, being then ſub-ſecretary to the ſaid United Company's Preſident and Council at Fort William, in Bengal aforeſaid, William Bolts of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal aforeſaid, came to him the ſaid Edward Baber at the ſecretary's office in the Council-houſe at Calcutta aforeſaid, and then and there told him the ſaid Edward Baber, that he the ſaid William Bolts had ſomething of importance to ſay to him the ſaid Edward Baber, and then the ſaid William Bolts took the ſaid Edward Baber aſide, and aſked, if he could let him, the ſaid William Bolts, ſee his covenants, meaning the deed of covenants made, or mentioned to be made, between him the ſaid William Bolts of the one part, and the ſaid United Company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, of the other part, and bearing date on or about the 9th day of May, which was in the year of our Lord 1765, and which was ſent out from England by the ſaid United Company, in order to prohibit their ſervants from accepting of preſents from any of the Nabobs or other princes in India, &c. to which the ſaid Edward Baber anſwered he could; whereupon, the ſaid William Bolts, deſired him the ſaid Edward Baber, to go with him the ſaid William Bolts, into a room where there were not any gentlemen writing, upon which he, the ſaid Edward Baber, went with the ſaid William Bolts into the Council-room, and then and there ſhewed him the ſaid William Bolts, the ſaid deed of covenants; whereupon, the ſaid William Bolts requeſted him the ſaid Edward Baber,

in the moſt earneſt manner, to permit him the ſaid William Bolts, to execute that deed afreſh, or over again, and to allow him the ſaid William Bolts, to take the ſaid deed home with him for that purpoſe, meaning to his the ſaid William Bolts's own houſe, wherein he then lived, at Calcutta aforeſaid, alledging, the reaſon for making that requeſt, *that the ſigning was not his own, but his writer's*; meaning, that the name of him the ſaid William Bolts, as it then appeared to be ſigned and wrote, or ſet and ſubſcribed to the ſaid deed, *was not of his the ſaid William Bolts's own proper hand writing*, but that the ſame was ſigned and wrote, or ſet and ſubſcribed, by his the ſaid William Bolts's writer; *and that the circumſtance, or fact, was known by Mr. Sage*, meaning one Iſaac Sage, who was then in the ſervice of the ſaid United Company, who the ſaid William Bolts ſaid *he was apprehenſive would make it public, and turn it to the prejudice of him the ſaid William Bolts*, or expreſſed himſelf in words to that or the like purport or effect; whereupon, the ſaid Edward Baber then told him the ſaid William Bolts, that it was not in the power of him the ſaid Edward Baber, to grant or comply with the beforementioned requeſt of the ſaid William Bolts; upon which, the ſaid William Bolts made uſe of ſeveral arguments, in order to induce and prevail upon him the ſaid Edward Baber to grant or comply with the ſaid William Bolts' beforementioned requeſt, amongſt other things inſinuating, *that it might be done without ever coming to the knowledge of the Preſident, or any of the Council* at Fort William in Bengal aforeſaid; whereupon the ſaid Edward Baber, in order to free himſelf from any farther importunities of him the ſaid William Bolts, then told the ſaid William Bolts, that he the ſaid Edward Baber was of a different opinion, and alſo that he thought it inconſiſtent with his duty; but in caſe he the ſaid William Bolts had a mind, they would go and conſult Mr. Campbell upon it, meaning one Alexander Campbell, then in Calcutta aforeſaid, in the ſervice of the ſaid United Company, and who was a particular friend and acquaintance of him the ſaid William Bolts; but he the ſaid William Bolts then rejected that offer or propoſal, and begged that the ſaid Alexander Campbell might not be made acquainted with the before mentioned affair or tranſaction, whereupon the ſaid Edward Baber peremptorily refuſed to permit the ſaid William Bolts to execute the ſaid deed afreſh, or over again, or to allow him to carry the ſame home with him to his the ſaid William Bolts' own houſe for that purpoſe; and thereupon the ſaid William Bolts moſt importunately ſolicited him the ſaid Edward Baber *to keep the before mentioned matter or tranſaction a profound ſecret*, upon which the ſaid Edward Baber then and there told the ſaid William Bolts, that ſo long as he could keep it a ſecret conſiſtently with his duty to his employers, meaning the ſaid United Company and their Preſident and Council at Fort William aforeſaid, he would, but if it ſhould be of conſequence to diſcover that matter of tranſaction, the ſaid Edward Baber would look upon that promiſe to be void, and inconſiſtent with his duty to his before mentioned employers.

No. 127.

Copy of a Paper affixed to the door of the Council houſe at Calcutta, between the 5th and the 19th September, 1768.

To the PUBLIC.

Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public, that the want of a printing preſs in this city being of great diſadvantage in buſineſs, and making it extremely difficult to communicate ſuch intelligence to the community as is of the utmoſt importance

portance to every Britiſh ſubject, he is ready to give the beſt encouragement to any perſon or perſons who are verſed in the buſineſs of printing, and will undertake to manage a preſs, the types and utenſils of which he can produce.

In the mean time he begs leave to inform the public that, having in manuſcript many things to communicate, which moſt intimately concern every individual, any perſon, who may be induced by curioſity, or other more laudable motives, will be permitted, at Mr. Bolts' houſe, to read or take copies of the ſame; a perſon will give due attendance at the houſe from ten to twelve every morning.

No. 128.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated September 13th, 1768.

The Board came to the following reſolution:——

Mr. William Bolts having obſtinately refuſed complying with our frequent and repeated orders to return to England; having perſiſted to inſult our authority and government, and to ſubvert the principles of ſubordination; having aggravated every circumſtance of his conduct, which is ſtrongly pointed out and repreſented in our Conſultations of 5th November, 1767, and which then made us deem it neceſſary, for the ſupport of our authority, and for the preſervation of the peace, order, and tranquility of this ſettlement, and throughout the honourable Company's poſſeſſions in Bengal, to reſolve on ſeizing his perſon, and forcibly ſending him home, it became more particularly incumbent on the Board to enforce theſe orders;—

And it is accordingly Agreed and Reſolved, to ſend Mr. Bolts home a priſoner on board the Valentine, if he refuſes to comply with our orders; and Captain Purvis having expreſſed to the Preſident ſome doubts how far he may be made reſponſible for the execution of ſuch a meaſure, Mr. Bolts having already ſerved Captain Purvis with a proteſt againſt taking him on board the Valentine, the Board, in order to remove every apprehenſion which Captain Purvis ſeems to entertain of the conſequence of detaining him, do farther Agree, as the agents and repreſentatives of the Company, to give Captain Purvis an indemnification for his ſatisfaction, and from that conſideration only, as they are well convinced of the legality of ſuch a meaſure, that it will meet with the approbation of the honourable the Court of Directors, as well as thoſe ſimilar meaſures which were taken in the year 1766, with regard to the officers who reſigned and were ſent home.

No. 129.

Captain Robert Coxe's Report to the Board, in reſpect to his taking charge of Mr. Bolts.

Calcutta, Sept. 23d, 1768.

That finding the doors open he went up ſtairs, and found Mr. Bolts alone, and ſhewing him the Board's order Mr. Bolts ſaid he would not leave his houſe unleſs Captain Coxe made him a priſoner and forced him; the Captain telling him he was glad to find him ſo well prepared to leave the place, he ſaid he had expected he ſhould be forced away, and had been very buſy in getting himſelf in readineſs. After this Captain Coxe thinking he made a very unneceſſary delay, and fearing he intended to procure himſelf to be arreſted for debt, deſired him to make diſpatch, upon which he again ſaid he would not go unleſs Captain Coxe forced him. Whereupon the Captain called two Sepoys, who put their hands on his ſhoulder by his own deſire, ſaying, he would not go if they did not take hold of him; he

then came down ſtairs, deſiring ſome gentlemen preſent to take notice that he was forced out of his houſe. Captain Coxe adds, that Mr. Bolts was, in every reſpect, prepared for this order, having his books and papers in great form, which he delivered to his attornies, telling them, that every thing was ſo plain they could not miſtake, obſerving that plain directions were given as to ſuch debts as they were to get in.

No. 130.

Extract of an additional Letter from the Preſident and Council at Fort William, in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated September 24th, 1768, and ſent by the Valentine.

We beg leave to add a circumſtance relative to Mr. Bolts, that has happened ſince cloſing our diſpatches. We informed you in our letter, we had directed him to be ſent by force to England, if he refuſed to comply with our orders; we imagined he did refuſe to comply with them, and Captain Robert Coxe was ordered to ſeize him with a guard, and carry him on board the Cuddalore ſchooner, which was prepared to receive him and his neceſſaries, but was particularly cautioned that, in performing this ſervice, he ſhould force no doors, locks, or windows, and uſe as little violence as the nature of the caſe would admit. Mr. Bolts has been accordingly conducted on board the Cuddalore ſchooner, and is now proceeding to be embarked on board the Valentine, in order to be ſent to England; and we muſt beg leave to obſerve to you, gentlemen, that it appears, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that his aim has been to reduce us to the neceſſity of taking this meaſure; he had prepared himſelf for the voyage; and he had, we are informed, all his papers and every thing neceſſary ready, in order to embark, when he was ſeized by Captain Coxe.

On the REVENUES.

No. 131.

To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, Preſident and Governor, &c. Gentlemen of the Select Committee.

My Lord and Gentlemen, Calcutta, Sept. 13th, 1765.

In conſequence of your appointment of me to the Supra-viſorſhip of the Burdwan affairs, I immediately applied myſelf to the examination of the accounts of the revenues of that country, as far as they had been tranſmitted to the Board, from the Company's firſt taking poſſeſſion of that province. The following is a ſummary ſtatement thereof, ſpecifying each year's demands and payments.

Dr. Burdwan Revenues, 1761. Cr.

	Rupees.		Rupees.
To balance of 1760 -	511000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3304881 : 12 : 6
Malguzarry 1761 - -	3250000 : 0 : 0	*Balance due - - - -	456118 : 3 : 6
	3761000 : 0 : 0		3761000 : 0 : 0

Dr.

Dr. Burdwan Revenues, 1762. Cr.

	Rupees.		Rupees.
Malguzarry 1762 -	3400000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3521635 : 8 : 0
An overplus - - -	121635 : 8 : 0		
	3521635 : 8 : 0		

Dr. Burdwan Revenues, 1763. Cr.

Malguzarry 1763 - -	3400000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3344200 : 0 : 0
		Ballance due - - - -	55800 : 0 : 0
			3400000 : 0 : 0

Dr. Burdwan Revenues, 1764. Cr.

Malguzarry 1764 - -	3200000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts - - -	3149737 : 4 : 3
		Ballance due - - - -	50262 : 11 : 9
			3200000 : 0 : 0

Dr. *The Burdwan Rajah Account Ballances.* Cr.

To amount ballance	1761	456118 : 3 : 6	An overplus 1762 - -		121635 : 8 : 0
	1763	55800 : 0 : 0	Ballance - - - - -		440545 : 7 : 3
	1764	50262 : 11 : 9			
		562180 : 15 : 3			562180 : 15 : 3

Which will be accounted for as follows - - - - - - - - - -		440545 : 7 : 3
Deduct Mudge-kiraut for the year 1761, allowed to the Conguy's and other officers, neglected to be ſtruck off the Malguzarry in the above ſtatement of that year - - - - - - - - - - - -		51103 : 6 : 0
		389442 : 1 : 3
Deduct Poolbundy advanced for repairs of dykes, roads, &c. to be paid by them - - - - - - - -	41000 : 0 : 0	
Difference of Batta on monies remitted, which the Rajah accuſes the Podars of the Calcutta treaſury of not having brought to account, and which he engages to prove, if not, he is to pay the ſame - - - - -	45426 : 10 : 0	
		86426 : 10 : 0
		303015 : 7 : 3
Deduct caſh paid into the treaſury from June 30th to July 6th - -		162752 : 0 : 0
Rupees,		140263 : 7 : 3

By the above ſtatement you will obſerve, that, at the cloſe of the fourth year, there was immediately due from the Rajah rupees 303015 : 7 : 3, which I demanded of him, inſiſting on the full payment of it before we came to any ſettlement for the preſent year. He made many objections to a compliance, particularly remarking, that, as he had been

been diveſted of all power and influence in the collections, he thought it unjuſt to be obliged to anſwer for any loſſes and deficiencies in the revenues which have aroſe from the bad conduct of thoſe who had the management. However, as I perſiſted in his complying with the Malguzarry he had agreed for, he at length conſented, and paid into the treaſury the ſum of rupees 162,752 in part of his ballance, and executed an obligation to pay the remainder rupees 140,263:7:3 in two months, which I accepted, and deſired him to proceed to Burdwan, and that I ſhould, in conſequence of my appointment, immediately follow him. The ſum of rupees 41,000, lent by the Company, under the head of Poolbundy, to the tenants, for the neceſſary repairs of dykes, roads, &c. is ſtill outſtanding, and, when due, will be collected and brought to the Company's credit. In the ſettling the accounts there appears a deficiency of rupees 45,426:10, which the Rajah complains of as owing to the roguery of thoſe people in Calcutta appointed to ſhroff and receive the money, and which I cannot think him any ways anſwerable for, as it is evident the whole was diſpatched from Burdwan. The Rajah has ſince paid part of the bond he gave for rupees 140,263:7:3, and I make no doubt but he will ſhortly diſcharge the whole.

On my arrival at Burdwan, and inſpecting the ſtate of the revenues and collections for the preceding as well as the preſent year, I was ſurpriſed to find a large decreaſe of the revenues from the firſt of our taking poſſeſſion. The rents of the province, according to the Jummabundy, or rent-roll, of 1168, or 1761, amounted to rupees 3,724,474:10:8, which by the *outcry of 1169, were encreaſed rupees 529,034:1:11, alſo by Chaukeran Balguzarry affairs (or lands allotted for ſervants, reſumed this year) rupees 103,825, making in all rupees 4,357,334:0:7, out of which rupees 3,785:4:4 were deducted for the Rajah's Nuncar in one of the Purgunnahs, the ſum therefore due was rupees 4,353,548:12:3, of which were collected from the farmers rupees 3,460,985:1:8. For the year 1170, or 1763, the ſame Jummabundy and with ſome ſmall articles of encreaſe, came to rupees 4,481,035:10:15, of which were collected rupees 3,719,464:9:4. The very great ballances of theſe two years, amounting to rupees 1,654,134:12:6, made the honourable Board ſenſible of the impoſſibility of the then farmers complying with their agreements, and that the lands could not be made to produce any thing equal to the valuation in conſequence of the * outcry in 1169; they therefore iſſued an order, whereby thoſe who choſe it might relinquiſh or keep their farms on making good their ballances out of their private fortunes, and that ſuch as were not able ſhould have their farms taken from them, and their goods ſold to do it. Many were glad to take advantage of the firſt order, altho' certain ruin attended it; and many more were obliged to ſubmit to the latter, by which lands to the amount of rupees 2,615,434:4:4 became Coſs. The diſadvantages of collecting in that manner were ſo evident, that it was reſolved to endeavour to farm them out again for the third year on the beſt terms that could be procured. The examples, however, of the two former years were ſufficient to prevent men of ſubſtance and credit from offering themſelves; ſo that only to the amount of rupees 580,429:4:0 was taken at a conſiderable diſcount from the former Jumma or valuation, although the moſt profitable were ſelected out of the whole by the Muttaſeddees, who were well acquainted with what they would produce. The reſt, amounting to rupees 2,035,034:4:0, ſtill continued Coſs, and Sheikdars, or collectors were appointed to them, people in every reſpect as unworthy and infamous in their characters as the purchaſers of the year 1169, who had been juſt diſmiſſed, by which the expences in collecting were very conſiderably encreaſed. The Jummabundy of 1171, including an encreaſe this year of rupees 3013:9:16, amounted to rupees 4,484,049:4:11 out of which is to be deducted rupees 12,744:4:18 for loſſes ſuſtained by hail, &c. ſo that rupees 4,471,304:15:13 remained due; of this ſum was only collected rupees 3,512,39:33:0, ſo that there appears to be a ballance for

* Public ſale.

for the firſt year of rupees 892,563:10:15; for the ſecond, rupees 761,571:1:11; and for the third, rupees 958,911:12:13, making together, for the three years for which the lands were ſold at outcry, a deficiency in the eſtimation made from the ſales of 1169 of rupees 2,613,046:8:19. Out of the ballance of the third year, the ſum of rupees 554,124:6:14 ariſes from the Coſs-lands only, a ſum much larger than the amount-advances bid at the outcry, not a rupee of which can ever be recovered, as the revenues of theſe lands are collected by ſervants appointed for that purpoſe, whoſe duty it was to pay into the treaſury—only what they receive from the tenants, on ſettling whoſe accounts no farther demand could be made upon them. From the above account you will obſerve how very ſhort of what was eſtimated in 1169 the real produce of the province has been, and how little proſpect there was of its mending; nor do I think it can be otherwiſe whilſt the ſame plan of an outcry is purſued. The being put into immediate poſſeſſion of lands, of which the purchaſer is to have the ſole collection, independent of the Rajah and his officers, or the chief and Council, on his agreeing to pay into the Cutcherry a certain ſum, is a ſufficient inducement for men of deſperate fortunes, ſuch as have no method of livelihood, and who, by their mal-practices in other parts, were incapable of getting employment, to come and offer themſelves as purchaſers, thereby ſecuring an immediate ſubſiſtence, and hoping by their oppreſſion to get ſome profit, even ſhould they buy in the lots too dear to obtain any thing by them in a fair way; and as the ſale was public, no bidder could there be conſiſtently objected to. With theſe views, they cared not what they bid; and while the *old farmers, who had poſſeſſion, perhaps, from* father to ſon for many years paſt, continued to riſe in their offers, and probably exceeded the real value of the lands, rather than be turned out of what they eſteemed their eſtates and habitations, and inſulted by new comers; theſe laſt always thought they could afford ſomething more: thus the greateſt part of the province fell into the hands of a ſet of rapacious wretches, who revelled in the produce of the lands which ought to have been paid into the Cutcherry; the conſequence of which was, that, at the cloſe of the year 1170, a moſt enormous ballance was incurred, as has been above remarked, and the Ryots, who had been oppreſſed by the head farmers, and many ruined, were obliged to deſert their lands which then became uncultivated. The ſubſtantial farmers, who, rather than quit their habitations, had purchaſed at the outcry, at an exorbitant rate, were obliged to relinquiſh their farms on making good the ballances out of their private fortunes, by which many were ruined, whilſt all the ſatisfaction that could be obtained from the others, was to turn them out, without hopes of ever recovering any thing from them.

It is a circumſtance that muſt appear evident to every one who reflects on the nature of this ſcheme, how prejudicial it will ultimately prove to the country. If the leaſes are granted for ſo ſhort a time, it only ſerves as an incitement to ill-diſpoſed people to take them; having no concern in the future ſucceſs and welfare of the country, they pay no regard to any thing but the enriching themſelves at the expence and to the detriment of the induſtrious Ryot, by which the lands ſoon become neglected and uncultivated. It is a known cuſtom here for the farmers, who are deſirous of encreaſing the number of their tenants, and promoting the good of their country, to aſſiſt them from time to time with money towards purchaſing the neceſſary implements for cultivation, as well as to ſupport their families till the produce of their lands enable them to ſupport themſelves, and which I have never known repaid in leſs than three years. It is not, therefore, to be expected that people in the above circumſtances ſhould attempt improvements at a certain loſs; on the contrary, when the lands are diſpoſed of at a moderate rent, to ſubſtantial and creditable people, to be held in perpetuity, it becomes their own intereſt, equally with that of the government, to encourage the cultivation.

After the heavy loſſes and real detriment the firſt outcry had proved of to the whole province, I was greatly ſurpriſed to find, on my arrival there, that it had been again expoſed to public ſale; however, purchaſers had only been found for about 22 lacks of rupees, ſo great was the prejudice taken at the former ſale, and the whole of that very conſiderably under the Jumma-bundy of 1169, excepting the farms lately held by Meſſrs. Johnſtone, Hay, and Bolts, on which a great advance was bid *; the reſt of the province, for which there were no bidders, became Coſs; the ſtatement of the revenues of theſe lands is as follows:

Chriſtian Æra,		Bengal Æra.	Rupees.	Annas.	Pice.
1760,	or	1167	1,014,242	1	4
1761,	-	1168	1,166,910	3	10
1762,	-	1169	1,272,85[illegible]	0	15
1763,	-	1170	1,272,854	0	15
1764,	-	1171	912,237	1	5

By which you will obſerve the great difference in the Jumma, or valuation of them, between 1169, and 1171, the firſt and the laſt years of the outcry, beſides the almoſt certainty, from the diſtreſs the lands were left in, of their decreaſing as much again in their value, if continued to be collected in this manner, and attended with a very conſiderable addition of expence in ſervants, &c. that muſt be employed in that ſervice. Such a proſpect of inevitable ruin I thought required ſome immediate ſtep to be taken. Nothing appearing ſo effectual as what I mentioned above, I endeavoured to engage men of ſubſtance and character to take the charge of them, with a promiſe, that if they exerted themſelves in the improvement, they ſhould never be diſpoſſeſſed, but meet with all due encouragement and favour from the Company. In conſequence of this many offered, and conſidering how far the ſeaſon was advanced, I thought no time ſhould be loſt in putting them into immediate poſſeſſion; and notwithſtanding the beſt part of the time for cultivation is elapſed, they have agreed to pay, within very little, what they yielded laſt year; the next year they give an encreaſe, the third a larger, and the fourth they will fully pay what they produced in 1167; after which, ſhould it be found neceſſary to lay any general encreaſe or tax upon the province, theſe people will ſubject themſelves thereto equally with others.

I make no doubt but the Company will receive this year from thirty-two to thirty-three lacks, which is as much as they have hitherto got upon a medium. The Rajah has already offered thirty-two for his Malguzarry; but as on a farther ſcrutiny into the ſeveral branches of the buſineſs, and diminiſhing the ſeveral very heavy charges at preſent upon the province, I may ſomewhat encreaſe it, I have hitherto deferred coming to any agreement with him; ſince, if I did, whatever ſhould ariſe, would of courſe go to him. I have already repreſented to him the great and unneceſſary charge of his troops, the monthly pay of which is rupees 22,000; the more ſo as the Company keep there a battalion of Sepoys for the ſervice of the province. He has ſtruck off 7000 rupees per month, and I am in great hopes I ſhall be able to leſſen this charge ſtill more.

The Bazee Zemeen, or charity lands, are ſaid to amount to between four and five lacks of Begas, great part of theſe it has been thought (and I believe with reaſon) to be miſapplied; the Board has repeatedly ordered a ſcrutiny to be made into the Sunnuds and claims, but I do not find it has ever yet been properly ſettled, and a tax was to have been laid on ſuch as, on examination, ſhould be found to be in the poſſeſſion of people no ways entitled thereto; laſt year the revenues fell ſo very

* For the Court of Directors ſentiments hereon, See extract of their letter to the Select Committee in Bengal.—Appendix, p. 137, paragraph 17.

ſhort

ſhort, and ſome expedient being thought neceſſary to raiſe more money, if poſſible, to complete the Company's Malguzarry, Mr. Johnſtone taxed the whole of this land at 9 Annas. per Bega, without regard to what was really applied to the purpoſes it was intended for, except ſome which Mr. Marriott had cleared during his ſhort ſtay at Burdwan: as theſe lands have ever been held ſacred and free from any impoſition, I muſt think ſo general an order would not have met with the ſanction of the Board, had the caſe been properly ſtated to them; but there appears to me to have been an abſolute neceſſity for ſome extraordinary meaſure, ſince the revenues of the country could not ſupply the Malguzarry, although at the ſame time the Board agreed to receive two lacks leſs than the Rajah had before ſettled; for the conſequence of this has been, that many of theſe lands have been left uncultivated, until very lately, on my aſſurances that ſuch as can prove their claims ſhall have their lands given up for the future; as many of theſe lands have become the property of people whoſe want of merit and qualifications to entitle them to ſuch an indulgence, ſerve but to make it a nurſery of indolence; and as the right of reverſion is veſted in the Rajah, I repreſented it to him, and have obtained in behalf of the Company the reverſion of what ſhall fall to him by death, until it amounts to one half of the whole, as a fund for the uſe and ſupport of ſuch invalided Sepoys and others, as have or may ſuffer in our ſervice: the better to ſecure this, as ſoon as poſſible, a regular regiſter of them is making.

On examining into the circumſtances of the principal farmers of the province, I found that the moſt conſiderable part of the lands was farmed by Muttaſeddees, and thoſe the moſt profitable ſelected out by them; it is through theſe people we are to acquire a knowledge into the ſtate of the country, the revenues and cuſtoms in collecting; and while they, by being ſuch extenſive farmers, have ſo large an intereſt, they do their utmoſt not only to keep us ignorant but alſo to deceive us in points of the greateſt conſequence; beſides which, being themſelves capable, and no doubt guilty of great frauds in their accounts, they are under the neceſſity of conniving at the ſame in others, to prevent a detection in themſelves. They are very ſenſible how theſe arguments may be uſed againſt them, and are the more cautious of letting it be known what lands they have; they, therefore, have a cuſtom of making ſeveral Gomaſtahs to take them, giving different people in their families for ſecurities; this is not only the cuſtom of the heads, but is followed by every petty Mohooree in each office; excluſive of which, the infamous practices uſed by them to obtain the lands at the outcry at an under rate, are moſt notorious. I would therefore recommend, that ſuch Muttaſeddees as hold a large quantity of lands, ſhould be obliged to quit them, or their offices, and that nobody holding any poſt be permitted to farm, except it be a very ſmall quantity for the conveniency of their houſe and family; I would, however, defer it till the beginning of next year, as the heavy collections are now coming on, and their quitting their farms immediately might be very prejudicial.

The obtaining a true knowledge of the revenues, and juſt valuation of the country, has ever been ſtrenuouſly recommended by the Company, but we have been very far from acquiring it. It was Mr. Johnſtone's opinion, as has been before remarked, that the beſt method was to expoſe the province to a public ſale, and that the amount that ſhould be bid, would fix its utmoſt value; however, excluſive of the many diſadvantages of this plan juſt explained, and which we have learnt from experience, there remains another very material objection, and which is the cauſe of the Muttaſeddees recommending it, viz. that it leads to no diſcovery of what they have hitherto concealed, as (ſuppoſing the juſtneſs of Mr. Johnſtone's argument) it can only fix the value of thoſe lands we are at preſent acquainted with; whereas, I believe, nobody doubts but by finding out the quantity of lands which really exiſt, the revenues coming into

the Sircar would be greatly encreaſed, I mean excluſive of what might be diſcovered in the Bazee Zemeen, which itſelf muſt be very conſiderable. The great quantity of lands in poſſeſſion of the different Muttaſeddees, have been ſelected out of the whole province as the moſt profitable, containing more cultivated ground, and producing a greater profit than is by moſt people imagined; theſe they ever kept amongſt themſelves, to prevent their real value being known. I would therefore recommend, that an account ſhould be made of every Purgunnah, and every village, haut, &c. in it, its Jumma, and the exact meaſurement of its lands, and as much of this laſt as poſſible to be executed by ſurveyors appointed by you; the Muttaſeddees have ever oppoſed this, and repreſented it as impracticable, becauſe they are ſenſible it muſt tend to their diſgrace, and the diminiſhing their advantages; but which, I am convinced, may be overcome, notwithſtanding every obſtacle from them is to be expected: it will be the more eaſy too when ſuch as chuſe to hold their offices are diveſted of their lands, and the reſt only farmers without the influence of office. The above objections which they have raiſed make it the more deſirable, ſince it is known they have their intereſt in avoiding it.

On my arrival at Burdwan I found the Rajah, as he had before aſſured me, quite unacquainted with the tranſactions and affairs of his country, and without the reſpect due to his office: his incapacity, and the neceſſity of our ſuperior influence and power, may be urged as a reaſon for it; but I think it will be better policy to make him fully acquainted with his affairs, and that a proper reſpect ſhould be paid him as Rajah; nor would I have him under ſuch an influence, as not to be able to make his complaints to Calcutta in any caſe where he may think himſelf aggrieved, as I am informed happened in Mr. Johnſtone's time, when, after having made his eſcape privately out of the province, he was obliged to return without being allowed a hearing; and his officers, who were bringing the papers, which were proofs of his grievances, were ſeized juſt entering Calcutta, by ſome of the factory Sepoys, and alſo carried back. At the ſame time I would not quit the leaſt jot of our power in the country. Nothing on his part can be done without our mutual conſent; and I find him both willing and ready to concur in every thing I propoſe. By ſupporting him on this footing we may with greater propriety make him accountable for any deficiency in the payment of the revenues than we could before. Although I have made him accountable for every rupee of the ballances of former years, yet I muſt ſay his complaints in Calcutta, of the hardſhip done him in obliging him to pay them, have been founded on too much reaſon. He cannot now plead the ſame; the Company will have a double ſecurity, the revenue itſelf, as the collections will ſtill continue to paſs through our hands, and the Rajah, in caſe of deficiency from the roguery of his people, employed.

I have been taking an account of the ballances of former years' rents due to the Rajah, which are very conſiderable. I ſhall collect as much of them as I can without oppreſſing the people, or any ways injuring the collections of this year, and recommend this as a fund for paying off his debts, which are very large. Many of his creditors have the whole of their fortunes in his hands; but amongſt the firſt to be conſidered, I would recommend Juggut Seêt, and one Gurdy Loll: the former, for his attachment to the Engliſh, and the ſufferings of his family on our account, I think deſerves our attention, and that we ſhould take this opportunity of manifeſting our regard for them; the latter, on our firſt taking poſſeſſion, as I have been informed, voluntarily lent the Rajah one lack of rupees †, which was paid into our treaſury at a time when, owing to the troubles in the country, the Rajah found great difficulty in collecting in his revenues; and although he was promiſed to be very ſhortly refunded, he has to this day received nothing.

The

† 12,500 l.

The raw ſilk of this province being of a better quality than that of Coſſimbazar, and the Company's demands for this article greater than before, I am giving every encouragement to encreaſe the produce of it. By letting the mulberry plantations at a leſs rent than in other countries, it will induce a number to employ their lands for this purpoſe, and largely encreaſe our revenues; for a ſpot of land with mulberry trees, and another with paddy, and the ground of both equal in goodneſs, the former will yield a rent from eight to twenty rupees, when the latter will not yield two rupees. The encreaſe of quantity will I hope decreaſe the price, when this article may be purchaſed for the Company at a reaſonable rate.

From the vicinity of the Burdwan province to the Preſidency, I cannot think the appointment of a factory any ways neceſſary. One perſon to reſide on the ſpot, who will, in conjunction with the Rajah and his officers, ſign all papers, and iſſue all orders, which regard the collections, is fully ſufficient, and which is at preſent the duty of the council in rotation. A ſupra-viſor may, as he ſees occaſion, go there to ſettle and regulate any matters that may occur, or ſend his directions from hence. If it is urged that theſe gentlemen preſide over the ſeveral courts of juſtice, and thereby relieve the poor, I muſt remark, that in ſo very large a diſtrict as this province, it is impoſſible to have the greateſt part of the complaints brought to Burdwan. It is therefore cuſtomary to iſſue directions to the Sheikdars, &c. in the Purgunnahs at the head of the petition, ordering them to enquire into it. Beſides which, as the gentlemen are obliged to inform themſelves through the ſervants and Banyans appointed to each office, I do not think it ſo neceſſary to have that number, as one might equally well attend to cauſes of any conſequence. I am the more inclined to recommend this change, as it would be a means of leſſening very conſiderably the expences of the factory. Whatever ſhall be recovered this way, inſtead of reverting to the Rajah, may be added to the Company's Malguzarry. Should your lordſhip, &c. think it neceſſary to purſue this meaſure, I beg leave to offer to your conſideration the fixing the neceſſary appointments on this occaſion, both to the ſupra-viſor and the aſſiſtant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST.

No. 132.

Courts eſtabliſhed in the province of Burdwan for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and collection of the revenue.

The like dminiſtration prevails nearly in all the provinces of Bengal.

Sudder Cutcherry.

In this court are received all the land-rents and revenues of the province, all accounts relative to them adjuſted, all purchaſes and ſales of lands and property confirmed, all differences between landlord and tenant heard and determined, and from hence all orders reſpecting the rents and revenues are iſſued.

Buxey Daftore.

This court ſuperintends the conduct of all the forces, guards, and other perſons employed for the protection of the province in general, the prevention of thefts and diſturbances of the peace of the inhabitants; and all orders reſpecting ſuch perſons are iſſued from this office: at the ſame time it provides for their pay and ſubſiſtence.

Fouzdarry.

The juriſdiction of this court is wholly confined to criminal matters, and the judgment of capital offences.

Burrah Adalat

Is a court of meum and tuum for all demands above 50 rupees, and does not interfere in any claims under the amount of that ſum.

Ameen Duftore

Is in a great meaſure a court ſubordinate to the Sudder Cutcherry, as all complaints are firſt made to the former, and referred from thence for trial to the latter. They relate entirely to the buſineſs of the revenue, and the conduct of thoſe employed in the collections.

Chootah Adelat

Takes cognizance of all ſuits for debts not exceeding the ſum of 50 rupees.

Bazee Zemeen Duftore.

Is a court for ſettling all differences relative to charity lands, and other pious ſupports. Each perſon's property in claims of this kind are aſcertained, and from hence all orders reſpecting them are iſſued.

Bazee Jumma Duftore.

This court takes cognizance of adulteries, abortions, and other crimes, that more immediately concern the peace and happineſs of private families, grants for lands, and public works for the accommodation of travellers, ſuch as Tanks, or ponds of water, Serais, or reſting places, &c. are iſſued from this court.

Karidge Duftore.

The landholders accounts, when ſettled, are ſent to this court for payment; and in ſuch caſes where the debtor is incapable of paying the amount, a power is lodged in this court to compromiſe the debt.

* * * *

ALL the proceedings of theſe COURTS, and evidence given (except in matters of a trifling nature) are recorded; and no orders of theſe courts in Burdwan can be executed, until approved and ſigned by the Rajah, or ſupreme governor of the province, and by the Engliſh reſident on the part of the Company as Dewan. This laſt regulation was found neceſſary to repreſs the extreme corruption which before prevailed. It muſt be confeſſed that this power is very great, although an improper uſe of it is in ſome meaſure prevented by the checks interpoſed. That the preſent ſyſtem of government is an improvement, may be ſeen from the flouriſhing ſtate of the province, and from the condition of the Company's revenues.

An appeal againſt the conduct of the reſident may at all times be made to the governor and council.

No. 133.

The Preſident's Minute, reſpecting the Calcutta lands.

I now beg leave to lay before you the reſult of my long and laborious reſearches into the Calcutta lands.

By

By the ſeveral accounts taken at different times of the meaſurement of the twenty-four Purgunnahs, it appears, that the whole of the lands amount to 1,082,543 Begas, and fifteen Cottas of ground*, which has been cultivated; but on account of charities, lands pretended to be deſerted, and others again ſecreted, not above two thirds of this meaſurement have actually paid rents to the Company.

A reſearch into the cauſe of this deficiency, (being well convinced that, inſtead of a decreaſe, there has been a conſiderable increaſe of the inhabitants on the Company's lands,) is what has particularly engaged my time and attention.

On an examination of the charity lands it appears, that when the Company received charge of theſe Purgunnahs, the total of lands aſſigned for this purpoſe (an account of which was delivered in by the Zemeendars themſelves) amounted to - - - - - - - - - - Begas. C. G. 217,452 : 19 : 8

ſince when there has been reſumed - - - 14,971 : 1 : 0

ſo that the total of the charity lands ſhould ſtand at - - 202,481 : 18 : 8

Inſtead of which it has, by ſome means, probably by the villainy of the black ſervants in office, increaſed ſince that time to no leſs than 263,702 Begas, 2 Cottas, 8 Gundas, by which the Company has been deprived of the annual rent of 61,220 Begas, 4 Cottas, 8 Gundas, moſt, if not all, of which has moſt probably been diſpoſed of amongſt the black ſervants in office, or their dependents.

In the account of theſe lands, it is ſaid that 25,679 Begas, 13 Cottas, have been lying uncultivated for a conſiderable time. As they were originally deſigned for, and appropriated to the immediate maintenance and ſupport of poor people, or to religious purpoſes, they could be of uſe only whilſt they were cultivated; and ought immediately, as they became neglected by the people who had the charge of them, to have been reſumed, according to the cuſtom of the country, by the Company. I judge a conſiderable addition might be made to the revenues by obliging every perſon to produce the Sunnud by which he is entitled to hold theſe lands. The amount of the lands allotted to the above charitable purpoſes, after reſuming the 61,220 Begas, 4 Cottas, 8 Gundas, I think is very conſiderable; for eſtimating the 202,481 Begas, 18 Cottas, 8 Gundas, at the medium rent of the other lands, the annual revenue will be no leſs than 314,638 rupees.

The amount of the Ryotty lands, or thoſe which are farmed out, appears on the Cutcherry books to be 591,172 Begas, 9 Cottas, producing an annual revenue of 1,012,305 rupees, 12 Annas. There have, moreover, ſtood under this head 29,363 Begas, 3 Cottas, 12 Gundas, ſaid to be uncultivated; but from the ſeveral examinations made therein, I am of opinion that it is moſtly cultivated, and ought to be brought to the immediate credit of the revenue. It alſo appears, that the lands held by the ſervants in office, and their dependents, have been eſtimated at a leſs rent than they ſhould have been by 15,877 rupees, 5 Annas, 13 Pice, which will likewiſe be brought to account; as I ſee no neceſſity for douceurs, where every man employed by the Company receives his monthly allowance. Nor can I trace by what authority they hold them at the low rate they have hitherto done.

Under the head of Commâr, or lands cultivated by contract, there appears to be 198,305 Begas, 19 Cottas, 12 Gundas. The amount of theſe lands muſt ever be uncertain, as the rents being paid in the products of the land, their value depends wholly on the ſale of ſuch products. However, eſtimating them on a medium by what they have hitherto yielded, their rents will amount to 291,842 rupees, 10 Annas, 11 Pice.

* The meaſurement of land in Bengal is thus eſtimated:
16 Gundas make 1 Cotta,
20 Cottas = 1 Bega, or about 16,000 ſquare feet.

From

From hence the preſent eſtimate of the land will ſtand as follows:

	Begas, Cottas, Gundas.				Rupees, Annas, Pice.
Charity,	61,220	4	0	Reſumed what was introduced under this head of which there is at preſent	
cultivated	35,540	11	0	to yield at a very low rent - -	43,720 6 19
Ryotty -	591,172	9	0	- Rupees 1,012,305 12 0	
Ditto, ſaid to be uncultivated, brought to account.	29,363	3	12	- - - 26,645 3 1	1,038,950 15 1
Commâr,	198,305	19	12	- - -	291,842 19 11
Charity lands untenanted	25,679	13	0	- - -	15,009 6 8
Lands held by the ſervants at an under rent				- - -	15,877 5 13
Tallook Darans, Rent fixt				- - -	258 11 0
Gaut Ektear-pore, Ditto				- - -	201 0 0
Charity lands paying no rent.	202,481	18	8	valued at - - -	1,405,862 7 12 314,638
Begas -	1,082,543	15	0		

This amount is what I think may be reaſonably expected for the 24 Purgunnahs, as you will be pleaſed to obſerve, that by the extreme low eſtimation I have put on all ſuch lands as are now reſumed, I allow a poſſibility of ſome not being immediately cultivated; but the anxious endeavours of the perſons who were the beſt acquainted with theſe lands, to conceal from me all they poſſibly could, convinces me that they are actually cultivated, and that the Company is unjuſtly deprived of its rights; for theſe people could, otherwiſe, have no intereſt in keeping from our knowledge their real ſtate. Indeed, from the beſt information I can obtain, there are ſcarcely any uncultivated, and if ſo, their rents ought to be immediately raiſed to the full rate of the other lands, which in general is much more reaſonable than in any other part of the country; as a proof of which I now lay before you the rents of two Purgunnahs in the Burdwan country.

In order to point out clearly where the lands lie, and to realize what I have above eſtimated, I have given a particular ſtatement of each Purgunnah; alſo the different rates at which the rents of the lands are collected, eſtimated from their ſeveral products. Likewiſe a liſt of the rates at which the rents of the Burdwan lands are collected, eſtimated from their products; by comparing which it will appear how low the Calcutta rents are to thoſe of Burdwan.

In the eſtimate I have before formed, by which the value of the lands appears to be 1,405,860 rupees, 7 Annas, 12 Pice. I made no addition on account of the three Purgunnahs not yet meaſured, Medunmull, Hatteâgur, and Borritch Dautty. Theſe, at the moſt reaſonable eſtimation, will yield an increaſe of 50,000 rupees, when their meaſurement is aſcertained, which I would recommend to be done as ſoon as poſſible.

The

The meaſurement of the Purgunnahs, Calcutta, Ballea, Maugora, and Cauſpore, requires an examination; as I am informed, that it has not been properly taken, and that they will admit of a conſiderable increaſe in the rents.

Theſe, together with the Batta of rupees, Bazee Jumma, or collections made in the Purgunnah Cutcherries, Salammies on weddings, and viſitations of the Dees, called Didarry, farms of Tuffauls, ſalt and wax, duties collected in the markets and Gauts, intereſt on money advanced for cultivation, repairs of dykes and bridges, rents of the Collarries, the fifteen Dees, and of Calcutta town, are none of them included in the eſtimation I have laid before you. They alſo require a particular ſcrutiny, as well as the expences attending the collections; and I am perfectly ſenſible that many lands are ſtill held at a low unequitable rent, though the intricacies and delays attending theſe matters have prevented my finding them out.

I likewiſe lay before you a ſtatement of the collections from May 1763, to the preſent time, by which you will ſee that there is due to the Company the ſum of 1,141,602 rupees, 10 Annas, 9 Pice, a great part of which I judge may be recovered.

The farmers who formerly rented the lands appear, on the adjuſtment of the ſeveral accounts, to be indebted to the Company, as per liſt incloſed, 35,148 Sicca rupees, 11 Annas, 5 Pice. This ſum ſhould be demanded, and brought to the Company's account; or if any particular conſiderations have been allowed them, the ſame ſhould appear in the Cutcherry books, and their accounts be finally cloſed.

As it will be impoſſible to fix the juſt value of the lands until their meaſurement and products can be aſcertained, I would recommend that as many capable ſurveyors as could be procured ſhould be employed on this buſineſs. They ſhould be directed to form a regiſter of all the Ryots, the quantity of land each holds, and the uſual product; when each Ryot might have inſerted in his Pottah the meaſurement of his lands, and the annual or monthly rent he is to pay. This will prevent the impoſitions of the black ſervants, or, if you farm the lands, any oppreſſion of the farmers.

The more I have examined into the ſtate of theſe Purgunnahs, the more I am convinced of the conſiderable improvements that may be made therein. I have communicated the diſcoveries I have made to ſeveral of the perſons who were appointed by the Select Committee to farm the lands, ſhould the Company let them out this year; and I believe they would willingly take them at a great increaſe above what was paid laſt year, but nothing adequate to the real value. I therefore think that unleſs they come nearly to the eſtimate I have made, the rents ſhould be collected on the Company's account for another ſeaſon; and I doubt not but by that time the farmers will be ſenſible that the eſtimation I have put on them is far below their real value.

Fort William, April 29th, 1767.

H. VERELST.

No.

No. 134.

Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated Auguſt 16th, 1769.

The Committee having maturely conſidered the ſeveral important contents of the Preſident's and Mr. Becher's joint letter, together with their ſeparate opinions of the general ſtate of theſe provinces—are of opinion, that the preſent ſtate of the revenues, public and private commerce, manufactures and agriculture, are ſuch as give room for the moſt ſerious apprehenſion; and that the decline in each of thoſe grand ſources has ſpread itſelf ſo as to have produced a criſis in our affairs, which, (unleſs timely and properly attended to, whilſt there are meaſures left in the country, of which there can be no doubt but there are yet many,) muſt, in a great meaſure, diſappoint future expectations from theſe poſſeſſions.

The Committee, having endeavoured to trace and aſſign the true cauſe of our declining ſituation, unanimouſly agree, that the following imperfections in the form and conduct of the ſyſtem hitherto purſued, are the grand and original cauſes thereof.

1. The want of ſufficient checks in the inſtruments of government, who are generally adventurers from Perſia, educated in the manners and principles of a government where tyranny, corruption, and anarchy are predominant; who are ſtrangers to the cuſtoms, and indifferent to the welfare of this country; and who cannot by any vigilance be reſtrained, or by any ſeverity be deterred from practiſing their native oppreſſions, over a timid, ſervile, and defenceleſs people.

2. The delegation of a truſt and authority to one, or to a few, which require the abilities and activity of many to execute; an error which is notoriouſly the cauſe of thoſe departments being worſe adminiſtered, but give riſe to a complex corruption, which is difficult, if not impoſſible to be detected. The avenues of juſtice are by thoſe means obſtructed, and the injured are frequently at a loſs where to prefer their complaints, and in whom the right of deciſion is inveſted.

3. The ignorance of the real produce and capacity of the country, in which we are neceſſarily kept by a ſet of men, who firſt deceive us from intereſt, and afterwards continue the deception from fear of puniſhment, and a neceſſary regard to their own ſafety.

4. The numerous train of dependents and underlings, whom the collectors entertain; whoſe demands, as well as the avarice of their principals, are to be ſatisfied from the ſpoils of the induſtrious Ryot; who thus loſes all confidence in the government, and ſeeks protection in other places, where he has better hopes to ſee his induſtry rewarded.

5. The venality which forms part of the genius of the people, and which is known to be openly exerciſed, or tacitly allowed by government, without drawing any ſhame or diſcredit on the guilty; or being thought any peculiar hardſhip on the injured.

6. The colluſion of the collectors with the Zemeendars; whom the collector employs as a tool to ſerve his mal-practices, or admits an aſſociate in his fraudulent gains.

7. The

7. The oppreſſions to which the Ryot is ſubject from the multitude of Gomaſtahs and their dependents; on which ſubject the Preſident has been ſufficiently explicit in his minute on the ſtate of commerce.

8. The Committee are convinced that this degree of power without controul, of knowledge without participation, and of influence without any effectual counteraction, is too important and replete in the conſequences to be veſted in any three miniſters, or rather one ſingle man; who, allowing him the cleareſt preference for integrity, ability, and attachment among his countrymen, cannot be ſuppoſed ſuperior to temptation; and, at leaſt, ought not, in good policy, to be truſted ſo extenſively and independently as has been neceſſarily the conſequence of the preſent ſyſtem: while the Company are, in reality, the principals in the revenues of this country, and the moſt intereſted in the good conduct of its government, every bar ſhould be removed that tends to preclude them from a knowledge of its real ſtate. In the above cauſes, and others deducible from them, the Committee diſcerns, with great regret, the original ſource and preſent inveteracy of many of thoſe evils, under which theſe provinces are at preſent oppreſſed.

The frequent and peremptory reſtrictions which the Court of Directors had thought proper to impoſe on us, and that line of conduct from which no deviation was allowed, and the ſmalleſt ſurveyed with jealouſy, have hitherto left us without any choice of meaſures, freedom of action, or power of reformation.

Their laſt letter has now offered us the ſanction that was ſo eſſentially neceſſary for the welfare and improvement of theſe provinces, as well as for our own vindication in the purſuit of ſuch plans as we may judge adviſeable to adopt. By that letter, the Directors ſeem to approve of the diſtribution and allotment of the country into farms, and of the appointment of European gentlemen to ſuperviſe the different provinces, and to controul the conduct of the agents of the country government. From this permiſſion, we have a well-grounded expectation of ſucceſs to our deſign of introducing new regulations; and the event will, we are flattered, be the ſtrongeſt confirmation of the propriety of thoſe regulations.

We have always acted as far as the nature of the occaſion would allow, with the moſt ſcrupulous regard to the rules preſcribed to us by our employers; and, on our firſt acceſſion to the Dewanny, choſe rather to aſſume the ſlow, but certain conviction of experience for our guide, than attempt innovations on the precarious foundation of opinion. But now that whole pages of our records are filled with ſo many inconteſtible evidences, that great alterations are wanting to form a mode of collection, which may be reſtrictive to the collector, and indulgent to the Ryot, we are happy in finding the ſentiments of our employers ſo aptly correſpondent to our opinion, and the neceſſity of the juncture. Every perſon of any ſubſtance or character in this country, has been ſucceſſively tried in the department of the collections. Fear, reward, ſeverity, and indulgence, have all failed, and ended in a ſhort political forbearance, or additional acts of diſhoneſty and rapine.

On an alarm of inſpection, or at the annual Poonah, they frame accounts to ſerve the occaſion; or by involving them in confuſion and ambiguity, waſte time till it becomes too late to continue the proceſs againſt them, without hazarding new loſſes in the revenue: and thus the culpable not only eſcape puniſhment, but often obtain a prolongation of their appointments. Many flagrant grievances reach our ears, but, in a country of ſuch extent, there are, doubtleſs, many more concealed from us; and, what is equally true under our preſent diſadvantages, they are, and muſt remain inexplorable; we can neither redreſs grievances, nor effect improvements. With regard to the former, our diſtance and our too indirect information through miniſterial

channels, ſet the offender beyond our reach, and the impoſſibility of having time and competent knowledge puts the latter out of our power.

Enough has been ſaid, and more might be produced, to prove that the ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed and now purſuing in this country, is deficient in every particular that is requiſite to defend and ſupport the poor, from the injuſtice and oppreſſion of the ſtrong, and to increaſe its value to its poſſeſſors, by promoting the induſtry of the Ryot and manufacturer.

That although we have ſeen theſe evils growing and preying upon the vitals of the country, we have been unable to ſtop their progreſs, or afford effectual protection to the people.

Laſtly, that we can never hope to emerge from that uncertainty and ignorance into which this ſyſtem has thrown us, whilſt we ſit tamely and will admit of no variation in it.

Let us now turn our eyes and attention to a more pleaſing ſcene; to Burdwan, and the reſt of the Company's proprietary lands, where we ourſelves have been the managers. Plenty, content, population, increaſe of revenue, without increaſe of burthen, are now the effects; and form ſo forcible an argument in the comparative view, that nothing can ſtrengthen, nothing can render it plainer or more convincing.

And here the Committee cannot heſitate in drawing a deciſive concluſion;—that the ſame or ſimilar regulations be eſtabliſhed throughout the provinces in every diſtinct diſtrict. The ſame beneficial conſequences to the country and Company may be expected from them, and by an increaſed ſecurity of the property of individuals, as alſo by an encouragement to cultivation and commerce, they may give a new flow to the circulation of ſpecie, which is become ſo limited as to affect every rank and profeſſion.

The Committee are ſenſible that much application, integrity, good conduct and time, will be neceſſary to retrieve the deſolations of the collectors; to raiſe the ſinking heart of the Ryot from deſpair to confidence and hope; to re-people and ſettle the deſerted and uncultivated tracts, and to take every advantage of the abundant fertility of the lands.

The progreſs towards this deſirable change muſt be gradual. We have yet but an imperfect knowledge of the ſoil, the productions, the value, the capacity of the various provinces, and ſubdiviſions of the country. This, however, is the foundation on which, and which only, we can build with ſucceſs, and direct our grand deſign with judgment; and to acquire this knowledge ſhould therefore be our firſt care, by means of the minuteſt local inveſtigation, for none other can give us an authentic record to refer to on every occaſion as an eſtabliſhed authority; nor can we judge of the lenity, rigour, or propriety of any of our reſolutions reſpecting the country, without ſuch a work completely and accurately executed.

The Committee, concurring in the neceſſity of purſuing the above work in the moſt effectual manner, that when perfected they may proceed in the important buſineſs before them; and being farther induced by the opinion of the Court of Directors, expreſſed in their laſt letter of the 11th November, 1768,—agree unanimouſly to the following reſolutions;—

That, in every province or diſtrict, a gentleman in the ſervice be appointed, with or without aſſiſtance, in proportion to the extent of the diſtrict; whoſe office or department is to be ſubordinate to the reſident of the Durbar, and managed as is expreſsly ſet forth and defined in the following letter of inſtructions,—which the Preſident has prepared and ſubmitted to our conſideration; with ſuch additions as may occaſionally be deemed neceſſary by the reſident at the Durbar.

FORM

FORM *of* INSTRUCTIONS *to be iſſued by the Reſident at the Durbar to the ſeveral Supra-viſors.*

To Mr. ———————

SIR,

As the Board have judged it expedient to appoint ſupra-viſors on behalf of the Company in each particular province, with a view to aſcertain in a minute, clear, and comprehenſive manner, a variety of circumſtances which intimately concern the welfare of the country; the province of ———————— is hereby placed under your inſpection, and the following objects are pointed out and diſtinguiſhed under reſpective heads, as a direction for your conduct, and an explanation of the ſervice expected from you in your department.

1. *A ſummary Hiſtory of the Province.*

You are to collect, under this head, the form of the ancient conſtitution of the province, compared with the preſent; an account of its poſſeſſors or rulers, the order of their ſucceſſion, the revolutions in their families, and their connections; the peculiar cuſtoms and privileges which they, or their people — have eſtabliſhed and enjoyed; and, in ſhort, every tranſaction which can ſerve to trace their origin and progreſs, or has produced any material changes in the affairs of the province.

2. *The State, Produce, and Capacity of the Lands.*

The firſt meaſure which ſhould occur to your attention in an enquiry of this nature, is to procure a complete Huſtabood, or rent-roll, with the number of Begahs, or meaſures of land, contained in each diſtrict, according to the original ſurveys and meaſurements, and the method in which they were laid out and appropriated. The next is to fix the ancient boandaries and diviſions. This being completed, you may proceed to trace the alterations which chance, favour, art, or oppreſſion, have gradually produced in the face of the country until the preſent time. Many portions of land have been added to, or ſeparated from the ancient diviſions; theſe ſhould be rigidly ſcrutinized and carefully noted. The Zemindars have enjoyed conſiderable tracts rent free, on various pretences, and for various purpoſes. The abuſes in the beſtowal and ſale of Talooks are notorious, being generally the reward of the creatures of government, obtained by unwarrantable means, and held with extraordinary immunities. The titles of the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould therefore be examined, together with the valuation of ſuch lands before they became Talooks, and before their owners acquired that independent footing; ſo that ſome judgment may be formed of their real revenue, and in what degree the limitation of the grant is exceeded by the quantity now held. Charitable and religious donations, which ſucceſſive princes have made, many through zeal, but moſt through vanity,—form no inconſiderable part of ſome diſtricts: and as it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that in a courſe of years the produce of ſuch benefactions has been miſapplied and perverted, or that the particular perſons or ſocieties, in whoſe ſupport they were granted, have fallen or decayed,—it is expected that you diligently ſearch into and report their true ſtate. You are alſo to particularize the extent, production and value of Jagheers; the titles of the preſent poſſeſſors, &c. as in the Talooks. Of the lands called Coſs, which are under the immediate ſuperintendence of government, for want of farmers. Of the Comar, which are lands cultivated by contract. Of the Ryotty, which are tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the ſpot. And of the waſte lands, diſtinguiſhing ſuch as are

cleared, and have been neglected through a decreaſe of population, from ſuch as are cov red with Jungle *.

Theſe informations, provided they be derived from genuine authorities, and confirmed by an accurate inſpection of your own, will enable you to compute what the productions of the country, deducting the conſumption of the inhabitants, will yield for the purpoſes of commerce; and how far the wealth and proſperity of it may be augmented by an encouragement being given to the culture of any particular article, either as a neceſſary of life, or as a material in manufactures.

3. *The amount of the Revenues, the Ceſſes, or arbitary Taxes, and of all demands whatſoever which are made on the Ryot, either by Government, Zemêendar, or Collector, with the manner of collecting them; and the gradual riſe of every new impoſt.*

One capital grievance being the inequality of aſſeſſments ariſing from the multitude of Talooks and ſequeſtered lands above-mentioned, you are to penetrate through the chicanery of thoſe employed, and acquire an exact detail of every particular tax or ceſs; noting in what particular part of the country the burthen falls, where partial exemptions are allowed, and what is the equitable proportion to the whole. Another grievance, which is equal to the former, is the variety of demands which the collector, from the Aumil and Zemêendar to the loweſt Pyke, impoſe without any colour or licence from the government; ſome of which have been ſo long exacted and paid, that the Ryots begin to imagine the oppreſſion is ſanctified by government, and is not the mere fraud of the collectors. The multiplying of ſuperfluous agents and inferior collectors may be alſo deemed a ſource of extortion; and it is a very eſſential part of your duty to inform yourſelf in what reſpect their numbers have been cauſeleſsly increaſed; to enumerate their perquiſites, and how much they may be ſuppoſed to exceed them. As likewiſe the expence and arrangement of Gauts and public markets, with the duties collected at each upon the inhabitants or traders, and the application of ſums to be levied.

Drogahs, Cutwalls, and Pykes, maintained for the protection of the tenants, are, it is to be feared, too often the inſtruments of their oppreſſion; at leaſt fall very ſhort of anſwering the end propoſed by them. Accounts ſhould be taken of their number and expence, how they are arranged, and how paid.

A third and equally important object of your attention, under this head, is to fix the amount of what the Zemêendar receives from the Ryot, as his income or emolument; wherein they generally exceed the bounds of moderation, taking advantage of the perſonal attachment of their people, and of the inefficacy of the preſent reſtrictions upon them; ſince the preſence of the Aumil more frequently produces a ſcene of colluſion than a warineſs of conduct. When the ſum of the produce of the lands, and of each demand on the tenant, is thus aſcertained with certainty, the proportion of what remains to him for the ſupport of his family, and encouragement of his induſtry, will clearly appear, and lead us to the reality of his condition.

Amongſt the chief effects which are hoped for from your reſidence in that province, and which ought to employ and never wander from your attention, are to convince the Ryot that you will ſtand between him and the hand of oppreſſion; that you will be his refuge and the redreſſer of his wrongs; that the calamities he has already ſuffered have ſprung from an intermediate cauſe, and were neither known nor permitted by us: that honeſt and direct applications to you will never fail producing ſpeedy and equitable deciſions: that, after ſupplying the legal due of government,

* Wood, high graſs, or reeds.

he

he may be ſecure in the enjoyment of the remainder; and, finally, to teach him a veneration and affection for the humane maxims of our government.

4. *The Regulation of Commerce.*

Equal intricacy and ſimilar combinations will be found to oppoſe your progreſs in this work. The power, the artifice, the complicated connections of public and private agents, Pycars, and Dellols, will all unite in preſerving their uſurpations on the manufacturer and Ryot; which they have hitherto done by precluding their acceſs to our tribunals, and deſtroying every kind of intercourſe between them and us. That one enquiry may precede another without confuſion, or blending different cauſes with different effects, you ſhould open your diſcoveries with an eſtimate of the productions of every diſtrict, both in quantity and kind; the amount of manufactures and the number of manufacturers employed in each branch, with the annual duties collected on them; not confining yourſelf to the preſent time, but recurring to paſt years; that, at one view, you may diſcern their ſtate of increaſe and decreaſe; and by remarking the prices and qualities at diſtinct periods, you will in like manner become acquainted with the improvement or decline in the quality.

Your next conſideration is to find the channels through which the ſeveral articles, produced by the joint labour of the manufacturer and cultivator, have been diffuſed. The proportion which fell to the ſhares of the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and other foreigners, as well as to the native merchant; likewiſe what was retained for the conſumption of the diſtricts themſelves; concluding this reſearch with a comparative view of the riſe and fall in the demand, and ſtating the ballance of the trade as it occaſionally varied in favour of one or the other merchant. After you have advanced thus far, the moſt difficult and conſequential taſk ſtill remains for you to ſurmount; which is, to lay open and abolish the ſeveral ſpecies of impoſition which are practiſed by Gomaſtahs, Pycars, Dellols, and the whole chain of agents through whoſe hands the articles of merchandize paſs from the loom of the manufacturer, or the ſtore-houſe of the cultivator, to the public merchant or exporter; ſo that clandeſtine agreements and extraordinary demands may no longer exiſt, to the utter deſpondency of the poor; but a way being opened for them to deal with the fair trader, their induſtry may be quickened by the certainty of their profits.

5. *The Adminiſtration of Juſtice.*

It is difficult to determine whether the original cuſtoms or the degenerate manners of the Muſſulmen have moſt contributed to confound the principles of right and wrong in theſe provinces. Certain it is, that almoſt every deciſion of theirs is a corrupt bargain with the higheſt bidder. The numerous offences which are compromiſed by fines have left a great latitude for unjuſt determinations. Trifling offenders, and even many condemned on fictitious accuſations, are frequently loaded with heavy demands, and capital criminals are as often abſolved by the venal judge. Your conduct in all capital offences ſhould be to enforce juſtice where the law demands it, checking every compoſition by fine or mulct; and where any diſputes ariſe in matters of property, you ſhould recommend the method of arbitration to any other; and inculcate ſtrongly in the minds of the people that we are not deſirous to augment our revenue by ſuch impoſitions, but to acquire their confidence by the equity and impartiality of our proceedings, and by our tenderneſs for their happineſs. The arbitrators ſhould be men choſen by the parties themſelves, and of known integrity, and whoſe circumſtances may ſupppoſe them exempt from venality, and promiſe beſt to inſure their rectitude. In capital crimes, the ſentence ſhould, before execution, be referred to me, and by

me to the miniſters, that they may ultimately approve or mitigate it, according to the peculiarity of the caſe. You are farther to obſerve, that the want of regular regiſters of all cauſes and determinations has encouraged the natural propenſity of the judge to bribery and fraud, by making him eaſy with reſpect to any future proſecution on a rehearing of the caſes which have been thus partially determined. Whereas, whilſt a reference to records is always open, he muſt live in perpetual fear of detection. One of theſe regiſters ſhould be lodged in the principal Cutcherry of the province, and an authenticated copy tranſmitted to Murſhed-abad. As to ſuits on account of revenues, theſe will, we are flattered, be much obviated in future by the happy conſequences of our poſſeſſing a real, local, and undiſguiſed knowledge of the country; which we promiſe ourſelves from the inveſtigations above mentioned, and from your diligence and exactneſs in the performance of the ſeveral duties.

For the Ryot being eaſed and ſecured from all burthens and demands but what are impoſed by the legal authority of goverment itſelf, and future Pottahs * being granted him, ſpecifying that demand; he ſhould be taught that he is to regard the ſame as a ſacred and inviolable pledge to him, that he is liable to no demands beyond their amount. There can, therefore, be no pretence for ſuits on that account; no room for inventive rapacity to practiſe its uſual arts: all will be fair, open, regular. Every man will know what he can call and defend as his own; and the ſpirit of lawleſs encroachment ſubſiding, for want of a field for exerciſe, will be changed into a ſpirit of induſtry; and content and ſecurity will take place of continual alarms and vexations.

I ſhall now proceed to give you ſuch inſtructions for effecting the above points, as experience has proved to be moſt eligible; and ſhall begin with obſerving, on the firſt head,—or

The Hiſtory of the Provinces.

I would not have you embarraſs yourſelf with records more remote than thoſe of the reign of Sujah Cawn; as, at that æra of good order and good government, no alterations had taken place in the ancient diviſions of the country, and the confuſion which is now apparent has been poſterior to thoſe times. From that date, you will probably find records in the public Cutcherry, abounding with every material; but as ſome may be deſtroyed or mutilated, your reſource, in ſuch caſes, muſt be to conſult with men of the beſt underſtanding and longeſt experience in the diſtricts, from whom you will moſt likely meet with ſatisfactory information; and who, from many and prevailing motives, which are deducible from their natural character, will gladly contribute their ſtore of knowledge to the account. In the courſe of this reference to living authorities, you will doubtleſs meet with various characters and claſſes of men, whoſe informations will be tinctured with the prejudices of education, habit, ſuperſtition, and other failings; but your own judgment muſt direct you in extracting the truth, and diſtinguiſhing between the private biaſs of indviduals and the real ſtate of facts.

Secondly, The State, Produce, and Capacity of the Lands.

It will require your greateſt attention and application to enable you to form a general and particular Huſtabood, or rent-roll, of the diſtricts. You may, perhaps, find what is called a Huſtabood in the Sudder or principal Cutcherry: but this, inſtead of ſatisfying, muſt ſtimulate your curioſity; for the contents of it are merely adapted to the private intereſts of the Zemeendars, filled with repreſentations deſignedly diſguiſed, to ſquare with their offers and accounts with government, looſely, unfaithfully, and partially formed in every inſtance. In fact, they can ſupply you with little more than a progreſſive hiſtory of the preſent diſmemberments, and only ſuggeſt

* Leaſes.

ſuggeſt to you the degree of oppreſſion which the multiplication of collectors and charges has, on that account, from time to time, brought upon the Ryots.

After this, you are to proceed to a local inveſtigation of the quantity of lands and their rents, which is to be performed by viſiting each diviſion yourſelf, and calling upon the Zemêendar or head-collector for the Huſtabood of the diviſion under his management. But you are not to content yourſelf with this: from hence you are to deſcend to the ſubdiviſions of the grand diſtrict, and to the ſmall Cutcherries of each collector, however inconſiderable; and this will procure you a liſt of the Pottahs as diſtributed to every Ryot, and ſuppoſed to contain the quantity of land poſſeſſed by each, and the amount of rent with which it is charged. Thus you will be enabled to aſcertain how far the Huſtaboods given in by the collectors of the grand diviſions differ from the Huſtaboods of the leſſer, from the principal down to the ſmalleſt ſubdiviſion. And by taking the ſum of any number of Pottahs in any particular place, and comparing the amount of thoſe Pottahs with the amount ſpecified in the Huſtaboods, you will arrive at a medium certainty of the exceſs or deficiency of the lands and rents as rated therein. And accordingly as the error or fallaciouſneſs of the accounts ſhall appear to require it, you are to cauſe an exact meaſurement to be taken of portions of land in different places, in order to arrive at a judgment of the whole from the proportional parts. And that no colluſion between the Zemêendars and collectors may retard, elude, and counteract theſe important enquiries, the fear of loſing their Zemêendary or employment ſhould be held up to them; and if you find the aſſociation againſt you ſtrong and obſtinate, upon a repreſentation and ample proofs of his miſconduct produced to me, you may be aſſured that examples ſhall be immediately ordered, and every delinquent be made ſenſible that there is no room for lenity where colluſive oppreſſion is continued in defiance of all reſtriction. The Ryot too ſhould be impreſſed in the moſt forcible and convincing manner, that the tendency of your meaſures is to his eaſe and relief; that every oppoſition to them is rivetting his own chains, and confirming his ſervitude and dependence on his oppreſſors; that our object is not increaſe of rents, or the accumulation of demands, but ſolely by fixing ſuch as are legal, explaining and aboliſhing ſuch as are fraudulent and unauthoriſed, not only to redreſs his preſent grievances, but to ſecure him from all farther invaſions of his property.

I muſt here introduce a remark, which I recommend to your particular attention: if it ſhould happen, that ſome very authentic and poſitive evidence is required to eſtabliſh a particular ſuſpicion, or that you are inclined to diſtruſt an information; there is one, and indeed only one, ſafe, and eaſy method of proceeding. Select an intermediate perſon, unſuſpected either by the officers of the government or your own dependents, give him his orders yourſelf, and let him chuſe another of the ſame occupation with the perſon from whom you would ſeek the information, who may be ſo entirely removed from you, and ſo peculiarly connected as to create no ſurmiſe of his commiſſion; and let him, with the confidence and familiarity of an equal and fellow-ſufferer, pretend to conſult the other on his grievances and the means of redreſs. This will naturally produce the ſame openneſs on the other ſide, and he will readily obtain a ſight or copies of any papers, agreements, &c. which may be wanting; and you will be in poſſeſſion of them before the alarm of an enquiry can ſpread among the guilty, and give them an opportunity of combining againſt you.

On the contrary, were thoſe precautions omitted, and a publicly announced ſcrutiny attempted, you muſt have a thouſand obſtructions to contend with, which are all obviated by the above mode of ſecrecy, and the uſe of intermediate agents, whom you may employ to any number, and contrive to check in ſuch a manner as will deprive them of the power of deceiving you. Small rewards may likewiſe have weight, and

ought

ought not to be neglected; and it is not to be doubted, but that by a proper and prudent application of them, joined to the above-mentioned hints, you will become maſter of a perfect and extenſive intelligence of every circumſtance, however minute and inveloped. The evaſions and artifices which are familiar to the natives of this country have often been ſucceſsful in ſcreening them from that open and manifeſt detection which can juſtify puniſhment. The good conſequence of that poſitive evidence above mentioned, in any caſes where the Zemêendar or collector are concerned, and rely on their cuſtomary defences, will put it in your power to call them to a public examination, and render their crime and their puniſhment equally notorious, without ſubjecting the authors of your information to the reſentment of the Zemêendars, or the obloquy of their neighbours.

Having thus obtained ſufficient and authentic accounts of the rent-rolls of the diſtricts, by ſearching into the papers and records of the ſmalleſt as well as the largeſt, comparing their reſpective Huſtaboods, ſurveying and meaſuring the lands which appear rated above or below their real value and extent, you are to bring your inveſtigation home to the Zemêendar. For this purpoſe, the records are to be conſulted, and the periods moſt applicable to the deſign ſeem to be theſe three; the government of Sujah Cawn, of Aliverdy Cawn, and the preſent. By collating the Huſtaboods given in by the Zemêendars with thoſe you obtain from the ſmaller diſtricts, you will diſtinguiſh the quantity of land which they have uſurped from the government, and enjoy for their own uſe and advantage, free of rent. And again, by oppoſing the ſum of the Pottahs of any particular ſpace in any ſubdiviſion to the ſum ſtated in its Huſtabood, you will alſo lay open the ſhares which the petty collectors and their dependents have acquired for themſelves, after the example of their principals; for this ſpecies of fraud is carried on by general connivance, from the heads to the loweſt denominations. All lands which are found to have been thus illegally diſmembered, are to be immediately re-annexed, and a reſumption ſet on foot by government.

Beſides theſe advantages which the Zemêendar poſſeſſes by the ſecret appropriation of land, and has ſecured to himſelf by partial Huſtaboods, he has an originally allowed title to the freehold of ſome lands, and to the enjoyment of ſome perquiſites; but abuſes have crept alike into them all. The meaning and intent of his being indulged with ſuch excluſive poſſeſſions was to ſupply his family with the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life. Under the name of Nejaut and Nankor, one ſpot was to yield him rice, another was allotted to him as paſture; a particular tank was to afford him fiſh and water; and, in like manner, diſtinct ſpots were given up to him for every diſtinct article of conſumption. Though this indulgence was confined to this purpoſe only, there is juſt cauſe for ſuppoſing that he has extended his claims, and availed himſelf of opportunities to lay his hands on the revenues of the government, and on the property of the Ryots, where he has no foundation of right, nor colour of pretence.

The Nuzzer-anna, which is called Sedee, and conſiſts both in proviſions and money, is an inſtance of it; and neither he nor his attendants move from one place to another, without demanding and exacting it from the inhabitants of his diſtrict; a cuſtom which ought to be permitted only under reſtrictions, and in a manner that the Ryots may not wantonly be deſpoiled, but the demand limited to a reaſonable contribution.

Another conſiderable ſource of profit to him is the levying of fines at will, which is a power that ought to be totally extinguiſhed. He likewiſe raiſes large ſums from duties collected in the markets, and aſſumes an authority over the Ryots to require their labour gratuitouſly, which ſometimes might be allowed, were not the poor labourer too often taken under this pretence from his own immediately neceſſary duty, to attend the mere arbitrary pleaſure of his Zemêendar, who receives large preſents out of the various productions of the diſtrict, which, though intended originally for his

own

own private conſumption, is often ſold by his dependents. Add to theſe, he frequently claims a Batta on rupees at an arbitrary valuation, which is an illegal perquiſite, and ought to be diſcontinued in future. Theſe, and all ſuch exceſſes in the Zemeendar, which need not be here mentioned, as they will open to you as you proceed, ſhould be retrenched; and all his emoluments of every kind be reduced to the fulfilling the purpoſes for which they were granted, and there bounded.

The Talooks, Jagheers, and charitable or religious donations come next under conſideration. You are to call for a particular account of all lands which are held on theſe tenures; and that every motive to concealment may be deſtroyed, it ſhould be particularly notified, that whatever proprietor delays reporting his name, and the ſtate of his grants or purchaſes, after a time prefixed, is to forfeit them to the government. By taking care to fix the period for regiſtering their Sunnuds far beyond what is neceſſary, you will anticipate all pleas which may be preſented in behalf of neglects, and have no room to diſpute the equity of the forfeiture.

I have before taken notice of the undue means of obtaining Talooks, which are either beſtowed on ſome favourite or underling of the government, or purchaſed by one individual of another; but as the title cannot ſtand clear or valid, without a confirmation of it from the Nabob, in both caſes where ſuch cannot be made appear, the title becomes void, and the Talook reverts to the government.

For theſe reaſons you ſhould enter deeply and ſtrictly into the merits of the Talookdars, with reſpect to their families, their connections and pretenſions; and particularly remark the flaws and exceptions which occur to you.

The increaſe in the number of Talooks has been highly impolitic, and detrimental to the general proſperity, and to the diffuſion of population in the country. The tenants of a Talook are poſſeſſed of ſo many indulgencies, and taxed with ſuch evident partiality and tenderneſs in proportion to the reſt, that the Talooks generally ſwarm with inhabitants whilſt other parts are deſerted; and in addition to the natural deſire of changing from a worſe to a better ſituation, inticements are frequently employed by the Talookdars to augment the concourſe to their lands. They have alſo, at favourable ſeaſons, when the government was buſied in other affairs, or weakened by faction, made conſiderable encroachments, and moſt probably poſſeſs extenſive tracts beyond the original grants. Now it ought to be remembered that the welfare and good of the whole was never intended to be ſacrificed to the enriching of a few, perhaps worthleſs, individuals; who can ſhew no pretence to theſe peculiar advantages, but a proſtitution of their integrity to their avarice. Your aim muſt, therefore, be to remove all diſtinctions, to bring every man upon a footing with his neighbour, to lighten the burthen on the whole by making it equal and impartial, and to enforce the the ſurrender of lands unlawfully poſſeſſed.

Jagheers are always, as Talooks are ſometimes, rewards to particular perſons; but differ from them in being gifts of the crown, confirmed only by the Nizam. The grants are either hereditary or expirable with life; the ſame accounts are to be taken of them. Defective titles in the Jagheerdars, and a tranſgreſſion of the order for appearing and regiſtering their Sunnuds, are to be attended with the ſame conſequences.

As to charitable or religious donations, the lands ſo ſequeſtered are to be eſtimated with regard to their extent, productions, and value; if the amount appears to exceed the endowment of the inſtitution, the overplus ſhould be brought to credit; if the inſtitutions are decayed or perverted, they ſhould be entirely aboliſhed, and the revenues re-aſſumed by government.

The Coſs lands, which are ſuperintended by government for want of farmers, are ſpecified in the accounts of the Sudder Cutcherry. As it imports us to know whether

accidental cauſes, or the malverſations of the managers of ſuch lands have been the primary cauſe of their decay, you will make a full and circumſtantial report thereof. And as it may be apprehended that even ſince their falling under the hands of government, the time and attention of the public officers have been employed rather in gleaning the ſmall remains of ſubſtance from them, than in nouriſhing and recovering them from diſtreſs, their conduct ſhould be examined. The trueſt teſt of it will be your aſcertaining the produce of the lands under the laſt farmer before they became Coſs, and what has been received from them ſince; which will point out the improvement or decreaſe by their ſuperintendence. And if it ſhould be found that the lands have been falling inſtead of riſing in value, there can be no doubt of the unfitneſs of ſuch men, nor any hopes of ſeeing the Coſs lands peopled, cultivated, and proſpering under their hands. After a due conſideration of their preſent ſtate, public notice ſhould be given that we are ready to receive offers for farming them at a term of two, three, four, or five years, at an annual increaſing rent; at the end of which period they are to pay the ſame as other lands, and to be ſubjected to all orders which may be occaſionally iſſued by government for the regulation of the revenues, and country in general.

The Comar lands, having no native tenants, are cultivated by contract. The cuſtom and terms of contract are various in various diſtricts, but, in general, there is one ſettled rule. An advance in money is made by the Zemêendar to the cultivator, by the help of which he tills and improves the land. When the crops are cut and gathered in, they are generally divided between the cultivator and the Zemêendar; from one third to one half to the cultivator, and the remainder to the Zemêendar; when the former accounts with the latter for the amount of the advances, which are often taxed by the Zemêendar with an heavy intereſt, or fraudulently exceeded by an arbitrary valuation, far below the market price of the goods or products of the lands, in which he is paid. Your object is to inform yourſelf what the cultivator really receives for his labour, and in what he is injured; and ſecondly, what the Zemêendar embezzles and ſecretes from government by an undervaluation of the productions of the ſoil which he thus receives, ſinking the amount of the returns; and by other means which ſerve to deceive us, and obſtruct the progreſs of cultivation in theſe lands. In all which, I apprehend, you will find no difficulty if you only aſcertain the amount and market price of theſe products, and compare them with what the Zemêendar brings publicly to the credit of government; and comparing the accounts of the Zemêendar with thoſe of the cultivator, it will expoſe the total of his undue acquiſitions, enable you to penetrate through the arts of concealment, and give you a thread by which to unravel the whole gradation of colluſive fraud in this particular. As the unequal diffuſion of inhabitants has been the cauſe of this ſcarcity of cultivation in different parts, every expedient ſhould be uſed to encourage people to ſettle on the Comar and waſte lands, that they may be converted into Ryotty. The great towns, whoſe populouſneſs only ſerves to propagate poverty and idleneſs, might undoubtedly afford numbers of uſeful hands, who in their preſent ſituations are either a burthen or a peſt to the community. Theſe ſhould be ſought out, and taught to apply to culture, ſetting ſuch proſpects and expectations in their view as will engage their conſent. The Talooks and Jagheers will likewiſe be found to contain many idle, and theſe unſerviceable, hands; who may, in like manner, be induced to tranſplant themſelves to theſe lands, and become farmers.

Laſtly, I ſhall ſpeak of the Ryotty lands. The quantity in meaſurement as well as revenue, will appear from the ſeveral Pottahs granted, after the enquiry before recommended; and the amount product in kind you will acquire by aſcertaining what is really produced on ſome portions of land of each different ſoil, which you may

ſelect

ſelect for this purpoſe, and ſo draw a general medium of the product of the whole Ryotty.

This you may farther check by a compariſon of the amount total with that of the Comar, which being received in kind by the cultivator and landlord, the aggregate may be more truly and readily known. In the ſame manner, the produce of Jagheer lands, Talookdarries, and lands for religious purpoſes, may be alſo obtained.

You will doubtleſs readily meet with an account of waſte or uncultivated lands, as they ſtand recorded in the Cutcherries; but here you will probably find a large field of colluſion; for whatever lands have been once wrote from the revenue under this head, tho' poſſibly deſerted but for a ſhort time, little has ſeldom been brought on again to the public credit. This will appear by your taking accounts of the waſte lands, as they ſtand recorded at different periods of time, and from them noting their gradual increaſe or decreaſe. Nothing can aſcertain the preſent ſtate of thoſe lands ſo well as a local inveſtigation. You will probably find them to be a fund to the Zemêendar, or collector, for their creatures or dependents, who enjoy many flouriſhing and fertile tracts thus denominated; all which ſhould be immediately reſumed.

Having thus clearly diſtinguiſhed the amount meaſurement of the ſeveral lands, and their products of kind, as alſo the land revenue; the ceſſes, or arbitrary taxes, muſt engage your attention. On theſe ſubjects I have already ſpoken in part, and ſhall now conſider what is yet to be done by you.

The truth cannot be doubted that the poor and induſtrious tenant is taxed by his Zemêendar, or collector, for every extravagance that avarice, ambition, pride, vanity, or intemperance may lead him into, over and above what is generally deemed the eſtabliſhed rent of his lands. If he is to be married, a child born, honours conferred, luxury indulged, and Nuzzer-ânnas, or fines, exacted, even for his own miſconduct, all muſt be paid by the Ryot. And, what heightens the diſtreſsful ſcene, the more opulent, who can better obtain redreſs for impoſition, eſcape; while the weaker are obliged to ſubmit.

To obtain an account of theſe ceſſes, or impoſts, there cannot be a more certain method than what I have before recommended, of getting from the Ryot himſelf a ſtatement of what he actually pays over and above his eſtabliſhed rents, and from this you are to draw a medium amount of the ceſſes levied upon the whole. This ſhould be ſet againſt the amount of the eſtabliſhed rents of lands ſo ceſſed. You are then to obtain the amount revenue of all Jagheers, Talooks, charitable and religious donations; and inform yourſelf whether they bear any part, and what proportion, of this burthen; in order that a comparative view may be drawn of the partiality of theſe ceſſes, and what proportion they bear to the lands and revenues of the whole province.

The number, diſtribution, and pay of Drogahs, Cutwalls, and Pykes are next. Their maintainance ariſes from lands ſet apart for their uſe, but they are known frequently to exact articles of proviſion and other things from the Ryots, and poſſeſs too great a latitude over the property and perſons of the poor.

You muſt call upon the Zemêendar for a liſt of theſe Pykes and their ſtations, and enquire how far they anſwer the purpoſes of their inſtitution, or have been multiplied without cauſe. You ſhould endeavour to point out another and better method of providing for and reſtricting them in their duty; an eſtabliſhed allowance, or ſomething which may be determinate, and not tend to the exerciſe of any power beyond that of their duty, would be moſt ſuitable; and, on this plan, I recommend it to you to reform them.

A liſt of all Gauts and public markets is alſo to be procured from the Zemêendar, together with a liſt of the eſtabliſhed duties ordered to be collected at each. This

being obtained, you are to enquire how far the Drogahs and Cutwalls have been guilty of levying undue and illegal duties on the trader or inhabitants. A minute enquiry into their conduct, and accounts on the ſpot, is neceſſary to effect this. Perſons ſhould be applied to, who can produce the exact amount of goods they have themſelves paſſed at the Gaut or market, and the duties they have paid, as a check to the accounts given in by the Drogahs and others. At the markets and Gauts ſituated on the borders of the province, ſhould be kept an accurate account of all exports and imports, ſpecifying the amount, ſortment, and quality of each article, with the duties upon each; that the proportion which the exports bear to the imports may be eſtimated, and a juſt opinion formed what aſſiſtance the province may need from, and in what degree it can contribute to, the ſupply of its neighbours, and the purpoſes of commerce.

Having, by theſe means, obtained an account of all public and private collections and impoſitions on the Ryot and trader, you will have a ſet of materials in your hands from which you may venture to form a real Huſtabood; to contain the quantity, productions, and rent of all cultivated lands under government; and likewiſe the quantity, productions, and value of all Jagheers, Talooks, charitable and religious donations; which you will draw up according to the form accompanying, and tranſmit to me, with ſuch annexed remarks, obſervations, and propoſals of your own, as you may judge important and conducive to the improvement of the lands, the content of the Ryot, the extenſion and relief of trade, the increaſe and encouragement of any uſeful manufacture or production of the ſoil, and to the general benefit and happineſs of the province in every conſideration and point of view.

One thing more remains for me to add, which is, that, at the expiration of every year, the accounts of the province are to be cloſed, and that a ſeparate and early ſtate of balances be made up, noting the cauſes of their being incurred, and tranſmit the ſame to Murſhed-abad; and you are not to ſuffer the accounts of one year in any point to interfere or be blended with thoſe of another.

The Regulation of Commerce.

I ſhall now deliver my opinion on the means of perfecting ſuch of thoſe points under this head as are likely to give you moſt trouble. The enquiry which I have recommended to be ſet on foot into the amount of the manufactures, and the number of manufacturers employed in each branch, ſhould be opened by requiring from the collector, or head man of each diſtrict, a liſt of thoſe who reſide therein, with their reſpective employments. That the eſtimate of the ſtock of labour may be as clear and perfect as poſſible, you may employ the following checks and collateral arguments: it is only the finer ſort of cloth, uſed in the general run of commerce, that coſts twelve days in the loom; the aſſortments which come to about five rupees per piece, require only eight days; yet as I allow an extra time for the manufacturer to go to market and purchaſe new thread and implements, before he can renew his work, I therefore, for the greater preciſion, ſet down the whole expence of time at twelve days.

Suppoſing, then, a manufacturer can furniſh one piece of cloth, of the ſize of twenty-four cubits by two, and of the value of five rupees, in the ſpace of twelve days; you may proceed to calculate what any number of hands, in any given ſpace of time, ought to perform by the ſame rule.

A ſecond check on this eſtimate will be the account of exports, after making a reaſonable allowance for home conſumption; and as to the collector or Zemeendar's report of the number and employments of the manufacturers in his diſtrict, it will be ſufficient

ſufficient to apply to the Dellols, Pycars, or brokers, without whom ſcarce any manufacturers deal, for their number, which will ſerve as a farther and collateral check to the former. In your progreſs towards an abolition of ſecret emoluments and abuſes in trade, you are to conſider that an open and public enquiry would in many caſes, as in the revenues, multiply difficulties, if not totally defeat the end of your labours. To proceed with any hopes of arriving at the truth, you muſt employ a perſon who may be quite a ſtranger to the agents and their trade, to engage a ſecond, and he a third, to purchaſe at the eſtabliſhed markets, as for his own uſe, ſamples of different articles of trade.

Others ſhould be employed in the ſame manner, and with the ſame caution, to obtain a ſight or copies of ſuch adjuſtments of accounts as have paſſed between the firſt manufacturer and the purchaſer, whether Pycar, Dellol, or merchant. Theſe accounts, if authentic, will diſcloſe the firſt coſt, and the private purchaſes above recommended will ſhew the market price; which, ſet againſt the agents accounts, will clearly denominate whether the fair and juſt value has been paid for the goods, and and what are the expreſs advantages accruing to the agent and his accomplices. Nuzzer-ânnas, brokerage, diſcount on rupees, intereſt on advances, fines for non-compliance with terms of contract, are the chief; and all are deducted after an apparent and nominal rate of market price has been previouſly fixed to the goods. When theſe gains, acquired by the Pycars, Dellols, and agents, from the multiplicity of taxes on the manufacturer, which have been laid on by colluſion, and removed from our eyes by diſtance and eſtrangement, induſtriouſly brought about between us and him, are, in the above manner, ſeverally detected and aboliſhed; you are to adopt theſe meaſures for the introduction of fair dealing, and the diſſolution of clandeſtine compacts of particular ſets of men, formed to rob the manufacturer of his due, and to accumulate to themſelves and their dependents, what ought to be free and beneficial to all. Uſe every means, and hold up every inducement to the manufacturer, to bring his goods to public market, and to make his bargain openly and directly himſelf. Order daily regiſters of the amount, quality, and price of goods ſold, and of the prices of goods for which advances have been made; and allow no goods to be taken away from the market until they have been regiſtered, under a penalty of a double duty, or ſomething of that kind. Let it be your conſtant employment to make theſe principles and maxims univerſally underſtood and adopted by all collectors, Zemeêndars, and every public agent; that commerce and agriculture mutually aſſiſt each other, and thrive from the ſame cauſes. That as the freedom of the one becomes better eſtabliſhed and the diffuſions more general, the advantages of the other will be proportionable.

The Ryot will conſequently, find the demand for his labour more extenſive, and his ſituation made eaſier and happier by the additional flow of money into the province.

The Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

The inſtance where venal, ignorant, and rapacious judges avail themſelves of a crude and mercenary ſyſtem of laws, of the prevalence of licentiouſneſs, and the force of reigning habits and cuſtoms, have been already mentioned. I can only repeat, that it is your part to endeavour to reform all theſe corruptions which have encroached on the primitive rights of both the Mahomedans and Hindoos; particularly by aboliſhing the arbitrary impoſition of fines, and recommending all in your power the more equitable method of arbitration.

The officers of juſtice and Kazzies, who are eſtabliſhed by the Mahomedan law, as alſo the Bramins, who adminiſter juſtice among the Hindoos, in every village, town,

town, and quarter, ſhould all be ſummoned to appear, produce their Sunnuds, or authority for acting, and regiſter them. Records, of whatever caſes are heard and determined, are to be ſent to and depoſited in the Sudder Cutcherry of the province, and a monthly return thereof forwarded to Murſhed-abad.

The regiſter of Sunnuds is intended to deter any from exerciſing a judicial, becauſe lucrative function, who may not be legally appointed by government, if a Mahomedan, or fairly elected by his caſt, if a Hindoo. And the depoſiting of all caſes and determinations, added to the other regulation, will figure to the ſeveral officers a vigorous and obſervant power, watching all their actions, and, in caſe of abuſes, direct you at once to the culpable.

The peculiar puniſhment of forfeiting caſts, to which the Hindoos are liable, is often inflicted from private pique and perſonal reſentment amongſt themſelves; and requires to be reſtrained to thoſe occaſions only where there may be a regular proceſs, and clear proofs of the offence before the Bramins, who are their natural judges. But when any man has naturally forfeited his caſt, you are to obſerve that he cannot be reſtored to it, without the ſanction of government; which was a political ſupremacy reſerved to themſelves by the Mahomedans, and which, as it publicly aſſerts the ſubordination of Hindoos, who are ſo conſiderable a majority of ſubjects, ought not to be laid down; though every indulgence and privilege of caſt ſhould be otherwiſe allowed them.

Having now ſpoken to all points which at preſent occur, and are looked for from your appointment, I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome remarks on the importance of the object, and your own conduct in the purſuit of it.

Your commiſſion entruſts you with the ſuperintendance and charge of a province, whoſe riſe and fall muſt conſiderably affect the public welfare of the whole. The exploring and eradicating numberleſs oppreſſions which are as grievous to the poor as they are injurious to the government; the diſplaying of thoſe national principles of honour, faith, rectitude, and humanity, which ſhould ever characteriſe the name of an Engliſhman; the impreſſing the loweſt individual with theſe ideas, and raiſing the heart of the Ryot from oppreſſion and deſpondency to ſecurity and joy, are the valuable benefits which muſt reſult to our nation from a prudent and wiſe behaviour on your part. Verſed as you are in the language, depend on none, where you yourſelf can poſſibly hear and determine. Let acceſs to you be eaſy, and be careful of the conduct of your dependents. Aim at no undue influence yourſelf, and check it in all others. Great ſhare of integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, aſſiduity, and watchfulneſs is neceſſary, not only for your own guidance, but as an example to all others; for your activity and advice will be in vain, unleſs confirmed by example. Carefully avoid all intereſted views by commerce, or otherwiſe, in the province whilſt on this ſervice; for, though ever ſo fair and honeſt, it will awaken the attention of the deſigning, double the labour of developing ſtratagems, and of removing burthens and diſcouragements with which the commerce of the country in general has been loaded. You have before you a large field to eſtabliſh both a national and private character; loſe not the opportunity, which is to be temporary only, for your whole proceedings will be quickly reviſed; a teſt which the board conſider due to themſelves, as a confirmation of the propriety of their choice; to you, as an act of juſtice to your conduct; and to the public, for the ſecurity of its intereſts. As the extent and importance of your truſt are great, ſo in proportion will be the approbation or cenſure, ariſing from your good or ill conduct in it, be attended with unuſual diſtinction or particular ſeverity. Sentiments which I convey to you, to ſhew the degree of confidence the Board repoſe in your integrity and abilities; but by which I mean not the remoteſt ſuſpicion, either in them or myſelf, of your diſappointing their expectations.

You

You are to be careful to acquaint me, or the reſident at the Durbar for the time being, with every material circumſtance worthy of remark; your correſpondence muſt, conſequently, be regularly and cloſely kept up; and you are to follow all ſuch farther orders as I may judge neceſſary to ſend you.

I wiſh you ſucceſs in this undertaking. and am,

Sir, Your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

Select Committee's reſolutions thereon.

Fort William, Auguſt 16, 1769.

It is unanimouſly agreed to lay the foregoing obſervations, and ſentiments of the Committee, before the Preſident and Council, in order for their being carried into execution with all convenient expedition.

The letter of inſtructions, which the Preſident has framed and laid before us, for the guidance of the future ſupra-viſors, being drawn up with ſo much clearneſs and preciſion, and with an equal knowledge of the ſubject, that the Committee cannot ſuffer it to be recorded, without recording, alſo, their unanimous approbation of it.

On the GOLD COINAGE.

No. 135.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated June 2d, 1766.

Mr. Campbell, the aſſay-maſter, being called before the Board, reads the regulations propoſed by the Committee for eſtabliſhing a gold coinage. Whereupon they obſerve it is propoſed, that the par of exchange between the new gold mohur and the ſilver ſicca rupee ſhall for the preſent be eſtimated at the rate of fifteen to one, which they think too conſiderable a profit for the merchants and proprietors for bringing their gold to the mint, and are of opinion, that the proportion of fourteen to one, which will yield a premium above the par of ſilver about eight per cent. will be a ſufficient encouragement to them for that purpoſe. The aſſay-maſter being thereupon directed to make the ſaid alteration, digeſts the whole into the form of a letter, which is ordered to be entered hereafter. The other part of the regulations pointed out by the Committee being entirely approved,—

Ordered, that the ſaid regulations be communicated to the reſident at the Durbar, with directions to put them into execution as ſoon as poſſible, and that public notice be alſo given at this Preſidency for that purpoſe.

— *To William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq. &c. Council of Fort William.*

GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to your commands, I have now the honour to lay before you the plan adopted by the Select Committee, and approved by the miniſters, for eſtabliſhing a gold currency to obviate the ſcarcity of money which ſo large an annual exportation of bullion to China muſt neceſſarily produce. The ſcheme hath already been intimated to the honourable Court of Directors, not as an effectual remedy, but as a palliative, which will obſtruct the progreſs of the evil, until a more radical cure be diſcovered.

To give ſuch encouragement to the importation of foreign gold, and advantages to the natives who hoard up and ſecrete this metal, as might induce them to apply their uſeleſs treaſures to the public benefit, were the great objects of the Committee. The difficulty lay in fixing upon ſuch a rate of exchange as ſhould anſwer the intention of bring-

ing

ing gold to the treaſury, without reducing ſilver below that natural value which it bears in moſt kingdoms in Europe, ſince this circumſtance might be productive of inconveniences at home. Gold being merely a merchandize in Bengal, and the quantity of it already contained in the country very uncertain, it was thought proper to make the mean rate of exchange in Europe the principle upon which the following regulations for a gold currency are calculated.

1. That the gold mohurs ſhall be ſtruck bearing the ſame impreſſion with the preſent Murſhed-abad ficca, and that this mohur ſhall alſo be iſſued in the ſubdiviſions of halves, quarters, and eighths.

2. That the new coin ſhall be of the fineneſs of twenty carats, or it ſhall contain one-fixth part of an alloy, which reduces it to Rs. 16 : 9 : 4 per Cent. below the value of pure gold, to 14 : 7 : 7 below the mean fineneſs of the Sicca and Dehly mohurs, and to 8 : 2 : 2 one-third beneath the ſtandard of the preſent Arcot gold mohurs. The reaſons for fixing upon this ſtandard are, that it is deemed the moſt convenient for allowing the propoſed encouragement to the merchants and the proprietors of gold, and likewiſe for avoiding the great delay and expence of refining in a country where the proceſs is not underſtood, and the materials for conducting it are obtained with difficulty.

3. That the gold mohur ſhall be encreaſed from fifteen annas, the preſent actual weight, to ſixteen annas, the better to avoid the inconvenience of fractional numbers in the ſubdiviſional parts and the exchange.

4. That the par of exchange between *the gold mohurs and the ſilver Sicca rupee* ſhall for the preſent be eſtimated at the rate of fourteen to one, reckoning upon the *intrinſic** value of either. Thus, a gold mohur weighing ſixteen annas ſhall be deemed equivalent to fourteen ficca rupees.

You will perceive, gentlemen, that a diſcount of one in fifteen, or 6 : 10 : 8 per Cent. is now made on the exchange propoſed by the Committee, in order to obviate the very reaſonable objection which the Board made to the exorbitant profits aſſigned to the merchants and proprietors.

5. That the ſilver Sicca rupee ſhall not be leſs than the ſtandard of 11 oz. 15 dwt. or 13 dwt. better than Engliſh ſtandard, whence will ariſe

A profit to the merchant of gold -	3 per Cent.
A batta on the gold mohur - - -	3 ditto.
A charge of coinage and duties - -	2 ditto.
	8 per Cent.

which increaſed value is calculated from the generally-received exchange of gold and ſilver, and not upon the market-price of gold, which fluctuates daily.

6. That all payments, whether of a public or a private nature, ſhall be made at the eſtabliſhed batta, and every attempt to create an artificial batta, or exchange, ſhall be rigorouſly puniſhed.

7. That a tender of payment, either public or private, ſhall in future be equally valid in gold and ſilver, and that a refuſal of the eſtabliſhed gold currency ſhall incur ſuch puniſhment as this Board may think proper to inflict.

8. That public notice ſhall be given to all Zemeendars, collectors of the revenue, and others, that the collections may be made indiſcriminately in gold and in ſilver, the

* This word *intrinſic* has been ſubſtituted in the place of *numerary*; but as *intrinſic* appears in the copy at the India houſe, I have not ventured to correct the error. That the ſenſe requires *numerary* is evident from the preceding regulations ſtated in the letter, by which it appears that the gold Mohur contains more *pure gold*, than the Sicca rupee contains *pure ſilver*; yet are they *numerically* exchanged as one to fourteen. The ſecond paragraph of the letter, moreover, has theſe words: "It was thought proper "to make the *mean rate of exchange in Europe* the principle, upon which the *following regulations* for a "gold currency *are calculated.*"

former

former to be received at the mint and treaſury, at the rate propoſed in the 2d article; that is the Sicca and Dehly mohurs to be reckoned with an alloy of 14 : 7 : 7 per Cent. and the Arcot mohur, with an alloy of 8 : 2 : 2 $\frac{1}{3}$, which will produce, agreeably to the principle of exchange laid down, the advantage propoſed in article the 5th.

Theſe, gentlemen, are the regulations propoſed by the right honourable the Preſident, and the members of the Select Committee; upon which I ſhall beg your permiſſion to offer the following remarks.

The eſtabliſhing a gold currency in the country appears to me the only practicable method of aboliſhing that pernicious ſyſtem of reducing the Batta on Sicca rupees annually. There being now a fixed ſtandard of value for ſilver, that metal muſt in time neceſſarily ſettle at the preciſe point which determines the proportion it bears to gold. Neither will the ſcarcity of any ſpecies of rupees affect the Batta, ſince the gold currency will always afford the means of payment without loſs by the exchange. The Batta of the Mohur being invariable, will ſoon render that of the ſilver invariable alſo; or elſe the principle of exchange will be deſtroyed, and of conſequence the profit to the merchant will become precarious. This effect I think muſt neceſſarily flow from the full eſtabliſhment of a gold currency; and were there no other advantage attending it than reducing to a fixed determinate value the great variety of coins with which buſineſs is diſtracted in this country, that alone would be well worth the experiment.

It will be abſolutely neceſſary that the utmoſt care be taken to prevent any debaſement of the fixed ſtandard of the gold Mohur, which is already rated ſo high in the exchange. I ſhould myſelf apprehend that a fraud of ſuch dangerous tendency to the public credit ſhould be puniſhed with death; and as the Engliſh laws will not authorize ſo rigorous a puniſhment, except for the adulteration of the current coin of Great Britain, that the laws of the country ſhould take place. Your reſolution on this head ſhould be publiſhed in the mint at Murſhed-abad; and as a farther check on the coiners, the reſident might be required occaſionally to ſend down ſpecimens of the money to be aſſayed in Calcutta.

I ſhould likewiſe imagine that ſevere penalties ſhould be annexed to the ſecreting, defacing, clipping, or melting down the new coinage; and that the ſame, together with the puniſhment to be inflicted on every attempt to vary the Batta, or obſtruct the currency, ſhould be promulgated in every diſtrict of the Nabob's dominions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Fort William, June 2, 1766.

(Signed) ALEX. CAMPBELL.

No. 136.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated the 20th March, 1769.

Read the following letter from the European merchants and principal inhabitants of Calcutta; alſo, a petition from the Armenian merchants, and a letter from the Mayor's Court; ſetting forth the great difficulties and diſtreſſes to which themſelves, and the inhabitants in general, are reduced, from the increaſing ſcarcity of ſpecie, and earneſtly requeſting the aſſiſtance of the Board for a relief from the ruinous evil.

A.

To the Honourable Harry Verelſt, &c. &c.

GENTLEMEN,

The univerſal diſtreſs of the ſettlement at preſent for ſpecie, will, we hope, excuſe our troubling you with this addreſs, requeſting in our names, and thoſe of the inhabitants of Calcutta in general, the aſſiſtance of your government and authority to remedy this evil, which grows every day more ſeverely felt by every merchant in Bengal.

We are highly ſenſible of your care and attention to the welfare of the inhabitants, from your late orders regarding the gold Mohurs; and flatter ourſelves that this application, as it equally merits, will equally meet with your regard.

Before the gold Mohurs were called in, the Shroffs had ſo far taken the advantage of the neceſſity of individuals, that they had made the changing of money, from a bare livelihood, to a moſt advantageous trade to themſelves, and a diſtreſsful tax upon every man who wanted money beyond the bounds of Calcutta; yet, at that very time, any ſum might have been had in ſilver, by paying a high premium to thoſe people who had it in their poſſeſſion. From this we are led to believe, that there is ſtill ſpecie ſufficient for the trade of Bengal, though perhaps not enough to anſwer the currency of this extenſive town; and that if any method could be fallen upon to keep the Shroffs to their proper ſphere, and prevent their taking advantage of the neceſſities of thoſe who carry on trade to the Aurungs, a gold coin might ſtill be made a convenient and uſeful currency for this ſettlement, though not for the trade of Bengal in general; whereas at preſent the diſtreſs is ſo great, that every merchant in Calcutta is in danger of becoming bankrupt, or running a riſk of ruin by attachments on his goods, which would not ſell for half their value, it being impoſſible to raiſe a large ſum at any premium on bond.

As many of us have ſeverely felt the late inconveniences, we have often reflected on the various methods by which it appeared to us poſſible to remedy them, and we hope you will excuſe our ſubjoining one for your ſuperior judgment, which appears to us moſt reaſonable; that is, to coin Mohurs, half Mohurs, and quarter Mohurs, equal in value and ſtandard to thoſe commonly called Dehly; forbidding, by your authority, any Shroff, under pain of ſevere fine and impriſonment, to exact more than one per Cent. for exchanging them into ſilver, for the purpoſes of merchants trading out of Calcutta; with which allowance we are perſuaded they will become ſatisfied in the courſe of a few months; ſince, before there was any gold coin ſufficient in Calcutta, they ſubſiſted by exchanging Sicca rupees into Arcotts, Surnauts, &c. for the Aurung trade; and we do not remember the exchange ever exceeded two per Cent. and was in general only from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Praying your pardon for this long treſpaſs on your patience, we beg leave to ſubſcribe ourſelves with the utmoſt reſpect,

Gentlemen, Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervants,

CORN. GOODWIN,	E. STEPHENSON,	SAM. MIDDLETON,
JOHN BATHOE,	KIER, REED, CATOR,	JAMES ELLIS,
HUGH INGLIS,	and Co.	HENRY GRANT,
R. HUNTER,	R. SAUNDERSON,	JOHN PETRIE,
J. ATCHINSON,	WILLIAM MAGEE,	JAMES LISTER,
JAMES FRAZER,	RUSSEL SKINNER,	NATH. MIDDLETON,
JOSEPH JEKYLL,	JOHN ROBINSON,	JOSEPH PRICE,
HUGH BAILLIE,	FRANCIS DOUGLAS,	DANIEL HOISSARD,
W. BARTON,	H. COTTRELL,	PAGE KEBLE.
ROBT. DOBINSON,	W. HARWOOD,	
ALEX. MURRAY,	DAN. CAMPBELL,	

To

B.

To the Honourable Harry Verelſt, Eſq. &c. &c.

The humble Petition of the Armenian Merchants ſettled in Calcutta,

SHEWETH,

That the ſcarcity of coin now felt in this capital, amongſt the many intolerable evils ariſing from it, affects every individual to that degree, that the beſt houſes, with magazines full of goods, are diſtreſſed for daily proviſions, and that not only a general bankruptcy is to be feared, likely to involve every ſoul in the ſettlement, but a real famine in the midſt of wealth and plenty. That to prevent thoſe evils from coming to a deſtructive criſis, your petitioners, prompted by that zeal incumbent upon them as ancient Britiſh ſubjects, and by their own heart-felt diſtreſſes, humbly beg leave to ſubmit to your wiſdom how far an immediate coinage of Mohurs, with all their diviſions and ſubdiviſions to one Anna, ſixteen Siccas value of pure gold, to be lawfully tendered in payment univerſally all over theſe Britiſh dominions, and admitted at the treaſury of both capitals, might be an adequate means to ward off the impending ruin; ſince any coin whatever is better than no coin at all; a meaſure brought on by the artificial ſcarcity of ſilver coin, ſtrongly pointed out by the combinations evidently entered upon by the bankers, and warranted by the large quantity of gold lately imported into this place: a meaſure for the rectitude of which your petitioners can account to their own conſciences, and in the ſupport whereof they hereby beg leave to pledge their good faith and honour. Your petitioners humbly hope, honourable Sir and Sirs, that your goodneſs will take the premiſes into conſideration, or give them whatever relief your wiſdom ſhall think fit.

And your petitioners, bound in gratitude and duty, ſhall ever pray, &c.

C.

To the Honourable Harry Verelſt, Eſq. Preſident, &c. Council at Fort William.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The honourable the Mayor's court of the town of Calcutta, beg leave to repreſent, that in the practice of their court they have for ſome time paſt obſerved the growth of an evil, which has daily increaſed, inſomuch that the ſufferings of many will thereby become intolerable, unleſs a ſpeedy relief be afforded them. The evil of which they ſpeak, is the very great decreaſe of ſpecie, ſo that there remains not ſufficient for the occaſions and intercourſe of commerce, and ſcarcely for the private œconomy of the inhabitants of Calcutta. It is felt by all ranks of people in the loſs of credit and confidence; the fair and honeſt dealer is every day proſecuted to judgment in their court without remedy, from the impoſſibility of obtaining payment from his debtors, to ſatisfy the claim of his creditors, but by a courſe of law. He is thus urged by his neceſſity to involve himſelf in expenſive ſuits; he is forced to defend, in order to gain time, though ſenſible of the juſtneſs, and deſirous to pay the demand; and he is drove to a haſty proſecution, in hopes to recover, before judgment paſſeth againſt himſelf, though fully convinced of his debtor's willingneſs to pay as ſoon as he is able; his ſubſtance is in this manner waſted, and the diſtreſs which follows too obvious and moving to need deſcription.

They are unable to expreſs what they feel in the diſcharge of their duty; but the daily inſtances of the melancholly conſequences of this calamity, call upon them to lay this faithful repreſentation before you, in full confidence, from the experienced tenderneſs and zeal for the public proſperity and welfare, which has ſo particularly

diſtinguiſhed your adminiſtration, of ſuch effectual remedy as in your wiſdom you ſhall judge moſt meet.

By order of the honourable, the Mayor's Court,

Town Hall, Calcutta, March 14, 1769.

JOHN HOLME, Regiſter.

The Board being fully ſenſible, from daily obſervation and experience, of the truth of the facts alledged in theſe letters and petition, and convinced of the fatal conſequences, which muſt ſpeedily and unavoidably accrue from them to the Company's affairs both at home and in India,——

Reſolved, We immediately take this affair into conſideration, and endeavour, as far as poſſible, to find out ſome ſafe, or at leaſt temporary remedy, for this growing evil, till the orders of the honourable the Court of Directors ſhall enable us to remove it entirely. Upon a ſtrict and impartial enquiry, we find that this ſcarcity of ſpecie, ſo ſeverely felt by the merchants here, is not an accidental or fictitious one, nor confined to Calcutta alone, but that the ſame indigence is ſpread over the whole country, ſo that the miniſters have made no ſecret of their apprehenſions, that either the revenues muſt fall ſhort, or be collected in kind, from a want of a ſufficient currency for ſales and purchaſes. We can expect no relief in this, from any ſums brought into the country, for the purpoſe of trade inland, becauſe all the commerce formerly to the north-weſt and weſtward by Guzzerat, Caſhmeree, Mogul merchants, &c. is now precluded by the vaſt increaſe of our own and foreign inveſtments, whoſe advance we ſee with concern, but where the ſtrictneſs of the Company's orders will not permit us to interfere, though ever ſo indirectly. We can expect no ſilver from home, and a mere trifle from the foreign companies. The French treaſury has been amply ſupplied this year by bills for above twenty lacks on this ſettlement from England, beſides vaſt ſums paid into their caſh by individuals. The Dutch imports of bullion have, for ſeveral years paſt, not exceeded eight or ten lacks per annum, and the Danes bring not in above two lacks more. The country's diſtreſs muſt alſo yearly encreaſe. Its whole revenues are diverted into our treaſury, and only the ſums neceſſary for the inveſtment, and our current expences, return again into the channel of circulation. The difference, therefore, between the amount of the revenues, and the ſum of the inveſtment and diſburſements, is an annual loſs to the currency, and muſt, in the end, ſwallow up the whole, unleſs a proportional import of ſpecie is made, or till the aggregate of the inveſtment and diſburſements ſhall become equal to the whole revenues. This will explain the unavoidable increaſe of poverty in the country; and as the treaſury is a continual drain upon that, ſo the immenſe exports to China, Madraſs, Bombay, with the King's tribute, and the expence of a brigade out of our provinces, will but too well account for the low ebb to which it has, in its turn, been reduced. If we conſider the ſtate of the provinces in this point of view, and reflect, at the ſame time, that they produce no ſilver or gold, ſo that imports of both have been, for a ſeries of years, very inconſiderable; that a large proportion of their treaſures were carried off by a fugitive tyrant, and that, for ſeveral years, few returns have been made to exports in general, and trade rendered a kind of monopoly in the hands of a few, we ſhall rather be ſurprized how the country has ſupported itſelf ſo long under ſuch exhauſting circumſtances, than at the rapid progreſs of general penury.

The

The Board having duly and maturely weighed this matter, and having conſulted the principal merchants, Banyans, bankers, and the miniſters of the Nizamut, do reſolve to recommend to the Nizamut, the eſtabliſhing a new gold currency, on and according to the following rules and reſtrictions.

The Mohur to be of the ancient Dehly ſtandard, to weigh ſeventeen annas Sicca weight, and to be iſſued and received in all public and private diſburſements and receipts whatever, at 16 Sicca rupees each Mohur. The Mohur to be ſubdivided into halves, quarters, eighths, and ſixteenths; ſo that each ſixteenth ſhall be the value of one Sicca rupee. That all gold delivered into the mint for coinage, be coined in the following proportions: ſuppoſing 100 Mohurs,

A number not exceeding	25	to be coined into	25 pieces.
Halves - - -	18	ditto. -	36 ditto.
Quarters - - - -	18	ditto. - -	72 ditto.
Eighths - - -	18	ditto. - -	144 ditto.
Sixteenths - -	21	ditto. - -	336 ditto.
Mohurs	100	ditto. - -	613 ditto.

That for the prevention of frauds and abuſes, perſons ſhould be appointed to ſuperintend on the part of the Company, (as Dewans of the Subah, and therefore principally concerned in the currency of the coin in theſe provinces, having the collections of their revennes) the aſſays of all gold in the mints of Murſhed-abad, Patna, and Dacca, with the governments aſſay-maſter, and no coinage be iſſued from either mint, but what has been thus jointly aſſayed. That no duties, either on behalf of the government, Company, Governor, or mint-maſter, be received, nor any charge, farther than a per Centage, equivalent to the actual expence of coinage.

That no mint or aſſay-maſter ſhall refuſe to receive any gold whatever for coinage or aſſay, and that every aſſay-maſter ſhall, when applied to by any merchant or other, aſſay any gold brought to him for aſſay, and every quantity brought ſhall have the ſeal of the aſſay-maſter fixed on ſuch parcel, and a certificate given him under the aſſay-maſter's hand, ſpecifying the aſſay, that the proprietor of ſuch gold may know at all times its real value.

The advantages expected to be derived from this arrangement are,

1. An increaſe of currency by a ſpecies of coin upon a ſtandard as near as poſſible to the eſtabliſhed one of ſilver, and whoſe numerous ſub-diviſions will enable it to ſupply the place of ſilver in all ſmaller diſburſements and receipts.

2. That as, on a moderate computation, near twenty lacks in gold are now lying uſeleſs in Calcutta, from the want of a fixed gold currency, and other conſiderable ſums may be expected in return for the Baſſorah Judda, and other cargoes, from whence alone we can hope ſupplies of ſpecie; the whole amount of theſe will run into the general circulation of the currency, inſtead of remaining as a mere matter of merchandize.

3. That as a proportion of $\frac{1}{16}$ of ſeventeen annas of Sicca gold to one Sicca rupee, is, as near as poſſible, to the reſpective value of the old ſtandard, gold and ſilver, throughout the empire, its currency may fairly and juſtly be every where enforced, nor can any combination or artifice of the bankers and Shroffs, ever make ſuch a difference in the exchange, as in any degree to affect the profits and welfare of trade in general; or ſhould prudence or policy hereafter preſcribe the recall of ſuch a coinage, the Company will ſuſtain little loſs or detriment.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, It will effectually render abortive the ſchemes of the French, of diſtreſſing this ſettlement and country by the large ſums in ſilver they have drawn into their treaſury, in payment for their Europe bills, by introducing a currency nearly as convenient, and on as fair a ſtandard, as the very ſilver they have ſo earneſtly laboured to engroſs.

Agreed, That the Preſident be requeſted to communicate this ſcheme to the miniſters of the government, to deſire their ſentiments thereon; and if it meets their concurrence, that they will enforce the propoſed eſtabliſhment of a gold currency.

No. 137.

Extract of a letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn (acting miniſter to the Nabob of Bengal) to the Preſident and Council at Fort William; recorded on Conſultations, March 28th, 1769.

If orders were iſſued for a coinage of gold of the Dehly fineneſs in the ſeveral mints, and that it ſhall be received in the payment of the revenue, and become current in the ſeveral factories, and in all mercantile tranſactions whatever, and care was taken to enforce thoſe orders throughout the provinces; both private and public buſineſs would be carried on without any of thoſe delays and interruptions which, at preſent, ariſe from the general ſcarcity of ſilver.

No. 138.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Becher, reſident at the Durbar, to the Select Committee, dated May 5th, 1769.

Some Mohurs of the new gold coinage were received yeſterday, in part of the Poonah Kiſts, and the miniſters will immediately iſſue ſtrict orders for receiving, in all the diſtricts, gold when offered in payment of the revenues, and hope the currency will be eſtabliſhed without difficulty.

No. 139.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated May 30th, 1769.

Received a letter from (Mr. Rumbold) the chief of Patna, dated the 21ſt inſtant, acquainting us that particular directions have been received from the Nabob by Seetabroy for eſtabliſhing a gold coinage at Patna; and as it is mentioned among the regulations that a perſon ſhould be ſtationed there on the part of the Company, to prevent any frauds in the coinage, to requeſt our orders concerning it.

No. 140.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated June 17th, 1769.

Received a letter from the governor and Mr. Becher (at the city of Murſhed-abad) dated the 9th of June, adviſing, that they encloſe us an account of the difference between the three known ſtandards of gold in Hindoſtan, that the miniſters recommend, and that they have acquieſced in the propriety of their remarks. That the ſtandard of Mahomed Shah, approaching neareſt to the proportional value of gold and ſilver, is therefore better adapted for the purpoſe of exchange, and a general currency in commerce; and that it derives an additional advantage from the reſpect and reputation in which that coin is held, and from the univerſal ſatisfaction with which it has always been received; and that, for theſe conſiderations, we are induced to approve

prove of Mahomed Shah's ſtandard, in preference to the Venetian, for the preſent currency. And having received advice that Mohurs of this ſtandard have been ſtruck in the mints of Patna and Dacca, in conſequence of ſamples tranſmitted from thence, and that they met with a ready circulation, which is a farther inducement to them in their preſent recommendation thereof.

The Board being fully ſatisfied, as well from the recommendation of the miniſters, as from the report laid before them by the aſſay-maſter, that the ſtandard of Mahomed Shah approaches the neareſt to the proportional value between gold and ſilver, do agree and reſolve, that the reſolutions of the 20th of March, ſhall immediately take place, and that the ſubordinates be adviſed thereof; that the chiefs be directed to appoint ſome perſon on the part of the Company, to ſuperintend the buſineſs of the mint, and ſee that the regulations be properly attended to; and that the ſecretary iſſue public advertiſements of this our reſolution, for the information of the inhabitants of the town.

No. 141.

The following diary of the price of ſilver in Calcutta, exhibits undeniable proof of the advantages derived by the Shroffs, from the prevailing ſcarcity of ſilver rupees, and obſtruction to the currency of gold Mohurs. It farther explains how neceſſary it became for the Board to adopt ſome expedient for repreſſing the preſent evil, relieving the inhabitants, and iſſuing a gold coin which ſhould be univerſally received for the purpoſes of trade; it was for this reaſon they made choice of the ſtandard of Mahomed Shah, which had always been held in the greateſt eſteem amongſt the natives of Bengal, and was particularly deſired at this time, by the united voice of the people. To underſtand this diary, it muſt be obſerved, the eſtabliſhed Battas are as follow:

viz. 9 Sun Siccas, being the coin ſtruck that year, are	16	per Cent.
8 Suns, the coin of the preceding year, are	13	per Cent.
Sunats, being the third year in circulation, are	11	per Cent.
Arcots, are	8	per Cent.

The deviation from theſe numbers expreſs the riſe or fall of Batta, which exceſs ought to be deducted from the extraordinary diſcount on the gold Mohurs of 1766.

	9 Sun Siccas			8 Sun Sicca Rs.		Sont. Rs.		Arcot Rupees.	
1768; June	1	22	14 per Cent.	22	8			15	8
	2	25		23				17	
	3	25		23	2			17	4
	4	25		23	4			17	4
	5	25		23	4			17	4
	6	25		23	4			17	4
	7	25		23	4			17	2
	8	25	8	23	4			17	6
	9	26		23	5			17	6
	10	26		23	8			17	12
	11	25	12	23	15			18	
	12	25	12	24	8			18	8
	13	27	4	24	9			19	

9 Sun

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
1768, June 14	27 4	24 9 6		19
15	27 8	24 12	23 12	19
16	27 8	24 4	23 12	18 8
17	27 8	24 8	23 12	18 4
18	27 3	24	22 8	18 4
19	27 3	24 4	22 8	18 4
20	27 8	24	22 8	18 8
21	27	24		18 8
22	26	23 12		18
23	25 8	22		17
24	25	21		16
25	24	21		15
26	23 12	20 8		14 8
27	22	18		14 4
28	22	17 8		14
29	19 11	17		13 12
30	20	16 8		13 8

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
July 1	19	16 8		12
2	20	17		12
3	19	16 12		12
4	19 2	17 4		12 8
5	19 4	17 8		12 8
6	19 8	18		12 8
7	22	20 12		15 4
8	21	21		15
9	24 8	21 8		16 8
10	24 8	22 4		16 8
11	24	22		16 8
12	23 8	20 14		15
13	23	19		14 12
14	22	18 8		14 12
15	21	18		14 12
16	22 5	19		15
17	22 8	20		15
18	22 8	19 4		15
19	22 8	19 8		15
20	22 12	20		15 4
21	22 4	20 4		15 4
22	22	19 12		15 8
23	22	19 12		15 12

9 Sun

	9 Sun Siccas			8 Sun Sicca Rs.		Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.	
1768, July	24	22	4	20	4		15	12
	25	22	8	20	12		16	
	26	23		20	12		16	
	27	20	12	21			16	
	28	23	8	21			16	
	29	23	8	21			16	
	30	23	8	21	2		16	4
	31	23	12	21	6		16	6

	9 Sun Siccas			8 Sun Sicca Rs.		Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.	
Auguſt	1	24		24	8		16	6
	2	24	8	22	12		18	
	3	25		22	12		18	
	4	25	8	23			18	4
	5	26		23	4		18	8
	6	26	8	23	8		18	10
	7	26	8	25	8		18	8
	8	27		24			18	8
	9	26	8	23	7		18	8
	10	26	8	23	7		18	8
	11	26	8	23	12		18	8
	12	26	12	23	12		18	8
	13	26	12	23	10		18	8
	14	26	12	23	10		18	12
	15	27		23	12		19	
	16	27	4	24			19	
	17	27	4	24			19	
	18	27	4	24			19	
	19	27	10	23	8		18	8
	20	28		23	12		18	12
	21	28		24			19	
	22	28		23			19	
	23	28	4	24			19	
	24	28	8	24	4		19	8
	25	28	8	24	4		19	6
	26	28	12	24	4		19	6
	27	29	4	24	8		19	6
	28	29		24	8		19	6
	29	29		24	8		19	6
	30	29		24	8		19	6
	31	29		24	8		19	6

No. 141.

Account of the number of gold Mohurs coined in Bengal, in conſequence of regulations eſtabliſhed in the year 1766.

In the mint of Calcutta - - -	77,871	
Patna - - -	55,274	
Murſhed-abad - -	30,000	
Total Mohurs		263,145
Of the above ſent to Madraſs - - -	134,417	
Balance remaining in Bengal in March 1769 -	128,728	
		263,145

PAPERS relating to the SOCIETY for carrying on the SALT, &c. Trade.

No. 142.

Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Nov. 21ſt, 1766.

PAR. 19. We find in the Burdwan accounts, the committee of lands, and the Preſident and Council who paſſed them, never required, as it was their duty to have done, an explanation of the enormous ſum paſſed under the head of charges reſidency; ſo that ſucceſſive Governors and Councils winked at this abuſe. And, in the preſent caſe, many members of the Board had paſſed through the office of chief of Midnapore, each treading in the corrupt ſteps of his predeceſſor. And by *Mr. Verelſt's* letter entered on your proceedings of the 20th of *January laſt*, it appears, theſe things were no ſecret to the Governor and Council, nor even to the public.

21. At the ſame time that we aſſure Mr. Verelſt of the high ſenſe we entertain of his upright conduct in the bringing to light theſe fraudulent practices in the province of Midnapore, and adding ſo greatly to our revenue, we would alſo have you aſſure Mr. Graham, that he ſuffers no imputation on this account, and that we regard him as a valuable ſervant.

22. Our letters of theſe two years paſt, ſufficiently teſtify how entirely we agree with you in your opinion of the corruption and licentiouſneſs of our ſervants, the horrible abuſes committed in the carrying on the inland trade, the vaſt ſums extorted for reſtitution and for donations, the contempt and violation of our moſt poſitive orders, and laſtly, the glaring frauds known and connived at in the collection of the revenues at Burdwan and Midnapore, amply juſtify your opinion, that all ranks are tainted with it, and we readily conceive the difficulty you were under how to fill up the Council. Peace and tranquility could not be ſaid to be fairly eſtabliſhed, while ſo factious and licentious a ſpirit prevailed, and you therefore did well to extend the conſtruction of thoſe words to an act ſo eſſentially neceſſary as the calling down the four gentlemen from Madraſs.

30. We

30. We recommend it to you to put the moſt extenſive conſtruction on the powers we have veſted in you to correct all abuſes. It is impoſſible for us to point out remedies for malverſations that have been hitherto unheard of; the covenants guard againſt donations; the 19th paragraph to you of the 17th May laſt, forbids the holding of farms; the 18th paragraph of the general letter of that date, forbids the lending money to the natives at more than 12 per Cent. intereſt; and we now make it a ſtanding order, that no ſervant of the Company, or Engliſhman reſiding under their protection, ſhall hold any poſt, office, or employment, under any country power whatſoever.

36. We have the pleaſure to aſſure you we highly approve your conduct in general, and we moſt earneſtly entreat you to perſevere in the ſame zealous attention to our intereſt.

No. 143.

Extract of Fort William Conſultations, dated September 16th, 1765.

The Committee for managing the plan of trade in the ſeveral articles of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, ſend in the following letter, ſoliciting a deed to ſecure the proprietors in right to the ſame, during the continuance of their preſent engagements, to be renewed every ſeaſon as long as it may be agreeable to the honourable Company that this plan ſhould ſubſiſt.

To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, Preſident and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In conſequence of the plan which you have been pleaſed to entruſt to our management, we have, for ſome time paſt, been taking meaſures for regulating the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and have already concluded conſiderable contracts for the purchaſe of the firſt article.

Having thus engaged in the trade, and made advances for the ſociety's property, with a view of being able to carry it on agreeable to your ſaid plan, it becomes a neceſſary conſideration with us, on behalf of the body for whom we act, to have them ſecured againſt any innovations, during the continuance of their preſent engagements. The terms of the purchaſe contracts will run for the enſuing year's produce of the ſeveral articles, and the vend will be concluded as ſoon after as poſſible. We therefore requeſt that your lordſhip, &c. Council, will furniſh us with ſuch a deed in writing as you ſhall think ſufficient to ſecure to the ſociety the free and ſole purchaſe of the articles of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from the firſt September 1765, to the 31ſt Auguſt 1766, allowing ſufficient time to diſpoſe of ſuch purchaſe for the ſeaſon; to be renewed every ſeaſon as long as ſhall be agreeable to the honourable Company, that this plan ſhould ſubſiſt; and, as a very great loſs would ariſe to the proprietors, ſhould any alteration happen after the concern of the year is begun, and before it is finiſhed, that ample proviſion be made for the continuance and concluſion of ſuch concern.

We are the more earneſt to be ſatisfied in this point, as until we obtain your compliance, we find we ſhall not be able to eſtabliſh the credit of the ſociety amongſt the merchants, ſo as to raiſe the neceſſary fund for carrying the trade on.

We are with reſpect, &c.

W. B. SUMNER, H. VERELST, R. LEYCESTER, G. GRAY.

Fort William, Sept. 11th, 1765.

The ſame having been peruſed and conſidered, we are unanimous in opinion reſpecting the propriety of paſſing the deed requeſted by the ſociety, and ſuch a one is accordingly ordered to be prepared by Mr. Whittal*, for the ſecurity of the preſent proprietors.

It is agreed to apply to the Company for permiſſion to renew the ſame for the future concerns, if the plan meets with their approbation; and the Committee is adviſed in anſwer accordingly, with further information, that when the preſent deed is prepared and executed, it ſhall be tranſmitted to them.

No. 144.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Clive to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, September 29th, 1765.

PAR. 17. The regulation now eſtabliſhed for the ſalt trade will, I hope, be entirely to your ſatisfaction. I at firſt intended to propoſe, that the Company and their ſervants ſhould be jointly and equally concerned in the trade itſelf: but, upon better conſideration, I judged that plan to be rather unbecoming the dignity of the Company, and concluded it would be better, that they ſhould give the trade entirely to their ſervants, and fix a duty upon it for themſelves, equivalent to half the profits. This duty we have computed at the rate of 35 per Cent. for the *preſent; but, I imagine,* it will be able next year to bear an increaſe. The articles of beetle and tobacco being of leſs conſequence, and yielding much leſs advantage, the duties upon them, of courſe, muſt be leſs. For farther particulars of theſe regulations, I beg leave to refer you to the Committee letter and proceedings, as I would not here trouble you with the repetition of a matter which is there ſo fully laid before you.

18. The advantages propoſed for the Governor and Council would undoubtedly appear extremely large to thoſe who are unacquainted with the riches of Bengal, and the numberleſs opportunities which the Company's ſervants have of acquiring money. But you, who are now perfectly informed of the revenues of theſe kingdoms, and the prodigious emoluments within the reach of gentlemen high in the ſervice, will, I am perſuaded, agree with me, that if ſome plan of the nature propoſed be not adopted, the Governor and Council will not fail to acquire much larger fortunes, by other means, in a much ſhorter time; which muſt always be productive of that quick ſucceſſion, not only ſo detrimental to your commercial intereſt, but ſo totally incompatible with the acquiſition of political knowledge, which ought now to be conſidered as a very material qualification in all your civil as well as military ſervants. To obviate an objection which may ariſe, that they may poſſibly proceed in the old way of procuring money, notwithſtanding they accept of theſe allowances, I would have an oath tendered to them, of as ſtrong and ſolemn a nature as can be penned. I have drawn out the form of one, agreeable to my idea of the expedient, and have the honour to encloſe it for your conſideration. To this may be annexed, a penalty bond of 150,000 l. to be executed by the Governor, and 50,000 l. to be executed by each of the Council.

* See chapter IV. p. 112, note (*) at the bottom.

No.

No. 145.

Copy of Lord Clive's Minute in Select Committee, dated Fort William, September 3d, 1765.

GENTLEMEN,

Sometime before my departure from England, the Court of Directors debated upon the propriety of ſuffering their ſervants in Bengal to trade in the articles of ſalt, beetle, and tobacco; and it could not be expected they would continue to them the enjoyment of thoſe profitable branches, unleſs means were deviſed, by which the natives could no longer be oppreſſed, and by which the Nabob and the Company would largely partake of the advantages. Upon a firm perſuaſion that ſuch means would be deviſed, they were pleaſed to defer their final determinations of this matter, till the ſentiments of the Select Committee ſhould be tranſmitted to them. By all their letters of laſt year, and by ſeveral of this, they ſtill ſeemed inclined to wait for our repreſentations; but by their letter of the 19th of February, by the Lord Camden, they poſitively forbid their ſervants to have any concern whatever in this trade. At that time, indeed, they could not have had the leaſt idea of the favourable changes in the affairs of theſe provinces, whereby the intereſt of the Nabob, with regard to ſalt, is no longer immediately concerned.

When we firſt took this important matter into conſideration, I joined in opinion with the reſt of the Committee that, if the trade could be put on ſuch a footing, that if the Nabob ſhould receive more than had been received by any of his predeceſſors, the Company be amply conſidered, and the natives become purchaſers upon terms full as reaſonable as in former times, the ſervants might be indulged in the privilege under ſuch certain rules and reſtrictions as would make the trade carry with it as little as poſſible the odious form of a monopoly. Theſe points having been ſettled, I conſented to the plan laid down laſt year. My abſence from the Preſidency, and the multiplicity of affairs then in agitation, wherein the peace and tranquility of the provinces, the intereſt of the Company, and the honour of the nation, were more immediately concerned, prevented my paying that attention I could have wiſhed to this important object, although by the acquiſition of the Dewanny the whole of the duties belong to the Company; and by the diligence and zeal of the members of the Committee of trade many uſeful reformations had taken place; yet from my obſervation when I was laſt up the country, and from the heavy complaints againſt Europeans of the monopoly of trade in general, I find that the induſtrious native is ſtill deprived of that ſhare to which he had an undoubted, and a more natural right; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing, which juſtice and humanity would, I am ſure incline the Committee to eſtabliſh.

A few weeks more muſt bring us the final reſolutions of the Court of Directors in anſwer to our diſpatches by the Admiral Stevens; and if, notwithſtanding the preſent ſituation of their affairs, they ſhould think proper to repeat their orders by the Lord Camden, it will be our duty to obey them, and I am perſuaded they will be obeyed by this Committee. But if, on the contrary, upon the receipt of our repreſentations, they ſhould change their ſentiments, and approve of the regulations already made, no time ſhould be loſt on our part in eſtabliſhing the mode for carrying on the trade in future. The confidence which the Court of Directors have been pleaſed to expreſs in my endeavours to ſettle upon an equitable plan that trade which has been the ſource of ſo many evils, cannot but promote my zeal for the cauſe, and make me anxiouſly wiſh to ſee every regulation, that you may join with me in thinking neceſſary, take place.

The

The Company's duties I beg leave to propoſe ſhall be encreaſed, the ſervants ſtill receive a reaſonable ſhare of emolument, and the terms upon which the natives are finally to be concerned, advantageouſly fixed. I propoſe—

1. That all ſalt provided by the ſociety of trade ſhall be ſold at Calcutta, and at the other places where it is made, and no where elſe.

2. That the price of ſalt ſhall not exceed 2 rupees per maund, or 200 rupees per 100 maunds.

3. That the ſalt ſhall be ſold to the natives only, who are to tranſport it to every part of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and to have the whole profits ariſing from the ſale thereof, and that no Company's ſervant, free merchant, or European, ſhall be concerned in that article directly or indirectly, after the ſale of it at the above places.

4. That the Calcutta black merchants ſhall be limited to a certain proportion of purchaſe, but that no Banyan, or ſervant whatever belonging to *any European*, ſhall be included, or have any concern therein.

5. That every endeavour be made uſe of to encourage the ſubſtantial merchants of the country, either to come down in perſon to the place where the ſalt is provided, or to ſend their agents, in order to purchaſe and tranſport the ſalt to the different places of ſale.

6. That a certain price be fixed for the ſale of every maund of ſalt, at every town, market, or village, where it is ſold, according to the diſtance and former cuſtom.

7. That if ſalt be ſold at any of the Bazars, or markets, for one Cowrie above the ſtipulated price, the vender ſhall not *only forfeit all the ſalt then found in his poſſeſſion*, but be liable to a forfeit of 1000 rupees for every hundred maunds of ſalt ſo ſold, and the ſalt and money ſo forfeited ſhall go one half to the informer, and one half to the government.

8. That the miniſters at Murſhed-abad and Patna have copies ſent them of theſe new regulations, and that they be deſired to apply to the Nabob to make the ſame known throughout the three provinces; and that every Fouzdar, &c. ſee they be put in execution, upon pain of being diſmiſſed from his employments.

9. This buſineſs being entirely commercial, I propoſe that in the inſtrument of agreement for the next year, it ſhall be provided, that the ſociety of trade be anſwerable to the Board for their conduct, that the Board may either make new regulations, or amend thoſe made by the ſociety of trade, as *they ſee fit; and that in caſe* of neceſſity the Select Committe ſhall *have power to controul the conduct of the* whole.

10. That a duty of fifty per Cent. be paid to the Company upon all the ſalt provided in their own lands, and fifty per Cent. to the government upon all the ſalt provided in the lands of the government, and fifteen per Cent. upon beetle; which duties, in fact, will be brought to the Company's credit, which, according to the preſent ſtate of the ſalt trade, will produce the Company from 12 to 13 lacks, or from 150,000*l.* to 162,500*l.* per annum.

The prohibition of a free inland trade, however diſagreeable to individuals, muſt now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and to their immediate returns, which returns ſhall be made only to the Preſidency, or to one or other of the eſtabliſhed factories. The Company are ſovereigns in India, and they have declared that the trade carried on for theſe four years paſt is an uſurpation not only of their prerogative, but of the privileges of the natives, and repugnant to the expreſs and repeated orders of the Court of Directors. The indulgence, however, in the trade of ſalt, upon the footing, I hope, it will now be eſtabliſhed, ſhould, in my opinion, obviate all complaints; ſince it ſeems to be the moſt equitable modus between the Company and their ſervants, and at the ſame time a diſtribution of natural right to

the

the people of the country. Conſidering that the late great advantages of unlimited inland trade are cut off, I cannot imagine that the Court of Directors will deny their ſervants this ſhare of ben[illegible] compliance for their attention and aſſiſtance in the management of the important conc[illegible] of theſe provinces. On the other hand, I would have the ſervants look on theſe emoluments as a gift from the hand of their employers, offered to them annually in reward of their fidelity, and which will certainly be with-held from them, if ever their authority ſhould be reſiſted, and diſcontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation.

(Signed) CLIVE.

Extract of Select Committee proceedings thereon, of the ſame date.

His Lordſhip's Minute having been read and maturely conſidered, the regulations therein ſpecified are unanimouſly approved of.

Agreed, therefore, that the Preſident's regulations for the inland trade be laid before the Council with all convenient diſpatch, for their approbation, in order that the neceſſary inſtructions for proſecuting the joint concern for the enſuing ſeaſon, may be immediately iſſued to the Committee of trade.

Reſolved, that the above concern ſhall conſiſt of ſixty ſhares, and that the proprietors ſhall ſtand enrolled with the ſeveral proportions affixed to their names, in the manner aſcertained in the following ſtatement:

CLASS I.	Counſellors, and Colonels Smith and Sir Robert Barker,	32 ſhares.
CLASS II.	Clergymen, ſenior and junior merchants, and lieutenant Colonels,	14 ⅔ ditto.
CLASS III.	Factors, majors, and ſurgeons,	9 ditto.
		55 ⅔
	See N. B. below.	4 ⅓
		60

It appearing from the above diviſion of capital ſtock that 4 ⅓ ſhares remain unappropriated; Agreed, that the ſame be accounted for at a proper time.

N. B. Theſe ſhares were afterwards appropriated to Mr. Bolts, and others.

FINIS.

ERRATA in the APPENDIX.

Page	Line	
2	28	*for* Juggutſeat, *read* Juggut-Seet.
	33	*for* ditto, *read* ditto.
3	38	*for* ditto, *read* ditto.
5		*laſt for* ditto, *read* ditto.
6	8	*for* enemies, *read* enemy's.
8	1	*for* Sombre, *read* Somroo.
11	42	*dele* eſtabliſhed, *(firſt repeated)*
14	33	*for* Juggutſeat, *read* Juggut-Seet.
15		*inſert* N° II. *over the top of the letter, now unnumbered.*
	3	*from the bottom, for* 286,000 l. *read* 2,650,000 l.
16	27	*for* ſortune, *read* fortunes.
18	23	*for* preſident, *read* reſident.
20	8	*from the bottom, for* Seats, *read* Seets.
21	16	*dele* not.
	27	*for* deputations, *read* deputation.
22	36	*for* been graved, *read* be engraved.
41	29	*for* Shetabroy, *read* Seetabroy.
42	14	*for* Poonaits, *read* Poonah.
43	10	*for* Shetabroy, *read* Seetabroy.
49	4	*from bottom, for* your, *read* our.
50	21	*for* aſpiring, *read* aſpiring.
51	8	*for* Meneer, *read* Munneer.
52	3	*from bottom, for* Janajee, *read* Janoojee.
53	10	*for* Shetabroy, *read* Seetabroy.
	19	*for* Serajapore, *read* Serâjepore.
54	2	*for* Achmet, *read* Achmed.
	24	*for* paid to, *read* paid by.
	25	*for* Rige-naut Row, *read* Ragoo-naut Row.

Page	Line	
54	30	*for* Rige-naut Row, *read* Ragoo-naut Row.
	32	*for* Janegee, *read* Janoojee.
	33	*for* Decan, *read* Deccan.
56	7	*for* Goercullah, *read* Gourcullah.
	27	*for* of revenues, *read* of the revenues.
61	18	*for* tranſmitting, *read* tranſmitted.
	31	*for* 24th ultimo, *read* 26th ultimo.
66	4	*line from bottom, for* on howitz, *read* one howitz.
69	27	*for* experienced, *read* experience.
70	26	*for* February 9th, *read* February 29th.
79	25	*for* call, *read* calls.
80	36	*for* Rutten, *read* Ruttun.
85	10	*line from* the bottom, *for* pounder, *read* pound.
99	33	*for* warehouſe, *read* warehouſes.
105	35	*for* Hidoſtan, *read* Hindoſtan.
111	37	*for* miſlead, *read* miſlead.
113	15	*for* Chandornagore, *read* Chandernagore.
115	32	*for* Nazims, *read* Nizams.
123	22	*for* his commands, *read* its commands.
126	14	*for* Rutten, *read* Ruttun.
136	32	*for* Nizamaut, *read* Nizamut.
138		*Note at bottom, for* 6,250 l. *read* 62,500 l.
		Note at bottom, for 250,000 l. *read* 275,000 l.
139	6	*for* Seats, *read* Seets.
		Note at bottom, for 6,250 l. *read* 62,500 l.
140	4	*dele* both years inclusive.
142	20	*for* Cheetmarry, *read* Cheelmarry.
175	21	*for* you, *read* your.

00030045

Digitized with financial assistance from

NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach

on 07 January, 2017